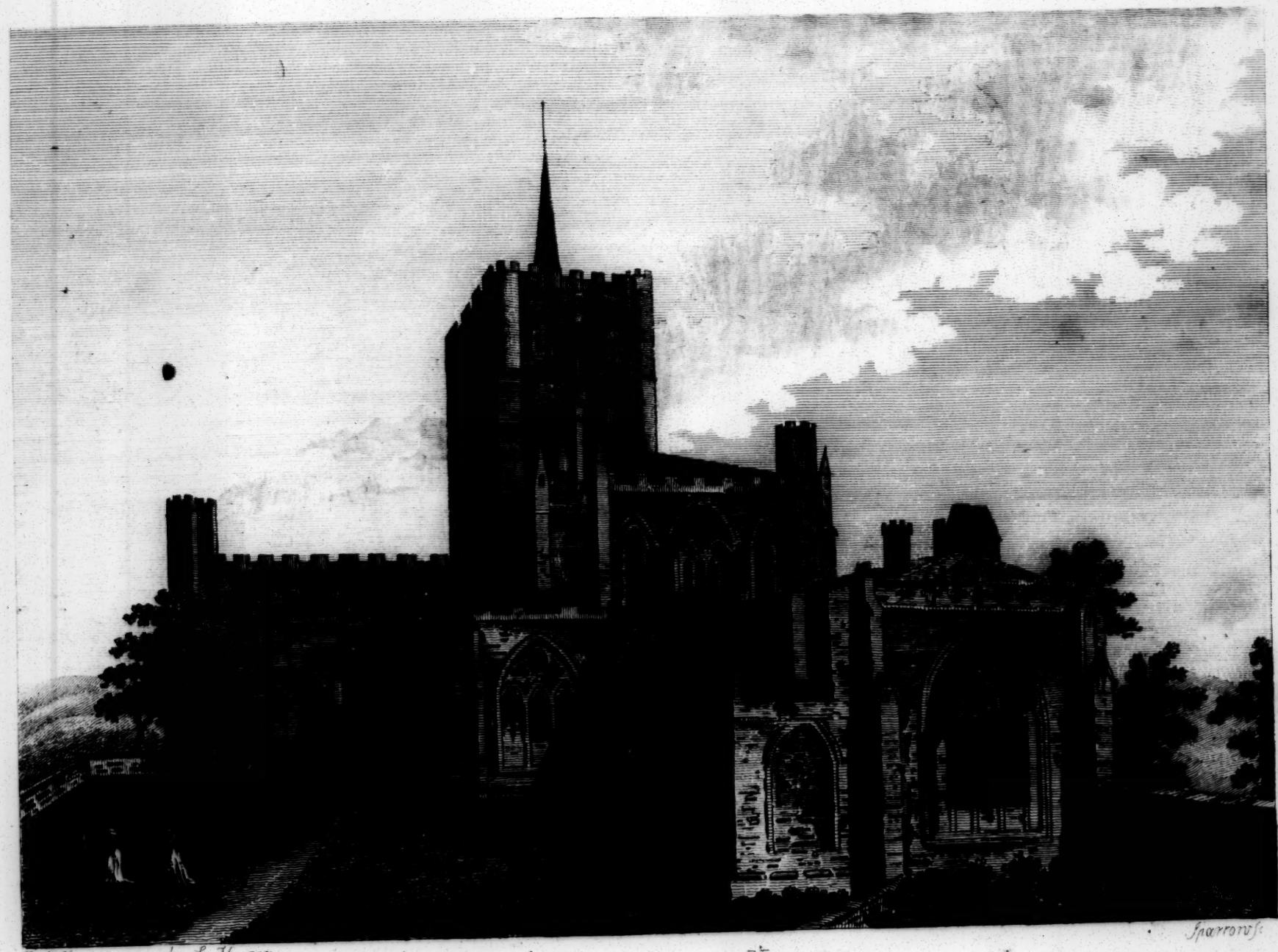

Pub.ᵈ by S. Hooper Sparrow sc.

ST ALBANS ABBEY HERTS.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ANCIENT AND ROYAL FOUNDATION,

CALLED

THE ABBEY OF ST. ALBAN,

IN THE

COUNTY OF HERTFORD,

FROM THE FOUNDING THEREOF, IN 793,

TO ITS DISSOLUTION, IN 1539.

EXHIBITING THE LIFE OF EACH ABBOT,

AND THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS RELATING TO

THE MONASTERY,

DURING HIS RULE AND GOVERNMENT.

EXTRACTED FROM THE MOST FAITHFUL AUTHORITIES AND RECORDS,
BOTH PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT.

WITH PLATES; AND A NEW MAP OF THE COUNTY.

BY THE REVEREND PETER NEWCOME,
RECTOR OF SHENLEY, HERTS.

LONDON:

Printed, for the Author, by J. NICHOLS:

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M.DCC.XCV.

NAMES OF THE ABBOTS.

	Willegod	began in 791.	
	Eadric	794.	
	Vulfig		in the time of Alfred.
	Vulnoth		
5	Ædfrid		in the time of Edmund the Pious.
	Ulfinus	948.	
	Ælfric		in the time of Edgar.
	Ealdred		
	Eadmer		
10	Leofric		
	Ælfric		in the time of Canute.
	Leofstan		in the time of Edw. Conf.
	Frederic	1064.	
	Paul, the Norman,	1077.	
15	Richard d'Aubeny or d'Exaquio	1097.	
	Geoffry de Gorham	1119.	
	Ralph de Gobiõn	1146.	
	Robt. de Gorham	1151.	
	Symon	1168.	
20	Warren, Guarinus,	1183.	
	John de Cella, or of Studham,	1195.	
	William de Trumpington,	1214.	
	John de Hertford	succeeded 1235,	buried in the church.
25	Roger de Norton	1260	buried in the choir near the great candlestick, close together.
	John de Berkampsted	1291	
	John de Marinis	1302	died 1308.
	Hugo de Evetsden	1308, 1 Edw. II.	buried near together in the presbytery, on the right of the great altar.
	Richard de Wallingford	1326	
	Michael de Mentmore	1335	
30	Thomas de la Mare	*13-9	
	John Moot	1396,	and died 1401.
	William Heyworth	1401.	
	John Whethampstead	1420,	and resigned 1440.
	John Stokes	elected 1440,	and died 1451.
35	John Whethampstead	rechosen,	and died 1460.
	William Alban	chosen 1460,	and died 1476.
	William Wallingford	chosen 1476,	and died 1484, 1 Rich. III.
	Thomas Ramryge	elected 1492,	his death uncertain.
	Thomas Woolsey	appointed 1526,	and died Nov. 2, 1530.
0	Robert Catton	ruled 8 years,	and died 1538.
4	Richard Boreman, alias Stevenache,	1538,	and surrendered Dec. 5, 1539.

* As appears by his epitaph in Weaver, p. 556.

PREFACE.

IT is not expected, that a book, written on ſo local a ſubject, ſhould excite any great degree of public and general notice; nor that a ſubject ſo antique and obſolete ſhould raiſe the curioſity of modern readers. It is not, therefore, a proſpect either of fame or profit that has urged the author to this undertaking. But, beholding daily the venerable fabrick of St. Alban's church, the only remains of a large ſtructure, and hearing ſomething like tradition ſtill dwelling in the country, relating to its hiſtory, though with much uncertainty and incoherency, the author determined to diſcover its true hiſtory, and, as far as he could collect from authentic records, commit the ſame to writing, for the information of the country adjoining, and for the ſubverſion of much error and ignorance. He was encouraged farther by this conſideration, that there is not extant in our lan-

guage, nor to be found, except in the fundamental ſtatutes and rules of the religious, any hiſtorical account of the domeſtic œconomy of thoſe houſes, or of their internal uſages, cuſtoms, and habits of living. The ſame may be ſaid of the worſhip which the monks were perpetually celebrating, and of their religious rites and ceremonies. Theſe defects in our eccleſiaſtic hiſtory will be in a great meaſure ſupplied by the following narrative, and it will add to our common ſtock of hiſtoric knowledge to preſent the Engliſh reader with a more minute detail of the monaſtic life: and this work will probably be the more acceptable on this account, that it will leave on record ſome hiſtoric matter, which has been quite forgotten or unknown in theſe kingdoms for 250 years; and which, from ſuppreſſing monaſteries abroad, is likely to be forgotten there alſo.

When the bleſſed Jeſus commanded his diſciples to preach to all the world, and baptize men into his name and religion, he ſeems not to hint at, or to intimate, any other order of men for inſtructing the world than diligent preachers; yet, in leſs than 300 years, another order of men aroſe, who ſuppoſed themſelves equal in authority with the apoſtles and their followers, if not to preach the word, yet to give a more perfect example. This order began, indeed, with a few only, who choſe to commence hermits, and devote themſelves to a quiet contemplative life; but from them it became a more general practice, and theſe devout men agreed to aſſemble in numbers, to form a ſmall ſociety, and to live by the culture of a garden and other labours of their hands. This uſage ſpread itſelf through all the Eaſtern countries, wherever the church of Chriſt was eſtabliſhed: and, though the hiſtory of the Eaſtern and African churches is little known to us, owing to the utter ruin and devaſtation which

they ſuffered from the hands of the Saracens and the conqueſts of Mahomet, yet ſufficient proof remains that a very great number of monaſteries were eſtabliſhed, and did flouriſh, in all thoſe Chriſtian countries; and at this day the Greeks, who compoſe the remains of the ancient Chriſtians, are found ſettled and eſtabliſhed in theſe monaſteries. All the biſhops of the Eaſt (and in that name we muſt comprehend the moſt learned, ingenious, and pious, men, that ever preached the Goſpel) gave countenance and encouragement to this practice, and eſpecially the great Baſil, biſhop of Cæſarea, in Cappadocia (a).

From the example and benefit of them in the Eaſt, the biſhops in the Weſt recommended the inſtitution; and, by the end of the ſixth century, all the Chriſtian countries of Europe had adopted the ſame, and monaſteries for both ſexes became reputable foundations, and were viewed with great religious eſteem. At firſt, it is probable, they were the proper attendant of every epiſcopal ſee, and had their fixed reſidence together with the biſhop at his cathedral: but, in proceſs of time, they became ſeparate and diſtinct endowments, ſubordinate to the biſhops; and, by the covenants of the founder, ſubject to his viſitation and liable to his cenſures. And biſhops, having perhaps but few clergy, and many parts of their dioceſe without any inſtruction, and not even divided into pariſhes, and many pariſhes being quite ſtrangers to a church, could make no objection to any concurring help in the work of the Goſpel. In the beginning of Chriſtianity, and in the early days of the church, the number of epiſcopal clergy was very few, and theſe monaſtic foundations were generally made in the moſt ſolitary and

(a) Vide Cotelerius in his Monum. Græc. Eccleſ.

unpeopled places. They were calculated, indeed, at firſt for the religious improvement, and ſpiritual benefit of the few who aſſembled together, and lived in a conventual manner, in meditation, prayer, and devout worſhip; and they could influence others by their example much more than by any inſtruction; for, theſe being confined to their walls, and having no duties abroad, the few epiſcopal clergy were the only perſons intruſted with the labour of reforming mankind. This diſtinction is proper to be kept in mind, in order to account for the variance and emulation that aroſe, in after times, between theſe two branches of the clergy. The ſeculars, being under the direction of their biſhop, were ſent out into the world, to preach at large or elſe to be fixed in one particular place; but, in either caſe, their ſubſiſtence was ſlender, and made to depend on contributions; for, ſuppoſing that tithes were enjoined to be paid throughout the kingdom by Ethelwolph, a Saxon king, yet this proviſion was very ſcanty, becauſe the country was not, except in a few places, either cultivated or incloſed: and it is well known, that, until the Conqueſt, when the king put the church on a better footing, and gave to it more certain as well as more ample proviſion, the maintenance of the clergy, that is, of the ſeculars, depended on a diſtribution from the biſhop. But, though the ſeculars, from that time, were better enabled to live and exerciſe their functions in a more reſpectable manner, yet the regular clergy had long ago, and did ſtill, ſurpaſs them, in number, dignity, and public eſteem. The pariſh prieſt was but one in a large diſtrict of country, and his labours conſiſted in preaching the word, in prayer and public worſhip, and in adminiſtering the ſacraments to the pious and religious, living himſelf in a plain and ſimple manner; whereas the regulars employed themſelves in a gaudy and oſtentatious

oſtentatious worſhip, enjoying plenty, and oftentimes a luxurious abundance, at their table: while the former were occupied in inſtructing the living and urging the neceſſity of an holy life, the latter were entirely buſied in praying for the dead. This was their profeſſed employment and occupation: and this circumſtance alone procured them the admiration of the vulgar, brought great gifts and endowments from the rich, and many pious legacies from the dying. It is aſtoniſhing to behold, that, upon the ſingle foundation of our natural anxiety concerning a future ſtate, theſe men built their ſucceſs and conſequence: and it is proper to obſerve, how ill-inſtructed men were in thoſe days, when they choſe rather to truſt their future concerns to the efficacious labours of others than to their own pious cares and ſtrict holineſs of life. The pretended intereſt, which the monks were thought to have with Heaven, might be a reaſon, with even very pious perſons, to employ them after their own deceaſe; but it is probable that they found evil livers, and the perpetrators of great crimes, to be the moſt copious ſource of liberality and donation: inaſmuch as ſuch perſons were fearful and diſtruſtful even of their own repentance, and, therefore, were deſirous of hiring others to aid and aſſiſt in the work of their ſalvation. And, as this praying for the dead was the profeſſed occupation of theſe numerous bodies of clergy, ſo it will appear in the following ſheets with what art and contrivance they framed all the doctrines of futurity, to favour the practice, and promote the pious fears of the anxious offender.

Thus much will ſuffice to account for their augmentation, and riches, and number; but, in the courſe of this work, it will farther appear, with what art and application they ſucceeded in worldly grandeur, and in what manner they withdrew

withdrew from any ſubjection to the dioceſan, until, in ſhort, the abbot ſurpaſſed him in external ſplendor, and the abbey became a rival to the cathedral: and this went on, till, at the diſſolution, it was ſeen that the mitred abbots, who had by degrees been labouring for pre-eminence, were more in number, in the Houſe of Lords, than the biſhops. For, in 1514, the abbots were 28 in number, and the biſhops only 18 or 19.

There were many other conſiderations that tended to give the monks increaſe and conſequence; and abbeys were found to be ſuch beneficial inſtitutions that they would have ſtood their ground unto this day, if their great poſſeſſions and revenues had not tempted indigent courtiers to plot and combine againſt them. Their utility appeared in theſe reſpects, that they exerciſed great hoſpitality towards the poor, and this was done at one tenth of the expence which the poor now create, by being maintained by a legal proviſion: the monaſteries were in general the houſes of reception for all the ſick, and they were here nurſed and cured: they generally employed maſters to teach the poor children of the neighbourhood: they entertained all perſons who were ingenious in any art or ſcience, and often tranſcribed books, when but a few underſtood the art, or could undertake it; and there is now extant a chronicle, compoſed and printed here, in the year 1484, under the countenance then given to this particular abbey by Richard III. theſe houſes alſo kept public regiſters of all great tranſactions; to them are we indebted for all our Engliſh hiſtorians, down to the time of the diſſolution. They were poſſeſſed, indeed, of all the learning that was in any repute at the time prior to the coming of the friers, and the monaſteries generally furniſhed the men who were fit for embaſſies abroad, or for high em-

employments at home: and, to their honour be it ſpoken, that all the inferior officers, both in the law-courts, and in the civil departments of government, who are called clerks, owe this appellation to theſe houſes, whence, or from cathedrals, the firſt officers were taken. Their landed property was ſo great, at the time of the diſſolution, that it was ſaid to be one-third of all the lands of England; but this account is probably aggravated: yet, whatever were their temporal poſſeſſions, they were always found to be good landlords, ever ready at improvements, and doing many great works in incloſing, or draining, or planting, which individuals could not undertake. In truth, they did more to civilize mankind, and to bring them within the comforts of ſociety, than any ſet of men of any denomination ever have done. And yet the ungrateful world, that was enjoying the fruit of their labours and their riches, now beholding the edifice to be completed, caſt down the builders and the ſcaffold, as if no longer uſeful.

In ſpite of all the calumny that was thrown out againſt them, nothing ſo well proclaims their utility as this; that they maintained themſelves in repute, ſome of them 1000 years, and many for the ſpace of 5, 4, and 300 years; and that, when they were diſſolved, Edward VI. and his counſellors found it neceſſary to endow new hoſpitals, build new ſchools, and provide new relief for the poor and helpleſs.

Yet, notwithſtanding the advantages of theſe houſes, the good that aroſe from them could not prevent their ruin and downfal. And it muſt be confeſſed that, on viewing them in a civil and political light, they will appear too much attached to the Roman pontiff, to be good ſubjects to their natural ſovereign: as they owed their origin to the pope,

ſo

ſo they ever adhered to HIM more than to their lawful king; and were at all times ſo obedient to their ſupreme at Rome as to become his inſtruments and agents in all his exactions, and in all his conteſts with the kings of England. But not ſo was it with the biſhops and their clergy: for, though it was a perpetual conteſt who ſhould appoint the biſhops, and, if one of theſe ſovereigns ventured to appoint, the other always claimed a right to approve or reject, yet the biſhops and their clergy generally teſtified the moſt faithful attachment to their own ſovereign: and, to the honour of the Epiſcopal Clergy be it ſpoken, they have ever ſhewn themſelves the beſt friends to monarchy and lawful government.

Theſe ſheets will exhibit a juſt picture of theſe monaſtic clergy, and the manners of the times moſt prevalent among the laity and great men, eſpecially the courtiers; and they will lead us to a compariſon of times, ſuch as ought to excite in us a moſt ſincere gratitude to God, that we are allowed to live in an enlightened age, free from ſuperſtitious worſhip, and in which the way to religious truth is open to all inquirers; and in this compariſon alſo will be ſeen how ſuperior the public worſhip of our church now is to any of the ancient forms in this land, for the purpoſe of edification, and adminiſtering all the comforts of that true religion which Chriſt was ſent to eſtabliſh here on earth.

Theſe religious foundations fell with ſuch undeſerved calumny and ſlander, that it is but common juſtice to reſtore their character, and give them their due praiſes, wherever the ſame can be done; and, I truſt, if all others were as free from corruption and ill-government as this of St. Alban, it will be ſeen how unjuſtly they were accuſed, and their overthrow will appear to have been effected for other reaſons than pretended miſ-

miſrule and ſecret corruption.—As they had ever been the main pillar and ſupport of the Papal power, it was natural and conſiſtent to aboliſh the members, after the head was rejected. They were bodies ſo nearly allied to the Popedom, that they muſt fall with it: and, though a gradual reformation might have been effected in them, yet, in the new plan of church-government, they were deemed unneceſſary; and the new head of the church, and his counſellors, wiſhed to have as few ſubjects, in the church to be governed, as might be: accordingly, by diſſolving the regular clergy, and limiting the Church to the epiſcopal order of ſeculars, they rejected above 100,000 of the former, and retained about 8000 of the latter.

Whatever was the pretext, the real truth was, that their temporal power and wealth tempted their downfal: and, in ſpite of all the good and real merit that was to be found in them, they fell a prey and ſpoil to an extravagant monarch and his neceſſitous courtiers. In the legiſlature of thoſe times there were many great and able men; but, whatever cauſe there may be to charge them with want of piety, there is no room to accuſe them of any want of worldly wiſdom, or of their embracing that ſelf-denial, and contempt of the world, which they were ſo ready to condemn in the monks; they made laws and ordinances to ſupport a new religion, when they could enrich themſelves by ſuppreſſing the old. But the bright example of the biſhops and clergy who ſubmitted to the flames at that time will appear more illuſtrious, when it is ſeen how juſt and rational was their oppoſition to the worſhip then in uſe, as well as to the doctrine; the firſt having in it as little of true piety and devotion as the latter had of reaſon and revealed truth. It was the blood of thoſe men who could

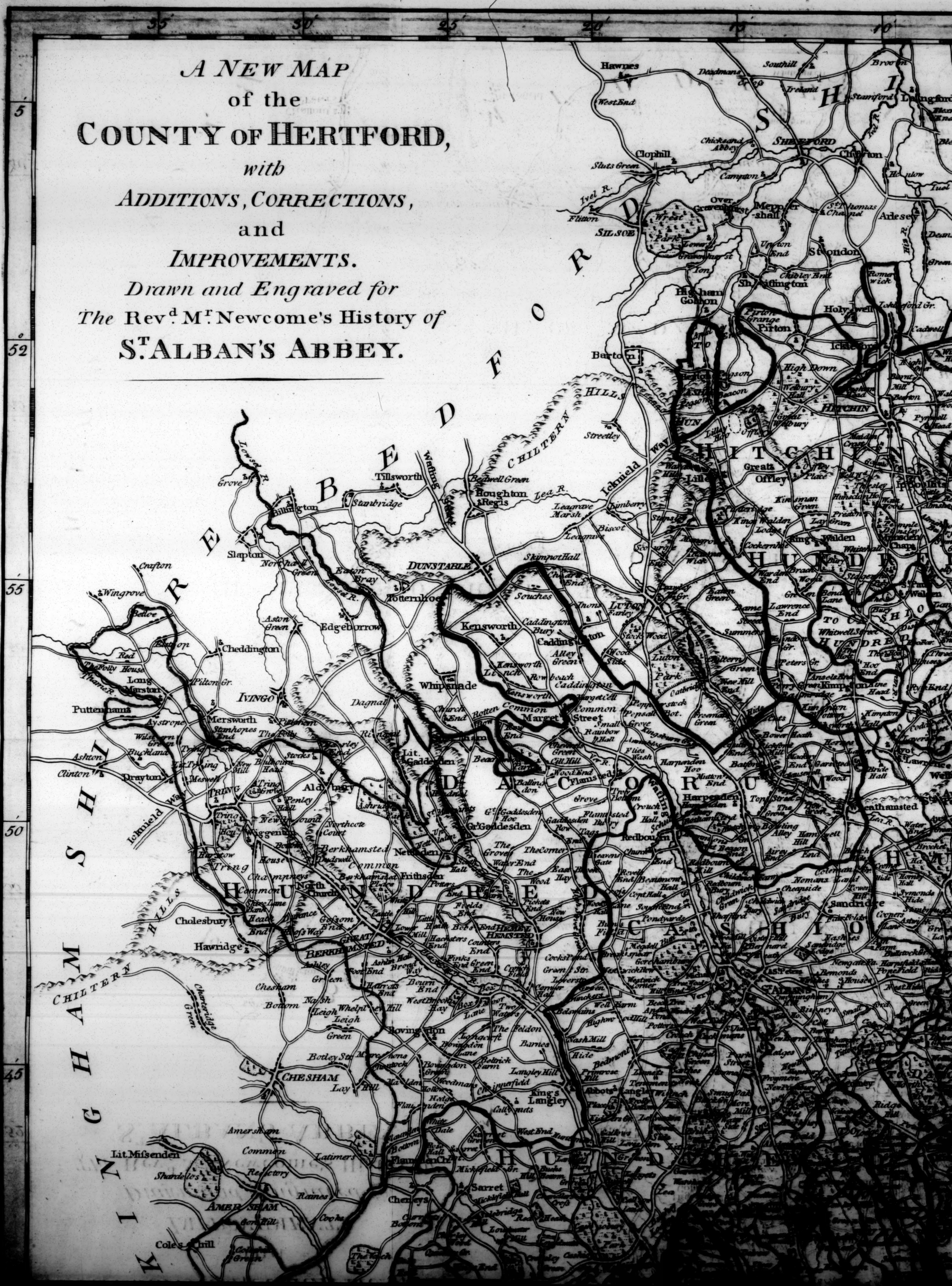
die for the truth that gave the new eſtabliſhment a firm and ſtable foundation; when neither the will of the prince nor the laws of his parliaments could have been able, without that cement, to effect a new conſtruction and edifice.

The ſtudy of antiquity is no longer confined to the contemplation of ruſt, but is now conducted on ſuch principles of real knowledge, that it is become a kind of liberal ſcience; and it hath received ſo much help and encouragement from the munificent care of our legiſlature, that every man who deals in reſearches owes to them abundance of thanks, for facilitating his enquiries. The author of this hiſtory hath drawn his materials from the moſt authentic ſources, and advanced nothing but what he finds written and recorded by moſt indiſputable authority. The firſt part, which comes down to Edward III. is furniſhed by Matthew Paris and by Walſingham: the firſt was a monk who lived in this abbey in the reign of Henry III. and whoſe writings ſhew (and all ſubſequent mention concurs), that he was a man of great diligence in collecting his annals, and of a temper too brave and independent, to comply with, or to flatter, the uſurping pretenſions of either the pope or the king; and, with this diſpoſition, he exhibits a veracity that muſt gain the credit of all his readers: the other likewiſe was a monk of this abbey, and lived about the time of Henry IV and V. The ſecond part extends from about 1340 to the diſſolution, and until the reign of Edward VI. in which period the ſame Walſingham, and many other manuſcripts little known (conſiſting of old chartularies, leiger books, and ſhort hiſtories, compiled in this abbey) ſet forth a continued and regular account of moſt great and material events. Of theſe manuſcripts ſome are

are in the Cotton Library, ſome among the Harleian Collections, and ſome in other libraries, as will be mentioned when they are quoted. The information that follows the diſſolution is drawn chiefly from the papers in the Augmentation Office: and the ſteps that preceded and accompanied the diſſolution, are verified by many authentic documents, collected by Rymer in the 14th volume of the *Fœdera*.

CHAP-

A NEW MAP
of the
COUNTY OF HERTFORD,
with
ADDITIONS, CORRECTIONS,
and
IMPROVEMENTS.
Drawn and Engraved for
The Rev.d Mr. Newcome's History *of*
S.t ALBAN'S ABBEY.



CAMBRIDGESHIRE
Foulmere
Melborne
Kneesworth
Ermin Street
CHILTERN HILLS
Ickleton
Great Chesterford
Little Chesterford
Ickneild Way
Millobury
Edworth
Blue Gate
Rhee Head
Lillington
Known's Folly
Elmdon
Littlebury
Heydon
Strethall
Gr.t Chisall
Lit Chisall
Smiths End
Abbots Bury
Newsells
Cockenhatch
Mills Green
Low Green
Sheepcote Gr.
Clavernig
Meesden
Meesden Green
Meesden Bury
Puddocks
Hormead Hall
Burnt Pelham
Pelham Hall
Beaches
Barlon
Gr.t Hormead
St Johns
Lit Hormead
White Barnes
Furneaux Pelham
Stoken Pelham
Park Green
Crabs Green
Mallows Gr.
Maunden
Parnham
Stansted Chap.
Hasle End
Upperwick
Upperwick Hall
Little Hadham
Lodge
Rye Street
Hadham Ford
Hadham Green Str.
Berry Gr.
Thorley
Thorley Street
Spellbrook
Bursted
Tedmanbury
Parsonage
Hockeril
Stortford Mill
Little Hallingbury
Hatfield Heath
Sheering
Pincey Brook
Harlow
Lit.
Parndon
Gr. Parndon
Nasing Bury
Nasing
Nasing Long Green
Puddocks
Hallifield
Coppin Brook
Sewardston
Harlow Mill
Stansted
Eastwick
Roydon
Graves
Ware
Thundridge
Wadford
Blakesmore
Hadham Mill
Shingley Hall
Gilston
Sabridgeworth
Hide Hall
Hatfield
Pishobury
Rodericks
Vantorts
Sayes Park
New Place
Hunsdon
Bennington Hall
Amwell
Balls
Bayford
Brickendon
Brickendon Green
Goose Green
Broxbourne
Wormley
Wormley Bury
Beaumont Green
Appleberry St.
Flamsted Common
Chesthunt
Cheshunt
Throbalds Park
Waltham Abbey
Hertford
Hertingfordbury
Ludwick Hide
Pedgate Hall
Holywell
Hatfield
Essendon
Bayford
Watton
Datchworth
Sacomb
Sacomb Gr.
Collier End
Hanging Wood
Standon Lordship
Bromley Hall
Leachford
Standon Lodge
Standon
Braughin
Braughin Green
Quinbury
Albury
Albury Lo.
Albury Hall
Hadham
Hadham Cross
Castle Bury
Knobbin Green
Perry Gr.
Great Hadham
Causeway
Widdial
Widdial Hall
Throcking
Throcking Ho.
Throcking Hall
Cottered
Rushden
Clothall
Clothall Bury
Broadfield
Lye End
Bushden
Willian
Letchworth
Wilbury Hill
Norton
Baldock
Baldock Mill
Walkern
Walkern Lodge
Walkern Bury
Sandon
Sandon Bury
Wallington
Wallington Bury
Reed
Reed End
Gammock
Kelshall
Kelshall Bury
Yardley
Yardley Hall
Yardley Gardeners End
Chesfield
Weston
Wymondley
Wymondley Rocks
Wymondley Priory
Gravely
Chivefield
Howells
Dane End
Bigrave
Bigrave Pl.
Neven ham
Stotfold
Astwick
Caldicot
Hinxworth
Hinxworth Place
Ashwell
Rubbing House
The Thrift
Odsey Course
Barkway
Barley
Newton Bottom
Reed
Buckland
The Horn
Daniels Green
Roe Green
Hide Hall
Chick's Wood
Red Hill
Wilbury Hill
Lytton
Lytton Gr.
Lytton Bury
Lytton Green
Lytton Hall
Lytton Wood
Lytton Farm
Lytton Lodge
Lytton Mill
Lytton Ford

with

ADDITIONS, CORRECTIONS,

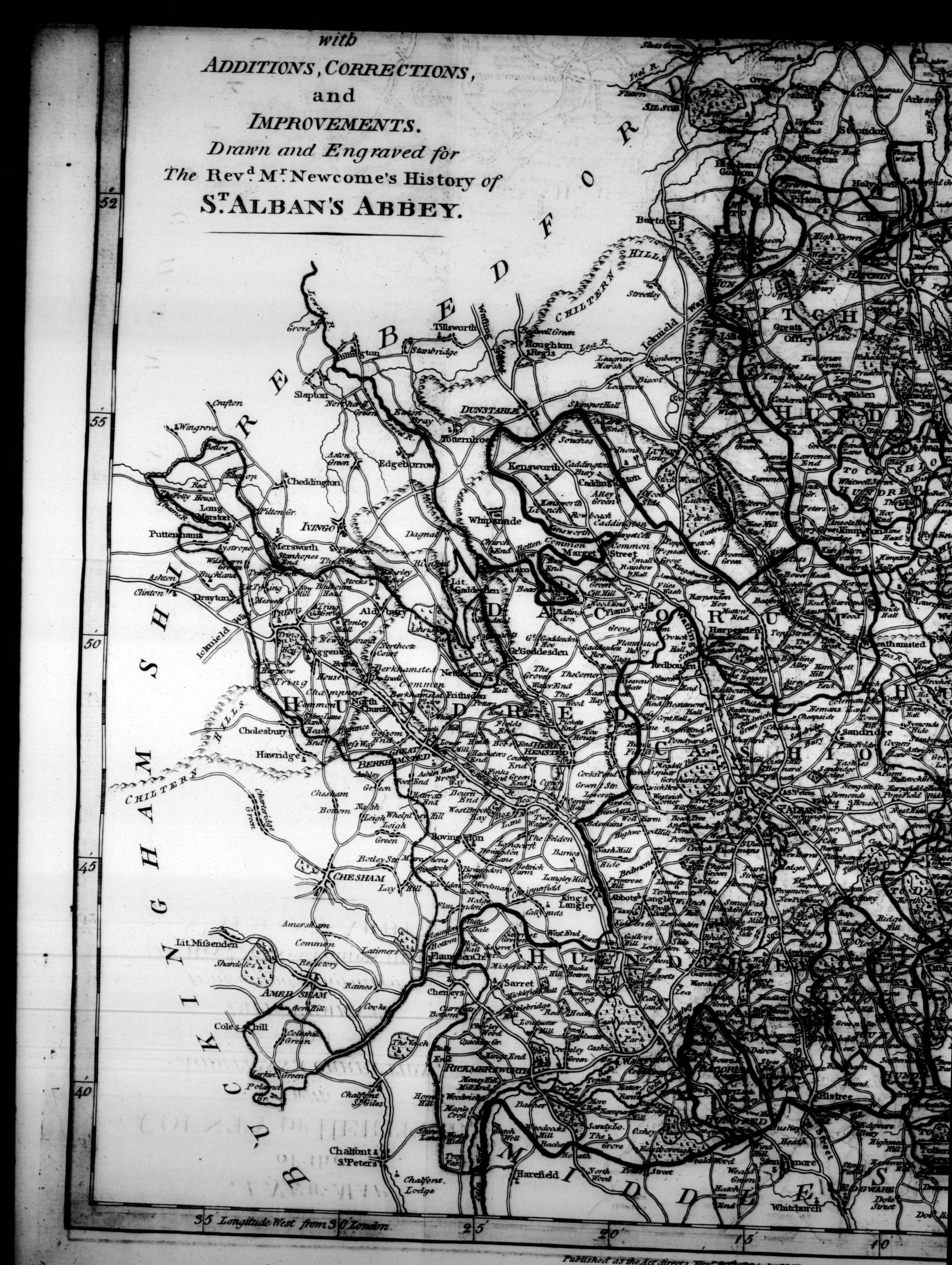
and

IMPROVEMENTS.

Drawn and Engraved for

The Rev.d Mr. Newcome's History *of*

ST. ALBAN'S ABBEY.



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Elmdon
Heydon
Strethall
Gr.t Chisall
Lit Chisall
Newsells
Barkway
Buckland
Low Green
Meesden
Sheepcote Gr.
Clavernig
Widdial
Puddocks
Burnt Pelham
Pelham Hall
Gr. Hormead
Lit. Hormead
Stokenpelham
Park Green
Mallows Gr.
Maunden
Albury
Braughin
Patmore Heath
Clapgate
Upperwick
Farnham
Stanstead Chap.
Hadham
Little Hadham
Rye Street
Great Hadham
Thorley
Twyford Mill
Spellbrook
Bursted
Tednambury
Parsonage
Sabridgeworth
Hide Hall
Hatfield Hearth
Gilston
Eastwick
Sheering
Harlow
Pincey Brook
Roydon
Lit.
Parndon
Graves
Ware
Gr. Parndon
Nasing Bury
Nasing
Nasing Long Green
Puddocks
Hallifield
Cobbin Brook
Sewardston
Sewardston Green
Chingford Green
Chingford
Waltham Abbey
Throcking
Layston
Buntingford
Aspenden
Wakeley
Yardley
Walkern
Stevenage
Moss Bury
Benington
Walkern Lodge
Fox Hall
Clay End
Aston End
Walkern Wood
Bigrave Place
Bigrave
Throcking Hall
Throcking Bury
Cottered
Broadfield
Rushden
Clothall
Baldock
Baldock Mill
Norton
Hunsdon
Sandon
Wallington
Wallington Bury
Reed
Reed End
Gannock
Sandon Bury
Daniels
Roe Green
Great End
Hide Hall
Red Hill
Willian
Letchworth
Wymondley
Chesfield
Graveley
Weston
Jacks House
Lanock
Lucken Hall
Luffenhall
Farnham Hall
Rookes Nest
Dane End
Howells
Green End
Dean End
Stotfield
Ardeley
Cockernhoe
Bendish
Gustard Wood
Wheathampstead
Harpenden
Redbourn
Hemel Hempstead
Berkhamsted
Tring
Aldbury
Ivinghoe
Dunstable
Leighton Buzzard
Luton
Hitchin
Stevenage
Knebworth
Codicote
Welwyn
Ayot St Peters
Ayot St Lawrence
Tewin
Digswell
Brickendon
Bayford
Essendon
Hatfield
Holywell
Cuffley
Northaw
Potters Bar
Enfield
Hadley
Barnet
Totteridge
Finchley
Edmonton
Tottenham
Hornsey
Islington
Hackney
Stoke Newington
Kensington
Chelsea
Westminster
Lambeth
Southwark
Deptford
Greenwich
Blackheath
Woolwich
Plumstead
Lewisham
Dulwich
Camberwell
Peckham
Rotherhithe
Wapping
Limehouse
Poplar
Stepney
Whitechapel
Shoreditch
Clerkenwell
Holborn
Bloomsbury
Marylebone
Paddington
Hyde Park
Chelsea
Fulham
Putney
Wandsworth
Battersea
Clapham
Streatham
Norwood
Croydon
Sanderstead
Purley
Coulsdon
Caterham
Godstone
Oxted
Limpsfield
Westerham
Sevenoaks
Tonbridge
Tunbridge Wells
Hadlow
Maidstone
Malling
Wrotham
Dartford
Crayford
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Lewisham
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Tunbridge Wells
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Maidstone
Malling
Wrotham
Dartford
Crayford
Bexley
Erith

HUNDRED
HERTFORD
HUNDRED
BROADWATER
HUNDRED
DACORUM
HUNDRED
CASHIO
HUNDRED
EDWINSTREE
HUNDRED
ODSEY
HUNDRED
BRAUGHING
HUNDRED
STANDON
HUNDRED
HERTFORDSHIRE

British Statute Miles 69 to a Degree.
¼ ½ ¾ 1 2 3 4 5 6

52
55
50
45
40

0° 5' Meridian of London. 5' 10' Longitude East from London.

born London. For the Revd M.r Newcome R.r of Shenley Herts.

CHAPTER I.

Of Ancient Verulam.

THE firſt and earlieſt accounts that we have of this iſland and its inhabitants are from ſuch Romans as were actually preſent here and bore command; or elſe from the hiſtorians and writers at Rome who thought proper to commit to letters the tranſactions of thoſe Roman leaders. And theſe little remains of hiſtory give us a very mean opinion of the Britons when the Romans firſt viſited them, under Cæſar, in the year 54, before the Birth of Chriſt. The firſt mention of the Britons is from Cæſar himſelf; who carried his arms from Gaul with a view to make a conqueſt; or at leaſt to ſatisfy a learned curioſity: and the following intimations of the Britons come from Tacitus and Cæſar. From their accounts it is certain, that the Britons had no cities, towns, or buildings, of any laſting materials, or any fixed duration (a). Civitas, whenever mentioned by Cæſar, means only a confederacy and alliance of men, united for the purpoſes of government; and he expreſsly ſaith, book V. 17, 'that 'their towns were nothing more than places fortified or made defen- 'ſible by woods, or bogs and ditches; and that theſe were made uſe 'of as dwellings only in war; for in peace they lived ſcattered and 'diſperſed.' And the ſame may be underſtood of the Britons, which Herodian ſaith, lib. 7, of the Germans; 'that their habita-

(a) Cæſar ſays, B. V. cap. 10, Ædificia Gallicis conſimilia, plurima.

'tions were mean, becauſe they did not underſtand the way of build-
'ing with brick or ſtone.' And, therefore, we may well give credit to Tacitus, when he ſays of Agricola, that, 'whereas the Britons 'were diſperſed and rude, and thereby the more prone and ready for 'war, he gave them encouragement to build temples, forums, and 'houſes.' Agric. cap. **XXI.** And in this reſpect doth *oppidum* in theſe writers differ from *civitas*; that, whereas the laſt meant only a community or kind of civil inſtitution, the firſt meant a place of ſecurity and mutual aid and help, *ab ope*. And the *caſtella* of theſe authors ſignifies ſuch places as the Romans had made ſtrong and defenſible, with buildings and works after the manner of their own country.

It is obſervable that Cæſar names no particular city or town, yet deſcribes the town of Caſſivelaunus; and, from the progreſs of Cæſar and his diſtance from the Thames, and from that King's being the head or chief of the league, and probably from his name, which ſignifies the King of the Caſſii, his town might be no other than what was then and afterwards called Verulam: and this conjecture receives much ſtrength from this circumſtance, that the place and ſituation of Verulam did exactly anſwer the deſcription of a Britiſh town, *ſilvis paludibuſque munitum*, ſo long as the great pool and lake remained, which is now turned to dry land. Cæſar adds, that on his arrival before the place, he finds it *egregiè naturâ atque opere munitum*; but incapable of ſuſtaining the aſſault of his ſoldiers; who, making their attack on two ſides, gained the town; and the enemy after ſome delay fled out on another ſide. Cæſ. Com. V. 17.

Under Auguſtus no attempts were made againſt Britain; nor under the two following Emperors, untill the reign of Claudius. Tacitus ſays (a) 'that Britain ſuffered a long oblivion; the Emperor 'Auguſtus calling it prudence and good advice to forbear it; Tibe-'rius would have it be looked on as an injunction on him to forbear. 'The next Emperor, Caligula, from the fickleneſs and mutability of 'his temper, and from the ſeditions and wars among the Germans, 'turned no thoughts towards this iſland.' Claudius, on conſultation with Veſpaſian, reſumed the conqueſt of it, and ſent over an army under the command ot Aulus Plautius; and he was ſoon after ſuccedeed by Oſtorius Scapula. Such was the ſucceſs of their arms, that the part of Britain next to Gaul was reduced to the form of a province; and a colony of veterans was eſtabliſhed at a place called Camalodunum or Maldon (b). Didius Gallus next commanded; and after him Vera-

(a) In Agricola, cap. 13. (b) Ibidem, cap. 14.

nius,

nius, who died within the year; and he was ſucceeded by Paulinus Suetonius. This general, anno 61, carried his arms to the weſtern ſide of the iſland, and was preparing to aſſault and vanquiſh the iſle of Angleſey (Mona); from whence he found the enemy received great ſuccours, and which was the principal ſeat of the Druids, who were the rulers and counſellors of the land. His conqueſt of this place had ſcarce ſucceeded, when news was brought that the Britons in the province, viz. the Iceni and the Trinobantes, under the conduct of Boadicia, had taken arms; and aſſaulted the colony, and ſlain all the Romans therein; and then, marching away to meet Petilius Cerialis, a lieutenant coming to the aid of the colony with the ninth legion, had routed the legion, and ſlain all the foot; the horſe having eſcaped.

This was the firſt colony planted by the Romans in Britain, and is an argument of the ſafe footing (as they thought) they had got there, and of the ſubmiſſion of its inhabitants. But the total overthrow of the colony, and the immenſe ſlaughter made of the Romans through the province, amounting to 70,000, according to Tacitus (a), ſhews too the fierce reſentments of the ancient Britons, and the weak ſtate in truth of their new maſters. Suetonius quitted Mona, and marched back to London (and this is the firſt mention in ancient hiſtory of this place), which ſays the hiſtorian was *Cognomento quidem coloniæ non inſigne, ſed copiâ negotiatorum et commeatuum maximè celebre:* this ſhews that London was then very conſiderable as a port, and much frequented by merchants and traders. And by the heſitation of Suetonius, whether he ſhould ſave London and abandon the reſt, or preſerve the reſt at the loſs of this place only, and by his chuſing the latter, it appears that London was then a very conſiderable place in the province, and moſt convenient for communication with the continent; but ſtill not a place choſen for a colony. Tacitus ſays alſo (b), that Verulamium, a free town, was involved in the ſame deſtruction; and hints that this was a rich and opulent town, and therefore was a greater temptation to a plundering foe than mere caſtles and military poſts; all which the enemy paſſed by, in order to make a good booty at Verulam: *Omiſſis caſtellis, præſidiiſque militum, quod uberrimum ſpoliant, et defenſoribus intutum; læti prædâ, et aliorum ſegnes petebant.*

Suetonius having determined to abandon London, notwithſtanding the tears and intreaties of the people there who had eſcaped the maſſacre, ſought the enemy, under the command of Boadicia; and, though attended with only ten thouſand men, attacked and defeated the Bri-

(a) Ann. L. XIV. cap. 33. (b) Eod. cap.

tons;

tons; and ſlew in the battle and purſuit near 80,000, as Tacitus reports; and with the loſs of 400 Romans ſlain, and as many wounded. The place of this ſignal defeat is deſcribed by the hiſtorian as being very narrow and confined; *Deligitque locum arctis faucibus, & a tergo ſylva clauſum, & in fronte apertam planitiem.* But it is uncertain where to fix it among the Iceni and Trinobantes; as it is a deſcription that may ſuit a thouſand places, even at this time; and therefore probably was ſuitable to many more, when the country was in its wild and natural ſtate. But thus much may be ſaid, that, having but a ſmall army, he choſe a place between two hills or eminences, *anguſtias loci pro munimento*; which being immoveable, and having undergone no ſuch change as the wood in the rear, and the plain in front, poſſibly may, this circumſtance may lead the curious antiquary to form good conjectures as to the ſpot where this memorable battle was fought (a).

Tacitus ſays, that as many as 70,000 Roman citizens and their allies periſhed in that inſurrection of the Britons, at the three places which he has mentioned; namely, the Colony, London, and Verulam. Which great number proves how numerous and how well ſettled the Romans were in the province, and eſpecially in theſe three towns or cities. At the colony they had built a temple in honour of the Emperor Claudius, ſet up an image of victory, and inſtituted a prieſthood for the ſolemnities of religion. But they had not encloſed the ſeat of their colony (Camalodunum) with any fortification; *dum amœnitati prius quam uſui conſulitur* (b). And thus, in the midſt of apparent peace, they were on a ſudden ſurrounded by the enemy, and cut off; and even the ninth legion, coming to their relief, ſhared the ſame fate. London ſeems at this time to have received no augmentation of honours, or any advantage whatever, from the Romans; but to have been conſidered as a great port and place of merchandize; whereas Camalodunum being converted into a colony (for certainly it was before a Britiſh town), and thereby ſettled with a number of veterans, *in coloniam Camalodunum recens deducti* (c), now became a place of arms, the ſeat of juſtice (for Catus Decianus was there as Procurator, and not far from the place, with 200 men, when the Britons made the aſſault), and the capital alſo of the new province. Theſe firſt improvements make this probable, and alſo its middle ſituation between the Iceni on the Eaſt and the Trinobantes on the Weſt; whereas London was too near one extremity; and perhaps Verulam was on the limits of the pro-

(a) Tac. An. XIV. 37. (b) Ann. XIV. 31. (c) Tac. Agric. XIV. 31.

vince

vince weſtward, and thought ill ſituated for the capital of their new conqueſt, but well adapted for its boundary and barrier. But as Tacitus calls Verulam a Municipium, this denotes its augmentation and advancement ſince it had been ſubject to the Romans; who would ſcarce have given the old inhabitants the privilege of bearing offices, and of participating in a corporation or local government, unleſs there had been a coalition between them, and a friendly underſtanding. Or, more properly ſpeaking, the diſtinction between the Colonia and the Municipium was this, that, whereas in the firſt the kind of government inſtituted therein was purely Roman, and none but the Roman ſoldiers or citizens brought thither could be choſen magiſtrates, or have a vote in the choice; in the Municipium the old inhabitants were allowed theſe privileges, and enjoyed a participation of the ſame rights of office and government, of law and property, as the Romans themſelves; and this was eſteemed the moſt prudent, as well as moſt honourable way of treating their vanquiſhed foes. In this ſtate was Verulam when the Britons deſtroyed it and its people, in 61 years after Chriſt; and to this pre-eminence had it riſen ſince Aulus Plautius firſt invaded Britain, in the year of Chriſt 42, and ſecond of Claudius. Dio ſaith that Claudius paſſed into Britain in perſon, and, having joined Plautius, took the command of the army, and conducted the enterprize againſt Cunobelin, whoſe chief city was Camalodunum; and, having defeated him, thus got poſſeſſion of that place. Veſpaſian and Titus, afterwards emperors, ſerved in theſe wars under Plautius, and ſignalized themſelves by their ſucceſſes in the Iſle of Wight, and in fighting the enemy 30 times. Veſpaſian commanded the 2d legion. Plautius commanded only three years, and then returned to Rome; and Oſtorius came in the 10th of Claudius, or about the 50th of the Chriſtian æra, and died about four years after in the command; during whoſe time the colony was eſtabliſhed at Camalodunum; the famous King of the Ordovices, Caractacus, defeated and taken priſoner; and the Roman authority acknowleged by the Iceni and the Trinobantes; that is, by the people who inhabit the preſent counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the counties of Eſſex and Middleſex.

The flouriſhing ſtate of Camalodunum, before its overthrow in 61, and likewiſe of Verulam, may be well conceived from this circumſtance, viz. that there are now extant coins with both names on them, probably ſtruck by the Romans in memory of their ſucceſſes, and the eſtabliſhment made at the former by Claudius (a).

Nero, then Emperor, ſent reinforcements to Suetonius, out of Germany; being a ſupply of 2000 legionary ſoldiers, 8 cohorts of

(a) See Camden.

auxiliaries, and 1000 horſe. By which means the 9th legion was reinſtated and compleated; but Suetonius was hindered from proſecuting the war by ſome diſſentions that aroſe between him and the new Procurator, Julius Claſſicianus, who had been ſent in the place of Catus, on which Suetonius delivered up his commiſſion to Petronius Turpilianus. This commander, and others who ſucceeded him, were content to act on the defenſive, and nothing of enterprize was attempted untill Veſpaſian (now Emperor, and whoſe fame and exploits were well remembered in Britain) ſent over Julius Agricola to command the 20th legion, Vectius Bolanus being lieutenant, or chief commander; but his commiſſion expiring this year, Petilius Cerealis ſucceeded, and the next year (after Chriſt 72) Agricola had the command. And in that ſummer he made a conqueſt of the Iſle of Mona, or Angleſey. In the ſecond year of his command Veſpaſian died; but he was continued in his employ under Titus, and then under Domitian; and, through envy only, recalled by him in the year 92. The chief exploits of his arms had appeared in the north of this iſland; and, therefore, nothing was done by him towards a re-eſtabliſhment of the colony at Camalodunum, or of the municipium at Verulam. Nevertheleſs, all the ſouthern part of the iſland was in ſubjection to the Romans; and theſe places recovered by virtue of peace and quiet, and under the command of ſuch inferior officers, both civil and military, as were poſted in them. And nothing ſo much demonſtrates the diligence and attention of the Romans in improving their new conqueſts, as the great number of cities or towns which they had built and augmented, and the military ways which they had eſtabliſhed, by the time when Antoninus cauſed his ſurvey or itinerary to be framed, about 155 after Chriſt.

For, beſide Camalodunum, they had Canonium, which is well conjectured by Biſhop Gibſon to be Writtle, and not, as Camden ſuppoſed, Chelmsford; alſo Cæſaromagus, or Dunmow, and Colonia, or Colcheſter, all in the neighbourhood of Camalodunum. This laſt place (Colonia) has been miſtaken by ſome for the colony which Claudius eſtabliſhed; but by Tacitus that colony is expreſsly named Camalodunum; and Colonia was a military ſtation, on a place whoſe name was eaſily latinized, perhaps, from ſome Britiſh word; and if a conjecture be allowed, as we find many places called from the trees moſt prevalent in them, as Berkſhire from the birch-trees, Oakley from the Oaks, Bucks from the beech-trees, juſt as Chenies from the Norman les chênes (oaks), why may not Colonia have come from the Britiſh côllen, which ſignifies hazels; but certain it is that the ſaid town, called Colonia, had ſome origin of that nature and likeneſs, becauſe the name

of

of the river is Coln, and ſeveral villages adjoining therto; as, Coln Engaine, Earls Coln, and White Coln, are ſo named from the river. All which were either derived from one common and general root, or elſe were places within the limits and juriſdiction of Colonia (a).

As for Verulam, it is quite uncertain whence it derived its name; for, though the Britiſh tongue hath Ffêr for ſtrong, and although there was a town in Italy, not far from Rome, among the Hernici, called Verulæ, I will not affirm either of theſe to be the origin of Verulam.

The towns in the vicinity of Verulam, we find by the Itinerary, (and probably there were no other towns beſide thoſe that ſtood on the highway, though there might be Stations) were Sullomacæ; which Camden would place at Blochley Hill. Which latter place agrees with the diſtances both from London and from Verulam with the Itinerary. And on the other ſide is Durocobrivæ, which he would place at Flamſtead, 7 miles from Verulam. But there is ſtill viſible, beſide the Watling Street way, or road from London to Verulam, another original Roman road, through the foreſt of Enfield Chaſe, called at this day Camlet Way; and which ſeems to have been the road from Verulam to Camalodunum, or Canonium. Magiovinium alſo, in the Itinerary, muſt probably be Dunſtable, which has at this day the ruined aſpect of ſomething once great, regular, and conſiderable. It ſtands at the point where the Ikenild Way croſſes the Watling Street Way; and, though no mention is made of it earlier than its being much improved, and augmented with a royal houſe, and a monaſtery, by Henry I. yet it is probable that it was in the Romans time a conſiderable and handſome town.

Cæſar ſays (a) 'that the maritime parts of Britain were chiefly 'inhabited by people from Gaul and the Belgæ; who called their new 'towns and habitations by the names of thoſe places which they had left.' We cannot diſcern any marks of this in Verulam, nor find any name in Gaul that bears a reſemblance to it. And therefore it is probably of Britiſh origin; and, as that language has in it the word bêrff, ſignifying a ſpear, and llan denoting a place for ſuch particular uſes, it is poſſible that the firſt Britiſh name might ſignify ſomething military, a place of arms; eſpecially if Caſſivelaunus, the King and General againſt Cæſar, had here his palace and reſidence.

(a) And that Colcheſter had its name from being ſeated on the Coln, and that this river was ſo called from the trees there moſt abounding, may be thought farther probable from this circumſtance; that in the county of Gloceſter there is a river of this name; and near it, a village or pariſh called Hazleton; and a few miles further off, another village called Nutgrove. And there are many rivers in England called Coln.

(a) Com. L. V. cap. 10.

The Romans made a compleat conqueſt of the whole iſland ſouth of the rampart, which Hadrian drew from Carliſle to Newcaſtle, and which was repaired and much improved by the Emperor Severus. And in the vicinity of that wall or barrier, they had more poſts and ſtations, and of courſe there are now more remains of Roman antiquity, than any where elſe in the kingdom. The ſouth and weſt parts of Britain being in a more quiet and ſubmiſſive ſtate, fewer garriſons were kept there, and conſequently fewer Roman towns or antiquities of any ſort are there to be found or diſcovered. The ſovereignty of the Romans laſted until the middle of the 5th century (a), though not without frequent rebellions and inſurrections; and the conſtant guard or army for keeping the conqueſt had been at leaſt three legions of verterans, and great numbers of auxiliaries, levied in other countries, and quartered in different parts of Britain. In the time of Severus the ſtanding army of the empire was 29 legions, of 6000 men each; of which three were aſſigned for the cuſtody of Britain, beſides perhaps as many more in Dalmatian horſe, and other foreign auxiliaries. One legion, viz. the 2d, and afterward the 20th, was ſtationed a long time at Cheſter; the 6th was fixed at York; and perhaps the other, which probably was the 9th, might be ſtationed at the wall or frontier. In order to keep the country quiet, the Romans employed vaſt numbers of the country people, together with their ſoldiers, in conſtructing the military ways or roads, remaining to this day, and in many places viſible. Our ancient hiſtorians mention only four, and in the laws of Edward the Confeſſor there is mention made, *De pace quatuor Cheminorum*; but there were many more, according to the Itinerary, though perhaps only four might be kept up and ſupported by the Saxons and the Saxon kings.

Now, when we ſurvey this iſland as the place where once the Romans, the moſt potent and poliſhed people on the earth, bore ſway, and held all in ſubjection, we are apt to imagine that they ſhould form great cities, conſtruct vaſt bridges, or aqueducts, erect ſtately temples, and build places like thoſe at Rome for the public baths; or, as amphitheatres. for the pleaſure and amuſement of the people. But no veſtages of that ſort are to be found; no great bridge that ſhould ſtand for ages; no remains or even the column of a temple; no forum; no public baths; no ruined palace, or even town; no great pier for the better convenience of an harbour; no marks, in ſhort, of their grandeur and magnificence, and ſcarce of their power or con-

(a) The laſt Roman legion quitted Britain in 420, being called away to oppoſe the Goths and Barbarians, who were then laying waſte the empire on the continent.

venience,

venience; although Bede, (lib 1.) ſays they had built 28 cities, beſide many villages and country ſeats: and nothing of their conſtructing now remains, except an old gateway, ſuppoſed to be Roman, at Canterbury; and another at Leiceſter; and the ruins of Severus's Wall. From which circumſtance it may be concluded, that they looked on Britain ſcarce as a part of the empire, but as unworthy of their improving or adorning; and that they thought it only a conquered land, that would yield a tribute, and ſend a large revenue to the Imperial Treaſury. And, indeed, on comparing this country with moſt others which they ſubdued, and held only a few years, inſtead of near 400, it is amazing to find ſo few remains of improvement; either in building or opening ports; or cultivating the land; or in eſtabliſhing any method of employing their new ſubjects; or in contriving new ways of enriching thoſe people, whom they meant to ſpoil and plunder. They exhauſted, but they did not ſupply. And perhaps this low idea of Britain was taken up from its inſular ſituation, and its diſtance from the ſeat of empire; and what is more, from their making no ſuch uſe of the ocean and a naval power, as future nations and later ſtateſmen have done; who, to their honour be it ſaid, have contrived to enrich the ſubject, as the beſt way of adding to the ſtrength of the ſovereign power.

When the Romans quitted Britain, in the year 420, and withdrew the laſt of their armed force for the defence of Gaul and Italy, Britain was ſoon after invaded by the Picts, and Scots; and the Saxons, who were accuſtomed to the ſea, made deſcents and invaſions on the coaſts towards the North Sea. And in the courſe of this century, and indeed about the middle of it, all the nations of the north, as if by public conſent, broke looſe from their cold inhoſpitable regions; and came down in vaſt armies to the warm and plentiful regions of the ſouth. Such national migrations were not wholly new, but theſe in this age far ſurpaſſed all former examples. The Scythians, in the early ages of the Perſian Empire, had come down from the preſent Ruſſia, and ravaged all Aſia Minor, and held it in ſubjection for 28 years; but were afterwards vanquiſhed. The Gauls had marched under Brennus about the year 300 of Rome, and ſeized, plundered, and burnt, that capital. The Cimbri and Teutones had quitted their own country (now called Denmark), and had over-run the greateſt part of Gaul; but were defeated with great ſlaughter by Marius, in the year 102 before Chriſt. The Helvetians alſo, a few years after, marched out of Switzerland, in order to ſeek a more comfortable place of abode; but were ſtopped and vanquiſhed by Cæſar. And many inſtances of ſuch

like partial emigrations may be produced; but the multitudes that poured forth from all parts of the north at this time, quite from Tartary in the eaſt to Norway in the weſt, were too numerous and too potent to be checked by any oppoſition; and, though often defeated, yet ſettled themſelves in almoſt every country in the ſouth; and on the ruins of the Roman Empire erected ten diſtinct ſovereignties.

Britain ſhared in the common calamity, being oppreſſed by the Picts and Scots as ſoon as quitted by the Romans: Vortigern, a prince of the weſt part of Britain, was choſen commander; and he, finding himſelf and his countrymen unable to repel the foe from the north, propoſed an alliance with the Saxons for their aid and aſſiſtance. The Saxon leaders agreed; and it was ſtipulated, as the price of their ſervice, that they ſhould ſettle themſelves without moleſtation in the corner of the country afterwards called Kent; than which no part of England could be choſen more convenient and ſuitable for them, conſidering them as a naval people, and ſtanding in need of every convenience of life on their firſt ſettling. Hengiſt and Horſa landed in Thanet in 449, and the covenant was ratified by Vortigern's taking in marriage Rowina the daughter of Hengiſt. They aſſiſted him in repelling the Picts and Scots; and, having ſent for more troops from Saxony, they became ſo powerful, that they forgot their firſt condition of allies and mercenaries; and in 454 erected *Kent* into a kingdom. And thus by degrees, their countrymen coming over in great numbers, they next, under Ella, in 491, founded the kingdom of *South Saxons*; that is, over the next counties to Kent, viz. Suſſex, and Surrey. Then, ſpreading farther along the ſouth and weſt coaſt, they maſtered all the country from the laſt kingdom to the Land's end, and round northward to the Severn; and bounded theſe acquiſitions by the river Avon and the Thames, and by a line from Briſtol to Lechlade. And this *Third* ſettlement in the year 519, under Cerdic, was denominated the kingdom of the Weſt Saxons. Eight years after, theſe people got poſſeſſion of the country adjoining to the Thames northward, and occupied thoſe tracts which were afterwards called Eaſt Seax and Middle Seax: and here was erected the *Fourth* kingdom by Erchenwin, in 527.

Theſe people, with a prudent degree of policy, had hitherto ſettled cloſe to each other; and doubtleſs for the purpoſe of mutual aid. And they had ſettled as far as poſſible from that vexatious foe, whom they had beaten out of Britain; and who would have fallen on the Saxons out of ancient grudge, had the Saxons attempted to ſettle near them while the enmity was freſh. But now, after 100 years, the Saxons got poſſeſſion of the country to the north of the Humber; and occupied

pied all that tract which reached to Caledonia and the Picts Wall; and which was bounded on the ſouth by the Humber, and then by the Dunn and croſs the land to the Merſey. And here was erected the *Fifth* kingdom under Ida in 547. Another tribe of Saxons, called Angles, ſeated themſelves in the tract contiguous to the Eaſt Saxons, on the northward; and in 575, under the conduct of Uffa, eſtabliſhed a *Sixth* kingdom, where Suffolk and Norfolk are now ſituated; and extended it weſtward over Cambridgeſhire and the Iſle of Ely.

Thus all the coaſts of the iſland were occupied by theſe invaders, except what was afterwards the county of Lincoln; and all the inland parts remained in the poſſeſſion of the Britons. But this country, extending from the Humber to the Thames, and bordering on the limits of the other Saxon ſettlements, was conquered by Crida in 582; and the Britons driven back beyond the Severn: where they ever after defended themſelves againſt any further aſſaults from theſe fierce invaders. And this tract was called the Kingdom of Mercia, or, as it were, the Kingdom of the Boundaries, being limited by the bounds of all the other ſix, and occupying all the vacant ground between them and their enemies the Britons; for *Mars*, in the language of the Britons, ſignifies the marches or borders of a country; and *mark*, or *merc*, is the ſame alſo in the Saxon. This kingdom was the largeſt, if not the moſt powerful, of the whole Heptarchy; comprehending all the middle counties of England: but, under the conduct of Peada it acquired great ſtrength and renown. This warlike Prince, during a reign of 50 years, was engaged in continual hoſtilities with his neighbours; and ſlew in battle three kings of the Eaſt Angles, and two of the greateſt princes who had filled the throne of Northumberland; but was himſelf defeated and ſlain by Oſwy, king of Northumberland, in 655.

Now during theſe conflicts no mention is made of Verulam, nor of any tranſaction there, although it had been a capital city of the Romans; except this, that Uter Pendragon, a Britiſh prince, had fought the Saxons in a great battle at this place, and received a dangerous wound: and lay a long time confined to his bed (a): and that he was cured at length by reſorting to a well or ſpring not far diſtant from the city, at that time reputed ſalubrious; and for that reaſon, and for the cures thereby performed, eſteemed holy; and bleſſed in a peculiar manner with the favour of Heaven. Brompton, who lived in the time of Richard II. ſays this. But no earlier hiſtorian mentions any other tranſaction at Verulam, during the conteſt between the Britons and the Saxons.

(a) In lecto detentus. *M. Paris.*

The Mercians were in continual conflicts with ſome of the other kingdoms; and, when Offa aſcended the throne, in 755, he found them warlike and enterprizing. He waged war with the King of Kent, and defeating him, in 774, in a great battle at Otford, near the river Darent in that county, compelled him to be tributary. He gained alſo a great victory over Kenulph, the King of Weſſex, in 778, at Benſington in Oxfordſhire, and ſecured that part of his dominion from any further incurſions from that quarter. His ſucceſſes raiſed in his breaſt a temptation of getting the Kingdom of the Eaſt Angles; but not by the glory of war, or the atchievements of valour; nor by any conduct that could reflect honour on a regal character. He treacherouſly ſlew the young King Ethelbert, while he was making ſuit to his daughter Elfrida; and had been invited to Hereford with all his nobles, in order to celebrate the nuptials. Ethelbert being the laſt of the royal family, Offa ſeized the kingdom, and ſubdued the people by violence. He ſought to retrieve his character, and perhaps appeaſe the remorſe of his conſcience, by paying court to the clergy, by practiſing all the monkiſh devotions which in that age of ignorance and ſuperſtition were in the greateſt eſteem. He gave a tenth of all his goods to the Church; preſented rich donations to the Cathedral of Hereford; and even made a pilgrimage to Rome. In this place he thought his riches and power would procure him abſolution; and he offered the Pope to maintain a college of Engliſh youths at Rome, out of his revenues; and to that purpoſe impoſed a tax on every houſe poſſeſſing *Thirty* pence a year, of one penny. Which impoſition was levied and ſent to Rome, and called *Peter's pence*; and continued to be ſent, though afterwards claimed as a right of the Papal See, until the ſame was aboliſhed, in 1534, by an act of Parliament which aboliſhed all *procurations*, *delegations*, *bulls*, and *diſpenſations*, from the biſhop of Rome. Rapin attributes the tax of Peter's pence (then called Romeſcot) to Ina, the great and illuſtrious King of Weſſex, for the maintenance of a college at Rome which he had founded for Engliſh youth; and that Offa only extended this tax over his own kingdom. His journey to Rome was made in 791; and here, in further expiation of his ſins, he undertook to build a ſtately church and monaſtery to the memory of *St. Alban* and Honorius. The ſame year he ſet about this work; and died in 794.

Such are the general outlines of the character of Offa. But there are many particulars to be gathered that caſt a light on his virtues and vices. And as he became famous for his piety at laſt, and was the founder of that religious endowment which gives riſe to this hiſtory, it is neceſſary to take a nearer view of his qualities and his character.

That

That wicked contrivance of ſeizing the kingdom of Ethelbert, and putting him to death, in violation not only of all rights of hoſpitality, but of all laws human and divine, was ſuggeſted (ſays *M. Paris*) by his wife and conſort Drida; whom, in abhorrence of her crime, he cauſed to be thrown headlong into a well, becauſe that was the puniſhment ſhe had deviſed againſt the virtuous Ethelbert. This woman, ſays the ſame hiſtorian (in the Additions to his great work) had been a near relation to the King of France, and for ſome heinous crime had been condemned to die; but in compaſſion to her ſex, ſhe was put out to ſea in an open boat, without ſails or rudder, to live or periſh at the mercy of the waves; when at length ſhe was taken up by ſome Engliſh ſeamen, brought to land, and ſaved from her horrid doom of periſhing in the ſea: that Offa was ſtruck with her adventure, contracted a paſſion, and married her; and that ſhe was henceforth ſtiled Quendrida, or Queen Drida. But ſhe called herſelf Petronilla or Parnel; and within the two firſt years bore ſons; the eldeſt of which was called Egfrid, who ſucceeded to the throne; and then ſhe bore three daughters, the eldeſt of which the King gave to Brithric, the King of the Weſt Saxons; the next to Ethelbert, King of the Northumbrians; and the third was ſolicited by Ethelbert, King of the Eaſt Angles, when he was treacherouſly murdered.

This potent monarch was ſo formidable to his neighbours in the beginning of his reign, that they confederated together for mutual defence, and intreated the King of France to accede to this alliance, and aſſiſt them, if attacked; and *M. Paris* has a letter written by them to that purpoſe. Theſe were the kings of Kent, of the Weſt Saxons, of the Northumbrians, of the South Saxons, and of the Eaſt Angles. In the letter they complain of his pride, and inſolence, and crafty devices; and accompany the letter with 1000 pieces of gold. Charles the King of France accepted the preſent, and ſent for anſwer a letter to Offa, 'commanding him to deſiſt from diſturbing Britain; and 'forbear to ſubjugate, by any ſort of means, the kings who bordered 'upon him, and who had lately united themſelves to him; that on 'ſuch an attempt, he would feel Charles, who was formidable to 'every mortal, hoſtile to him.'

Offa aſſembled his nobles and captains; and in a ſpeech accuſed the kings and Charles of a conſpiracy to ruin them and overturn the kingdom of Mercia; 'but now is the time,' ſaith he, 'when Charles is 'employed in foreign wars; let us fall on our enemies, and caſt them 'down, never to riſe more:' and inſtantly marched with his army to attack

attack the King of the Eaſt Angles. A bloody fight enſued, at a place called Feldhurd, and Offa gained the victory.

Charles, or Carloman, at this time died, in Saxony; and his brother, called afterwards Charlemagne, ſucceeded to his dominions. The Britiſh kings renewed their alliance with him, and he anſwered with high threats to Offa. The conſequence was that Offa marched againſt the King of Kent, and gained the great victory at Otford, wherein the Kentiſh monarch was ſlain: and Offa took poſſeſſion of that kingdom. He then turned his arms againſt Kenulph, King of the Weſt Saxons, who was ſecuring himſelf and confederate princes in a great caſtle at Benſington. In this they defended themſelves, and had alſo a great army in the field. The latter was completely vanquiſhed, and the former in a few days after ſurrendered; the kings having eſcaped by favour of the night. They fled with all poſſible haſte to Marmod or Merfyn, the King of Powis, in Wales; and were there ſheltered and protected. Offa wrote to this prince, charging the kings with plots, and conſpiracies and rebellion, againſt him their true and legal ſovereign (becauſe ſome of them had before been vanquiſhed by Offa or his anceſtors): concluding that Marmod would involve himſelf in the ſame calamities, by affording them aſſiſtance. The King (Marmod) and his nobles aſſembled, and having read the letter, they concluded the conſultation with this reſolution, 'that the powerful 'King of Wales ought by no means to fear that little king, Offa, who 'was ſilly, mad, and poſſeſſed by the devil.' *Marmodium potentem, Offam Regulum deſipientem et arreptitium minime debere formidare.* And Marmod charged the Ambaſſadors of Offa with this anſwer: 'that 'it would be an act of diſhonour and timidity to deſert thoſe who were 'worſted, when he had taken them under his protection, and ſhewn 'them compaſſion; and that, if Offa ſhould preſume to attack them, 'he would arm the whole force of Wales in their defence.'

Offa, in conſequence of this, ſent troops to take poſſeſſion of Kent; and by ſecuring the ſtrong poſts, preclude all hopes of the King's return. In the mean time he marched againſt the Potentate of Wales, and the fugitive princes; and having engaged, gave them a cruel and bloody defeat. This happened a few days before the feaſt of our Lord's nativity; when Marmod propoſed the following ſtratagem to his chiefs and allies: that they ſhould offer a truce to Offa during the ſucceeding ſolemnity; when, if the Saxons ſhould be rendered careleſs, and be put off their guard, he would fall on them by night, and exterminate the whole army of Offa. This treachery was approved: the truce being propoſed to Offa, it had his conſent; yet neither army made any re-

treat. The King then, for the better caution of each army, and by the conſent of both parties, cauſed a long and deep trench to be dug, with a very high bank thrown up on the ſide of England, to prevent any ſudden incurſion of the Britons. And, for the more ſafe and quiet celebration of divine offices in ſuch a ſeaſon of ſolemnity, he built a ſmall church. All which tranſactions were compleated in 12 days, and thoſe of the ſhorteſt; and the trench was named Offa's Dyke, and the church called Offkirke, even to this day, ſaith *M. Paris.*

The place of theſe tranſactions is not mentioned; but it is probable, nay certain, that it was near the preſent dyke, and towards the ſouthern end thereof; and it is very likely to be at Lantwardine in the north of Herefordſhire, where two camps are very diſtinct, with the river Teme between them. Here are marks alſo of the dyke(a). And this conjecture is favoured by this circumſtance, that Offa had a palace at Sutton, north of Hereford, and ſome remains are there to be ſeen; and here it was that he contrived the death of Ethelbert. Indeed, no ſuch place as Off-Kirke is here to be found; yet I cannot think that Warwick or Off church near it was the place of theſe memorable exploits: though it muſt be confeſſed that Warwick was founded by Warmand, the father of the firſt Offa. And probably Off-church might be of his founding and building. And Camden ſays, that here was a palace of Offa; and it was the place where Fremund, a ſon of Offa, was baſely murdered.

The ſtratagem of Marmod received every preparation that he thought requiſite; and, on the night following Chriſtmas Day, when Offa and his army were reſigned to ſleep and ſecurity, theſe combined kings made a fierce attack. They had employed the men of the country to level the ditch, and thus make an eaſy paſſage. The conflict was fatal to the Saxons; they underwent a ſevere and bloody defeat, were ſlain in great numbers, and Offa retreated; having ſuffered a loſs not to be recovered in a ſhort time. The next year he took poſt at the ſame place, and faced the enemy with new and well-appointed numbers. The Britons aſſembled on the ſame ſpot, thinking it lucky and

(a) It is viſible on Brachy-hill, near Lantwardine; and from Knighton it is continued over part of Shropſhire into Montgomeryſhire; paſſes over the long mountain of Kefn Digott, croſs the Severn to Llandrinio Common. Then it paſſes the Vyrnwy into Shropſhire, and going near Oſweſtry enters Denbighſhire; and may be plainly ſeen from Rhuabon to Plas Power, near Wrexham, and thence to Baſingweok, near Holywell, in Flintſhire; and was a work of many years; and compleated from the pattern of the rampart which Offa begun near Lantwardine; and intended to check and repreſs the incurſions of the Britons.

propitious

propitious to them; and engaged Offa with great fierceneſs and numerous bodies of men. A very bloody conteſt followed; the Britons were routed; the very plain was dyed with blood; and the victor gave orders to ſlay all the men and infants; and ſcarcely to ſhew mercy to the women: an order which, becauſe given by the king in his rage and fury, was executed, with moſt unheard-of ſlaughter. Thoſe who had been ſlain in fight he cauſed to be buried, together with his own men, in the ditch which the enemy had leveled; and cauſed all holy offices, and the maſs alſo, to be ſolemnized over them.

This laſt exploit happened in the year 775; and he had ſpent about ten years in theſe ſeveral military expeditions, in which he had at length defeated and worn down all his adverſaries. In this year he is ſaid, by *William of Malmſbury*, to have founded a monaſtery at Bath; which being afterwards demoliſhed by the ravaging Danes, was rebuilt by Elphage, who became biſhop of Bath, and then archbiſhop of Canterbury, about 980.

The King of France, who had written in ſuch menacing terms to Offa, on his entering into alliance with the petty kings of Britain, is called Charles by *M. Paris*; but it is probable that it was Carloman, the brother of Pepin, or elſe Pepin himſelf; becauſe the Great Charles, who afterwards became Emperor, was not even King of France, untill the year 771. But whoever was that king, he took no ſteps to aid and aſſiſt his allies. But on the ſucceſſion of Charles, who was at that time employed in Italy, and had vanquiſhed the Lombards and made captive their King Deſiderius, in 774, Offa ſent him ambaſſadors in form, bearing preſents of great (a) value and letters requeſting his friendſhip. To theſe Charles gave anſwer in terms of civility, and of piety; but without the leaſt mention of the affairs of Britain. And in a few days after, he ſent another letter to Offa; ſaying that Deſiderius, the Pagan King of the Lombards, and the generals and chiefs of the vanquiſhed Saxons, with many of their followers, had taken on them the vow of Baptiſm: ſtiling himſelf the moſt potent of the Chriſtian kings in the Eaſt; and Offa the moſt potent of thoſe in the Weſt. And theſe letters were accompanied with preſents and gifts; among which were ſome ſtatutes made in the provincial ſynods,

(a) Alcuin, a Benedictine monk, and abbot of Canterbury, was ſent to Charlemagne, to ſettle terms of peace, &c. He was detained by the Emperor, and was in ſuch favour as to be admitted to give him inſtruction as a preceptor; and he perſuaded Charlemagne to found the univerſity of Paris, and that of Pavia; and died abbot of St. Martyn at Tours, in 790.

which

which Charles recommended as containing the rudiments of the Chriſtian faith; but yet as very proper for the inſtruction of the Britiſh biſhops, whom he believed to be *rudes et incompoſitos*.

Theſe intimations, aided and encouraged by the general tranquillity of the kingdom, raiſed thoughts in Offa of making ſome regulations and alterations in epiſcopal matters; particularly the places of the reſpective ſees. Lambert, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, was thought to have his ſee too near the dominions of foreign powers; and it was charged on him in the preſence of the King, that he had promiſed Charles, before the late confederacy of the kings, that, if he would enter Britain with hoſtility, and come to their aid, he ſhould find free admiſſion into his archbiſhoprick, with all poſſible favour and aſſiſtance. And another motive with Offa was, an opinion that, where he had triumphed with glory over his enemies, there or near that place would the primacy and archiepiſcopal ſeat be moſt properly ſet up, and moſt devoutly reverenced. He ſent therefore to Pope Adrian proper meſſengers and preſents, requeſting that his 'holineſs would appoint (though contrary to the ancient and approved uſage) the Biſhop of Litchfield, named Ealdulph, to be an archbiſhop; and that all the provinces of the Mercians might be ſubject to this prelate.' The Pope conſented; and Ealdulph received the pall from Rome: but by this diviſion we are not to underſtand, that the whole power of the archbiſhop of Canterbury was aboliſhed, and the ſee removed to Litchfield; but that a third province was made, and archi-epiſcopal authority eſtabliſhed, at a new place, over a great part of the former province of Canterbury; for there remained to Lambert, and to his ſucceſſors, the biſhopricks of London, Rocheſter, Winton, and Shirburn. And, on the death of Ealdulph, Humbert was appointed to ſucceed him; who was chaplain to the King and Confeſſor, was privy to all his counſels and ſecrets, and was alſo the *Informator Morum*, or Regulator of his morals. This Archbiſhop of Lichfield begged the body of the young Prince Ethelbert, and depoſited the ſame with great ſolemnity in the cathedral of Lichfield; but it was afterwards carried to Hereford, and there buried, with a church built over it dedicated to his memory.

The King had now attained to old age, and had aſſociated his ſon as regent with him, and was paſſing his days in great tranquillity, when he conceived an intention of founding a monaſtery; and, in endowing the ſame, of giving to it the manor of Winſlow, where he was then dwelling. It ſeems as if he had many places of reſidence, for ſomething of his name appears in many villages and lands, as if

 they

they had been once belonging to him, if not the places of his abode; ſuch as Offley in Herts, Offington in Berkſhire, Ofton in Warwickſhire, Ofton in Suffolk, and High Ofley in Staffordſhire.

The monaſtic life had begun in Ægypt; where, about the year 210, a ſevere perſecution raged againſt all Chriſtians, under the reign of Decius, the Roman Emperor; and where certain pious men, the chief of whom were Paul and Anthony, retired into the deſerts, not only for ſafety, but to enjoy a more quiet life of contemplation and devotion. This example was followed; and great numbers aſſembled together, even after the perſecution had ceaſed, for the ſame purpoſes of religion. And indeed in a hot climate, and a plentiful luxuriant ſoil, there was ſomething inviting to this kind of peaceful repoſe beſide motives of religion. This kind of life grew into repute, and the fame of its ſanctity reached other countries. Athanaſius, the Biſhop of Alexandria, is ſaid to have carried it into the Greek Church: and there it ſoon ſpread; and great inſtitutions were founded and endowed. It paſſed thence into the Weſtern or Latin Church; and Martin carried it into France.

From France it had paſſed into Britain: though only two monaſteries are mentioned to have been founded there before Auguſtin was ſent over from the Pope, with 40 monks, to the King of Kent, about 596, to inſtruct him and his people in the Doctrine of Chriſtianity: ſo unneceſſary had it ſeemed to the Britons to teach and propagate that religion by thoſe means; for the whole nation of Britons had in general received Chriſtianity and eſtabliſhed ſome biſhops, and built churches, before Auſtin's coming, and that by the aſſiduity of the clergy more than by the labours of the monkiſh bodies: for the monaſteries, though very conſiderable, being only two (a) in number, could never have been able to ſpread the Chriſtian doctrine ſo far as it ſeems to have gone when the Saxons firſt invaded and began to make conqueſts. Theſe two monaſteries were *Glaſtonbury*, and *Banchor* in Cheſhire on the river Dee, the foundation and beginning of which laſt is very early; but it is celebrated for its numbers and magnitude, and its fatal ruin and cataſtrophe (b).

Banchor contained in it above 2000 monks, and occupied a large city, when Ædelfred, the king of the Eaſt Angles, fighting againſt the

(a) Beſide Shirborn in Dorſet, founded about 370.

(b) Banchor was founded by Congellus, a Briton by birth, and who became the firſt abbat about 530, ſaith Hanmer in his Chron. of Ireland, p. 52. Bale ſays, it was founded by Lucius for Chriſtian philoſophers, and continued for 350 years; until Congellus changed it into a convent of monks. It is probable that Lucius founded

the Britons, put to death 1200 monks, for aſſiſting their brethren and countrymen. This happened probably about 613; though ſome authors place it a few years earlier, and conſider Auſtin as having inſtigated the king to execute ſuch a degree of cruelty upon them. But he ſeems to have died ſome years before. Nothing elſe is ſaid of this famous place; but, from its ſituation and dignity, it ſeems to have been the univerſity as it were, and place of general education for the Britons of thoſe parts; both before the Saxons came, and until its decay and ruin, which followed by degrees from the victory of Ædelfred, and the cruel revenge he had taken.

The other monaſtery, *Glaſtonbury*, was founded about 300 years after Chriſt, and had grown great and famous; was much augmented and its church rebuilt by King Ina in 725, and maintained a high credit in the time of Alfred, and the ſame through all ſucceeding ages until its final downfall and diſſolution; at which time it was found to have the largeſt revenue of any religious foundation in England; the ſame being 3311l. 7s. 4d. per annum, and therefore was thought the more fit to be diſſolved.

At the time of the Saxon invaſion, the land was in general obedient to the religion of Chriſt; and moſt parts had received the inſtruction of biſhops and prieſts, ſettled in a regular method, though not ſo numerous as in theſe times. But it is very remarkable how ſoon and ſudden the Saxons became converts to the religion of the conquered. This was generally effected by the perſuaſion and arguments of the queens, whom the Saxon kings and chiefs married. And when Ethelbert, the king of Kent, received Auſtin and his retinue as meſſengers from the Pope, we find he was perſuaded to become a Chriſtian by the advice and inſtruction of his Queen, Bertha, who was the daughter of Lothaire, king of France, and had been inſtructed in the religion of Chriſt. And, as the beſt proof of their ſincerity, or as the moſt meritorious work they could perform, they generally founded monaſteries; of which foundations we find about ſixteen or ſeventeen to have been

founded it; and placed it here, in oppoſition to the Druids, and to ſpread the doctrine of Chriſt in that country, where the Druids had held their principal ſeat. This place had the honour of training up David, the great ſaint and patron of Wales, and founder of the archi-epiſcopal ſee called now by his name; Dubritius alſo, the founder of Llandaff Cathedral; and Iltutus, the reputed Biſhop of Caerleon. Other eminent Britons were educated here long before the Saxons invaded England, as Aſaph, Petroe, and Patern; which is the reaſon why we diſcover the foundation of the great churches in Wales, to be more ancient than any in England. Warrington's Hiſt. of Wales.

erected and endowed before the time of Offia's foundation; and theſe ſome of the moſt conſiderable; ſuch as,

1. Rocheſter, founded in - - - - 600
2. Canterbury (both at the perſuaſion of Auſtin) - - 605
3. Tewkeſbury, by Odo and Dodo, Earls of Glouceſter, - 615
4. St. Swithin in Wincheſter by Kenewulch, King of the Weſt Saxons, who alſo built the cathedral, - - 634
5. Dorcheſter in Oxfordſhire, with an epiſcopal ſee by Cinigilſe, King of the Weſt Saxons; and Oſwald, King of the Northumbrians, - - - - - - 635
6. Boſton by Botulphus, - - - - 654
7. Peterborough, by Peada, when the Mercians received Chriſtianity, - - - - - - 655
8. and 9. Barking and Chertſey, by Erkenwald, Biſhop of London, - - - - - - 680
10. Malmſbury, by Eleutherius and Aldhelm, Biſhops of Wincheſter, - - - - - - 670
11. Gloceſter, by Oſric, King of the Northumbrians, - 680
12. Eveſham, by Egwine, Biſhop of Worceſter; and Kenred, ſon of Wolphus, King of Mercia, - - - 700
13. Bardney in Lincolnſhire, by King Oſwald, - - 712
14. Croyland by Ethelbald, King of Mercia, - - 716
15. Abingdon, by Ciſſa, King of the Weſt Saxons, - 720
16. Minchelney, in Somerſet, by a King of the Weſt Saxons, 740
17. Winchcomb, in Gloceſterſhire, by Kenulph, King of the Weſt Saxons, whom Offa vanquiſhed and dethroned, - 787
18. Glaſtonbury, *refounded* by Ina, - - - - 725

Now, from this liſt it appears that monaſtic foundations had their riſe chiefly from the time of Auſtin; and though we read of the monaſteries of Banchor, and of Glaſtonbury, and Shirburn, prior to his time; yet they muſt be conſidered in a different light from thoſe that followed; being places indeed of education and Chriſtian inſtruction; and containing perſons who taught all the ſciences and arts then in repute; and ſending forth preachers into places where the inhabitants wanted them: though without any authority from biſhops, which at many of theſe places we do not find any certain traces of. Whereas when Auſtin came, to convert, as he profeſſed, the Pagan Saxons to Chriſt, he came to introduce the Chriſtianity of Rome; with not only its doctrines of Papal ſupremacy, and many other aſſumed privileges, and high pretenſions; but alſo with all the Romiſh artifices of bearing rule and ſway over the people whom they would convert: he

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came with 40 monks, accompanied with the gaudy veſtments and all the external apparatus of the Romiſh worſhip: but he came, alſo, furniſhed with all the learning, and improved ſcience, which Rome afforded; with a knowledge of the civil laws, and of all the arts which could contribute to civilize men, and teach them more conveniencies of living; and with this view he recommended the founding of monaſteries, as being places that contained all uſeful arts and ſcience, as well as ſetting forth a moſt exemplary worſhip and devotion.

It is remarkable that, in the very year in which Gregory the Pope ſent Auſtin and his monks into England, a great monaſtery of Benedictines was deſtroyed by the Lombards; and this is aſſerted by the Saxon Chronicle in the year 595 (a). Though the lettersof Pope Gregory himſelf (b) place this cataſtrophe a few years earlier, yet they ſay it was the monaſtery of Monte Caſſino in Campania, founded by St. Benedict 60 years before, and enriched with great donations; and that it was pillaged by Zotto, the firſt Lombard Duke of Benevento, in Samnium (c). It is farther to be noted, that Gregory the Great was himſelf a Benedictine monk, and had belonged to the monaſtery of St. Andrew at Rome.

It is then very probable, that the monaſtery of Banchor was found by Auſtin and his monks to be adverſe to their plan and inſtitution; ſince it is plain that Auſtin made pretenſions to an authority unknown to the Britiſh clergy; and that the latter had never acknowledged a dependence on any foreign pontiff as head. And the advice given by Gregory, as may be ſeen in his epiſtle, tends to encourage him to ſubdue all adverſaries and contradiction, till he could firmly ſettle the Roman power in Britain. And this enmity againſt the Britiſh clergy inſtigated the King of the Eaſt Angles, by the perſuaſion of Auſtin, to extirpate Banchor.

(a) This Chron. was compiled at the end of King Stephen's reign. But this event of Caſſino is ſo foreign to Engliſh hiſtory, that the author by inſerting it here means to be underſtood, that it was connected with the Engliſh Church. And the compiler of the Chronicle thought ſo, when he mentioned it in the courſe of *Engliſh* events, &c. See Gibſon's Edit. of the Sax. Chron.

(b) See the Dial. of Greg. Mag. l. 2. c. 17.

(c) That Mount Caſſino had been founded for monks by Benedict, conſult the following authors, viz. *Herempert's Chronicle*, written in the 9th century; and *Peter* the Library-keeper's Treatiſe of illuſtrious Perſonages of Mount Caſſino, written in the 12th century; and a Chronicle of Mount Caſſino, by *Leo*, Biſhop of Oſtia, written alſo in the 12th century.

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However, the deſtruction of Caſſino happened but a few years before the monks were ſent into England. And as this monaſtery ſeems to have been the only one in Italy, it is probable that the monks might wiſh to be placed in a land of more ſecurity and ſafety; or at leaſt be employed where was a richer and more plentiful harveſt. And, when they were allowed to ſettle in England, it is plain that their monaſtic inſtitutions were blended with epiſcopacy; that is, that, wherever Auſtin procured a biſhop's ſee to be erected, there was founded alſo at the ſame time a monaſtery contiguous; where the monks were conſidered as a ſtanding council, to aid and aſſiſt the Biſhop in the diſcharge of his duties, and to provide preachers, and a ſucceſſion of them, for inſtructing the villages and country. And it had not yet come to paſs that monaſteries were founded without a biſhop, and independent of his authority: and, in a manner, under the government of an abbot, to ſet up a ſeparate and diſtinct intereſt, and to be labouring for the ſervice of a different maſter. All which did come to paſs in ſucceeding ages, when the monkiſh bodies became very numerous, rich, and powerful, and always took part with the Pope as their lawful and only ſovereign; and when the clergy, or miniſtering prieſthood, though numerous, were borne down by the monks, and a conſtant enmity and oppoſition was maintained between the regulars and ſeculars; as we ſhall ſee in the 9th and 10th centuries.

That the firſt biſhops were Romans is very evident from their names; and that, wherever Auſtin appointed a biſhop, he there eſtabliſhed a monaſtery, appears in the hiſtory of every cathedral: or, if the Metropolitan did not eſtabliſh a monaſtery together with the biſhop, it appears that the new biſhops founded one or more monaſteries very ſoon after their appointment.

By the time of Offa, then, about twenty great monaſteries had been founded; and about the ſame number of epiſcopal ſees eſtabliſhed: ſome of the former unconnected with any ſee; and ſome of the latter not conjoined or united with any of the former; the general deſign of both, being to civilize and inſtruct mankind, and teach the doctrines of divine truth and ſalvation; but in ways that differed much in future ages, and laid the foundation of great enmity, not only between the different bodies, but alſo between the ſuperiors to whom they reſpectively adhered. Offa's zeal prompted him to do what many of his crowned brethren had done before him; and he probably felt ſuch compunctions of mind concerning the death of Elthelbert as made him ſeek for peace and reconciliation with Heaven: for, though he might not contrive the murder of that prince, and might juſtly abhor his wife,

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who was the contriver; yet he ſhewed no ſmall approbation of the deed when he ſeized his kingdom. And no doubt his great eccleſiaſtics, Humbert the Arch-biſhop of Litchfield, and Unwona the Biſhop of Leiceſter, would not fail to admoniſh him of repentance, and encourage him to that work, which was then conſidered as the moſt meritorious of all others: and though ſuch was the doctrine of the Church in thoſe ages, and ſo contrary to what would now be preached to a dying monarch; yet it was a work that certainly comprehended in it a very great ſtore of charity: and if doing good to poſterity can avail to procure the pardon of crimes, and reinſtate the penitent in the favour of God, this work ſeemed to be of that kind.

But what made monaſtic endowments a part of a dying man's charity was the proviſion therein made for his own particular ſafety. Here was an inſtitution in which the dying man is intereſted, and from which he hopes for ſome private benefit; and that, when his own prayers ſhall have ceaſed, the devotion of others may be hired and employed on his behalf: a doctrine this, too flattering to the dying man to be overlooked and neglected; and too gainfull to the monks to be omitted. And, in order to ſupport this buſineſs of being interceſſors and factors in the way of ſalvation, the Romiſh Church had invented purgatory, and all the terrors of the intermediate ſtate.

Such was the doctrine of the times; and ſuch the practice directed to the great, and adviſed to the devout. And ſuch was the reſolution of Offa, when he intended to finiſh a life of great glory and proſperity; but which had contracted perhaps many pollutions, beſide that of murder. To whom then ſhould he dedicate his religious foundation? For the patron of the work was conſidered as intereſted in the protection and ſucceſs of the ſame. The name of Chriſt had been uſed in the dedication of Auſtin's Monaſtery at Canterbury; St. Peter's had been applied to the foundation of the cathedral at York; and the pious Ethelbert, king of Kent, had dedicated the cathedral of London to St. Paul; and Sebert, who founded the church and abbey at Weſtminſter, had there dedicated the ſame to St. Peter.

Offa ſeems to have been as much perplexed about the place; but in this perplexity he was relieved (ſays *M. Paris*) by a kind of miraculous intelligence; for, being then at Winſlow, and in deep meditation on this ſubject, he prayed with great earneſtneſs to God, that, 'as he had often delivered him from the dangers and aſſaults of his 'enemies, and from the traps and ſnares of his wife; ſo he would 'vouchſafe to grant him further light and information, to enable 'him to compleat his vow of founding a monaſtery.' Concluding with an earneſt addreſs to his relations and brethren, 'that they would 'una-

'unanimouſly and devoutly beſeech God, to enable him to bring his 'intent to effect.' The hiſtory ſays, that all preſent retired into the chapel to pray, among whom were Humbert and Unwona, who are called, the *Special Counſellors* of the King; and that the congregation having prayed longer than ordinary, and with the ſame wiſhes as the king had expreſſed, a ſudden light from Heaven filled the place with uncommon ſplendor. This was conſidered as a token of God's favour; and the king determined to grant the royal manor of Winſlow, where this miracle had happened, to endow his new foundation.

After ſome time he was at Bath, where, in the reſt and ſilence of night, he ſeemed to be accoſted by an angel, who admoniſhed him to raiſe out of the earth the body of the firſt Britiſh martyr, Alban, and place his remains in a ſhrine, with more ſuitable ornament. This event, now reckoned moſt propitious, is communicated to Humbert, then at Litchfield; who, taking unto him Unwona Biſhop of Leiceſter, and Ceolwolf Biſhop of Lindſey, his ſuffragrans, proceeds immediately, with a great crowd of followers of both ſexes, and of all ages, to meet the king, on a certain day by him appointed, at Verulam.

The Hiſtory ſaith, that as the king was journeying towards this city, there appeared to him a light ſhining over the place, and reſembling a large torch; that the ſame was ſeen by all preſent at Verulam, and was interpreted as a moſt favourable omen. And faſting and prayer were uſed by the prelates and people, beſeeching the martyr himſelf to aid and aſſiſt them in the diſcovery. For the place and memory of Alban had been quite loſt, ſince Germanus, biſhop of Auxerre in France, had preached here againſt the Pelagian Hereſy, about 340 years before; and Alban was remembered only in the books of hiſtory, and the relations of the aged. So great had been the devaſtation committed by the Saxons at their coming; when they leveled the churches to the ground, beheaded the prelates and miniſters, and reduced the lands and country to a mere deſert.

During which overthrow, the church of Alban had been demoliſhed and overturned from the foundations, with the other churches of the country. For a church had been early erected to the memory of the bleſſed protomartyr of England, and which *Bede* ſays had been conſtructed with admirable art, though of timber and plank: and of conſequence the ſepulchre of Alban, from the time of St. Germanus, and indeed from Alban's paſſion, until the general deſolation made by the Saxons, had been in good repute, not only for the piety of Alban, but for the miracles there ſhewn; and had been worſhiped by the

religious of thoſe times, and honoured by all; when it was diſcovered to this invincible monarch by the miniſtry of an angel. But the exact place of the ſepulchre was quite forgotten and unknown. When the king, the clergy, and the people, were aſſembled, they entered on this ſearch with prayer, faſting, and alms; and ſtruck the earth every where, with intent to hit the ſpot of burial; but the ſearch was not continued long, when a light from Heaven was vouchſafed, to aſſiſt the diſcovery, and a ray of fire ſtood over the place, like the ſtar that conducted the magi to find the Holy Jeſus at Bethlem. The ground was opened; and in the preſence of Offa the body of Alban found, depoſited together with ſome relicks in a coffin of wood, juſt as Germanus had placed them 344 years before.

If every circumſtance here mentioned be true, we need not wonder at that which followed; which was, as the hiſtory ſays, that all preſent directly ſhed tears of holineſs and reverential awe; and, having raiſed the body from the earth, they conveyed it in a ſolemn proceſſion to a little chapel, without the walls of Verulam, built formerly by the new converts in honour of this bleſſed martyr; and ſituate on the very ſpot where the martyr had ſuffered, and ſhed his blood in profeſſion of Chriſt; and which chapel, by reaſon of its being ſmall, had eſcaped the devaſtation committed by his perſecutors.

The king is ſaid to have placed a circle of gold round the bare ſkull of the deceaſed, with an inſcription to ſignify his name and title; and cauſed the chapel and repoſitory to be enriched with plates of gold and ſilver; and to be decorated with pictures, tapeſtry, and other ornaments; until a more noble edifice could be erected. This tranſaction happened 507 years after the ſuffering of Alban, 344 after the invaſion of the Saxons, and on the firſt day of Auguſt, in the 36th year of Offa's reign, that is, 791 of Chriſt.

It is very probably that, although this church had been demoliſhed by the invaders near 300 years before, yet the fame of Alban had not totally periſhed; ſince this chapel, called afterward St. German's chapel, would tend in ſome degree to preſerve a remembrance of him. And the name of his maſter and inſtructor, Amphibalus, had been held in ſuch high eſtimation, that the founders of the epiſcopal and monaſtic church at Wincheſter, viz. Conſtans the Biſhop, and Deodatus the Abbot, had dedicated the ſame to the honour and memory of Amphibalus in 309: yet, as the following ages of the Chriſtian Church experienced woeful changes, and overthrows, and deſolations; it is likely that the memory of Alban (a) lived only in Offa's time, in the report and tradition of old people.

(a) At Cambodunum, in Yorkſhire, Paulinus had dedicated a church to Alban.

The diſcovery of the martyr's body, and the ſolemnity that followed, is ſaid by *M. Paris* to have been accompanied with numberleſs miracles; ſuch, he deſcribes, as were once performed by the Saviour of the World. And the hiſtorian ſpeaks in a way that ſhews he thought the ſimple age of Offa to have been as credulous and as full of craft as that of himſelf 500 years after: for he ſpeaks of miracles as if they were the common occurrences of every day; and not as the extraordinary operations of the Almighty, wrought on great occaſions, and for great purpoſes.

The king thought proper to call together his nobles, prelates, and chief perſonages, to take counſel on the further execution of his pious deſign. And it was then determined, that the King ſhould in perſon go to Rome, to ſolicit leave of the Pope, and procure the deſired privileges to his foundation. The king proceeded; and went in full intention to make his endowment as far tranſcend all other monaſteries as St. Alban had ſurpaſſed all other martyrs. The Pope, with great commendations of the king's zeal and piety, grants all his requeſts; and Offa, in return, granted, for the uſe of the Engliſh ſchool at Rome, that Peter-pence, or one penny per family, ſhould be collected throughout his dominions. And having made confeſſion to the Pope of all his crimes, and received a conditional abſolution, he departed with a devout benediction.

And, indeed, whatever invectives may be thrown out againſt the Church of Rome, and the incroachments of its pontiffs, it muſt be confeſſed to have been a benefit to mankind in general, that there was a power on earth that could controul the power of kings, and reſtrain their frequent enormities. And it might be ſaid, in apology for Popery, that, however falſe may be ſome of its doctrines, and inconſiſtent with the revealed word of God; yet that they were contrived and calculated, eſpecially thoſe that relate to futurity, to terrify and reclaim the great and mighty of this world. They argue that this rank of men were in thoſe times profligate and violent, and above all human laws; and ſeem to evince, that as mankind in general ſtood in need of miracles to alarm and awaken their attention, ſo did the high and mighty need the terrors of Hell, rather than the perſuaſive voice of reaſon or religion, to reſtrain their impieties. And, amongſt thoſe men, who were the ſole poſſeſſors of all learning and ingenuity, and whoſe duty it was to rule others by inſtruction and counſel, it cannot be wondered, that they ſhould borrow aid and help from every circumſtance that ſeemed to favour their plan.

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The king, on his return, aſſembled the nobles and prelates at Verulam; and took further ſteps towards accompliſhing his deſign: reſolving to beſtow on Alban very ample poſſeſſions; in conſideration that it was a work intended for alms and hoſpitality, and that the ſituation being on the great road called Watling-ſtreet, it would be reſorted to by many paſſengers, both going from the north and from London; and deeming it an act of piety to relieve and accommodate all travellers. Having made a ſelection of perſons out of other religious houſes, and eſpecially from that of Bec in Normandy, proper for monks, he placed over them as abbot and ſuperior, one *Willegod*; a man who had been preſent at the finding of the body, and had been witneſs of the miraculous flame; and who had devoted himſelf to a religious life: he was alſo related to the king, and born of a noble family. Having made choice alſo of a proper place, he began the building; in great ſolemnity laying with his own hand the firſt ſtone, and recommending, in the moſt devout prayer, the protection of this houſe 'to thee, O Jeſus! and to thee, O Martyr Alban! and to thee, 'O Willegod! with maledictions on all who ſhould diſturb it, and eter-'nal bleſſings on thoſe who ſhould be its benefactors.' He proceeded in the work, furniſhing Willegod with money, and making him the director and ruler; yet he continued to live here the reſt of his life, and conducted the building at his own expence, performing the part of ſurveyor and guardian of the whole; ſaving only, that he procured leave to uſe and apply toward this work all the Peter-pence due and collected in the then province of Hertford.

Willego I the 1ſt abbot.

Let us now take a view of Verulam down to the period we treat of. During the time of the Britons, Verulam, like all their other towns, was a naked defenceleſs place, without any works for its protection beſide the woods and the great pool, the head of which, or the bank which was raiſed acroſs the valley in order to ſtop the waters, was the only work now viſible of Britiſh induſtry or ſkill. And as they dwelt together in towns only during the winter, this was reduced almoſt to a deſert in the ſummer months. When the Romans became ſettled here, and had recovered, under Suetonius, Paulinus, or Agricola, they incloſed this place with walls, and built gates, and laid out the ground plot in regular ſtreets; and, by the remains of thoſe walls which are ſtill viſible, the work is manifeſtly Roman, and conſtructed in that ſort or faſhion, which their writers deſcribe by the Iſodrome, that is, in equal or even courſes, to diſtinguiſh it from the more rude and haſty works, where courſes were not obſerved. And the materials, being the Roman tile made on the

Willegod the 1ſt abbot.

ſpot, and the flints all faced and laid with great art and ſkill, and the nature of the cement, being made of quick lime and ſharp gravel or very coarſe ſand, is a ſure argument that the builders were no other than the Romans, who conſtructed works of this ſort in other places.

The town was probably built throughout of the ſame materials, and was bounded on the eaſt and weſt, and theſe extremities joined on the ſouth, by a ſtrong wall and a deep ditch; and on the north the boundary and defence was the great lake. The compaſs of land included could not be leſs than 100 acres. And the great lake or pool occupied at leaſt 20 more. The entrance on the ſouth-eaſt was at a corner of the city, but was ſecured with a double ditch and rampart, and probably two gates. The place of the ſtreets is very uncertain at this day, except that the way from St. Michael's bridge, to the ruins on the ſouth-ſide, was a main ſtreet; and but a few years ſince the foundations of that ſouth gate were dug up. Another ſtreet paſſed along the whole length of the city, from the ſouth-eaſt corner to the ſite where now ſtands the church, and thence to Gorham-block. For the ancient and moſt frequented road from this new town (when it roſe up) to Redburne, was on the north ſide of the river.

Verulam was, no doubt, a handſome and convenient town, ſo long as the Romans bore ſway in this country; but when they quitted, about 450, and withdrew their military force, the Romans who remained, though very numerous, were not able, becauſe untaught, to defend the country from the Picts and Scots, and then from the invading Saxons. And it is highly probable that the Scots and Picts, if they came ſo far into England, or ſome of the Saxons, gave an utter overthrow to this city; for, being allured by the hopes of plunder, they would not overlook a large and well-frequented city. No memorials of ſuch an event do remain; but, if Brumpton's account be true, that Uter Pendragon had a great battle with the Saxons at this place, it may well be conjectured, that, whatever was the event of that day, they who conquered in other places, and finally ſubdued all their Britiſh adverſaries, did ſucceed here alſo, and vanquiſh, ſpoil, and lay waſte this city: and in this conflict the inhabitants were either maſſacred, or with other Britons fled into Wales. And this muſt have happened between 450 and 700 after Chriſt (a).

And here it will not be amiſs to note the extent of Offa's dominions, and the ſtate of epiſcopacy therein at this time. He reigned then over as many provinces, as made afterwards (when Alfred divided the kingdom) twenty three ſhires; viz. that of Hereford, where the

(a) See Matt. Weſtminſter, p. 138.

biſhop

biſhop held his ſee and place of reſidence; thoſe of Worceſter and Gloceſter, the biſhop of which had his ſee in Worceſter; the provinces of Warwick, Cheſter, Stafford, Salop, and Derby, the biſhop of which had his ſee at Lichfield; the province of Lincoln, whoſe biſhop had his ſee at Lindeſey; the provinces of Northampton, Oxford, Buckingham, Bedford, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and the weſtern half of Hertfordſhire, the biſhop of which had his ſee at Dorcheſter; over the province of Eſſex and Middleſex, and the other half of Hertfordſhire, the biſhop of which had his ſee in London; alſo in Norfolk and Suffolk, whoſe biſhops were, one at Helmham, and the other at Dunwich: he reigned alſo over Nottingham, which was ſubject to the archbiſhop of York; and over Leiceſter, whoſe biſhop had his ſee in that city. Moſt of which biſhopricks, it is probable, had been inſtituted by Theodore, the learned archbiſhop, who came to Canterbury in 668, and who had bred up Bede, John of Beverley, Alcuin, and Tobias Biſhop of Rocheſter. Willegod the 1ſt abbot.

When Offa, of immortal memory, had nearly compleated all the offices and neceſſary buildings, which within the 4th year he had effected, and having placed therein about 100 monks of the regular orders, he retired to his palace at Offley, and there cloſed the ſcene of his life. His body was carried to Bedford, and depoſited in a royal manner in ſome chapel without the town, on the banks of the Ouſe. But in the time of *M. Paris* there were no remains of monument, ſepulchre, or chapel; and the tradition was, the violence of the floods had waſhed all away. No care had ever been taken by the monks or abbot to preſerve the remains of ſo great a king, and ſo liberal a benefactor. And poſterity have been left to bemoan the fate of royal remains; to charge the monks with great ingratitude, neglect, and folly; and to blame his family and relations for not giving him more honourable interment, and for paying no ſuitable regard to his piety and zeal.

The endowment made by Offa was his manor and palace of Winſlow, about twenty miles diſtant from the monaſtery, and as many miles in circumference; ſaith my author, as the ‘ writings of the king now ‘ preſerved in this church can teſtify:’ and for which eſtate he had procured this privilege, that while all other lands and families were ſubject to the tax of Peter-pence, this alone was ever exempt.

At the death of Offa, which happened in 794, Willegod was in compleat poſſeſſion of his new government and dignity, and had eſtabliſhed the rule of his houſe. The monks had been elected out of ſeveral other houſes; and were now under the vow and obligation of

Eadric the 2d abbot.

St. Benedict's order; which had been the order introduced by Auſtin, and was that which Benedict himſelf had eſtabliſhed at Caſſinam. The vow of the order was this: to live in the obſervance of the moſt rigid chaſtity, to have no poſſeſſions of their own, and to pay obedience to their ſuperior or abbot. And their dreſs was a long black tunic or cloſe gown, reaching to their heels, looſe and ungirded; beneath they wore a white cloſe waiſtcoat of woollen, and a hair ſhirt; for a covering of the head, which was ſhaved on the greateſt part of the crown, ſo as to exhibit an outer circle of hair, there was a cowl hanging back on the ſhoulders; and their feet and legs covered with a boot. And in their diet they were compelled to abſtain from all fleſh, except when they began to grow ſick.

Willegod ruled this abbey no longer than two months after the death of Offa his beloved maſter; for, though the ſon of Offa, named Egfrid, ſucceeded, and had given in the firſt year of his reign no leſs than five manors to the abbey; yet he refuſed the requeſt of Willegod and the monks, to have his father interred in this place of royal foundation: and this diſappointment, and ſeeming ingratitude in the young monarch, cauſed ſuch an affliction in Willegod as to haſten his death.

If it be aſked who this Alban was, to whoſe memory a royal and ample foundation ſhould be erected, it is to be lamented that no account has been left of him, more than that he was an eminent martyr for the Chriſtian faith in the perſecution ſet on foot about 303, and called the Dioclesian perſecution, near 500 years before Offa founded the monaſtery. His name imports him to have been a Roman; but we know not whether a man in high military command, or a great civil ruler, or in what rank of life he ſuſtained ſo high a character of piety, &c. But as he was a Roman, and was put to death by Imperial authority from Rome, it may be doubted whether his adherence to the Chriſtian faith was the only crime laid to his charge; and whether there might not be ſome civil offence urged againſt him (a); though certainly his piety only was the virtue which excited the veneration of Germanus, and afterwards of Offa. 'This perſecution,' ſays Euſebius (b), 'raged for 'ten years with mercileſs fury throughout Britain; and many other 'illuſtrious perſons fell in teſtimony of the faith; ſuch as Aaron of 'Exeter, and others, named by the above author (c).

The *ſecond* abbot was *Eadric*, choſen out of the body of monks, as Offa had ſtrictly charged in the rules he had given; and a relation of the royal family.

(a) For ſheltering and protecting the perſecuted, ſays *Gildas*. (b) Eccl. Hiſt. 8. 13.
(c) See Lactantius, Inſtit. Div. 5. 13.

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The *third* abbot was *Vulſig*, or Ulſin, related alſo to the royal family of Offa; though Alfred was now the general monarch, not of Mercia, but of all England. This abbot departed far from the ſtrict ſobriety of his rank and office; and, though choſen out of the body, ſoon became highly elevated with worldly pride; for he changed not only the form and ſhape, but the colour alſo of his garments; uſed veſtments of ſilk, and walked with a long train. Inſtead of ſerious ſtudy at home, he purſued the ſports of the field, and went out a hunting; grew dainty in his meat and drink, and courted the favour of the great and powerful more than the ſilent favour of God. Another great enormity he practiſed, which was to invite crowds of noble ladies to his table; and thereby he injured not only his own fame, but the ſobriety alſo of his brethren. He alienated and waſted the ſubſtance of their treaſury, and diſpoſed of the choice veſſels which Offa had left them, and the rich cloaks or palls, with the valuable collars and chains. And his female relations he united in marriage to the nobles and great men; enriching them at the expence of the abbey. *M. Paris* ſays, this carnal abbot, having ſatiated himſelf with the fat of the public wealth, excited not only the vengeance of God, but the hatred and curſe of the whole convent. And, having died in a fit of intemperate drinking, the grave men of the abbey roſe in arms againſt thoſe who had acquired their riches, and obtained a reſtitution of a great part; and left the poſſeſſors in indigence and miſery.

Vulſig the 3d abbot.

The *fourth* abbot was *Vulnoth*. He ſtrove with great diligence for three or four years to correct the errors of his predeceſſor; but at length became a worſe man. A certain number of nuns, almoſt approaching to ſecular, who lived in Vulſig's time too nigh the church, he removed further, and fixed in one dwelling; ſetting bounds to their walks; and limiting the hours and place of their meals, their devotions, and ſleep; and of their ſilence, which was intended for private prayer. Their buſineſs was to collect the alms, and attend the early morning prayer in the great church. And, for the better preſervation of their health, they were ordered to abſtain from all diet of fleſh.

Vulnoth the 4th abbot.

But, in proceſs of time, theſe good beginnings of reform were polluted with a moſt ſhameful end; for he again altered the original ſhape and colour of the monkiſh frock and the cowl, quitted the monaſtic habit, kept dogs and birds for the purpoſes of hunting, and put on the manners and dreſs of a hunter. And by this licentious courſe he waſted the treaſures of the church, and diſgraced the fame of religion.

This abbot, Vulnoth, having governed his church 11 years, was ſtruck with a palſy; and turning this temporal puniſhment to a ſpiri-

tual

Ædfrid the 5th abbot.

tual amendment, he gave proofs of a ſincere repentance. Seeming to himſelf as chaſtized by the ſcourge of Heaven, he changed his life to ſuch a degree of ſanctity as to reform many others by his example, and to finiſh his life in felicity.

In the time of this abbot, and in the reign of Ethelſtan, about 930, the Danes were committing great exceſs over all England: and a party of them hearing the fame of Alban, the firſt martyr of Britain, they came to this abbey, broke open the tomb, ſeized his bones, and carried ſome of them off into their own country, and there depoſited them in a coſtly ſhrine, built for that purpoſe in a houſe of the black monks; hoping they would be worſhipped and adored with the like veneration in Denmark as they had been in England.

The *fifth* abbot was *Ædfrid*. This man was deſcended from ſome of the Saxon nobles; and though reſpectable for the elegance and deportment of his perſon, he was in his conduct and actions exceeding vain and deſpicable. On his election from being prior of the abbey to the rank of abbot, he threw aſide all the ſevere behaviour of the cloiſter, and waſted the days of his life in uſeleſs eaſe and idle feſtivity. Attentive to the buſineſs of the treaſury, he ſeldom appeared in the cloiſter, and never condeſcended to ſhew himſelf in the choir. In the defence of the church's poſſeſſions he was warm and earneſt; but in new acquiſitions very puſillanimous; and was noted only for obtaining a cup, much to be admired for its workmanſhip and the matter; and dedicated the ſame to St. Alban, for holding the wafer, which, when conſecrated, they called the *Lord's Body*.

In this abbot's time, which was in the reign of Edmund the good, and by permiſſion of the abbot, but without any aſſiſtance from him, a chapel was built in honour of St. German, by Ulpho the prior of this abbey, and a man of admired ſanctity. For it is to be underſtood, that Germanus, after he had raiſed from the earth the bones of Alban, had made ſome abode at this place, and had dwelt in a ſmall habitation behind the wall of Verulam, and contiguous to the pool; in which place his buildings now lay in utter ruin, ſcarcely exhibiting any marks of their former maſter. Ulpho then conſtructed this chapel on the ſame ſpot to the memory of Germanus, and here lived a ſolitary life, cultivating a ſmall garden, and living by the herbs and plants. And this ſame abbot, after the death of Ulpho, retired to the ſame place, and having laid down his paſtoral care, and reſigned his honour and dignity, paſſed the reſt of his days in a pious ſolitude. Some remains of this chapel are to be ſeen in Dr. Stukeley's View of Verulam; but the ſame has been utterly demoliſhed within the laſt ſixty years.

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The *ſixth* abbot was *Ulſinus*. This man, being of a pious and orderly life, became conſpicuous in all ſpiritual and temporal concerns. By this time ſomething of a village was gathered about the new church and abbey; and the abbot invited and encouraged the inhabitants of the adjacent parts to build and ſettle there; and for that purpoſe gave them materials and money; and moreover laid out and embelliſhed a place for a market. He alſo conſtructed a church at each entrance into this future town; and dedicated that on the north to St. Peter, that on the ſouth to St. Stephen, and another on the weſt to St. Michael; each of them at the confluence of the roads and ways; and intended not ſo much for the *ornament* as for the *utility* of the village, and the edification of the people. This was in the reign of Edred, and about 948. Ulſinus the 6th abbot.

This abbot teſtified great regard to the memory of his predeceſſor, and cauſed his funeral obſequies to be ſolemnized with great ſplendor. The houſe alſo, in which he had lived and died, Ulſin treated with great reverence; inſomuch that he often cauſed maſs to be celebrated there. And not far from it he cauſed a chapel or oratory to be built to the honour of the Holy Mary Magdalene.

He was ſucceeded by *Ælfric* the 1ſt of that name. This abbot purchaſed, at the price of the cup abovementioned, from the King, probably Edgar, the great fiſhpool; for it was a fiſhery belonging to the king, whoſe houſe or palace was that now called Kingſbury: and this pool, by reaſon of its vicinity to the abbey, and the pride of the royal ſervants, had been hurtful and troubleſome to the religious body. Ælfric, therefore, in order to prevent the like inconvenience, cut a paſſage through the head which banked up the waters, and, draining them off, turned it all into dry land; preſerving only a ſmall pool for the uſe of the abbey. And *M. Paris*, who wrote about 1240, ſays, 'to this day are to be ſeen the banks and ſhores of the great lake, adjoining to the way which leads weſtward, and is called fiſhpool ſtreet. 'The reſt of the drained land was turned into gardens." Ælfric the 7th abbot.

This Ælfric was in great repute for his learning; was the author of a Saxon grammar; and of many epiſtles and ſermons, ſome books of which are ſtill extant in the libraries belonging to the cathedrals of Worceſter and of Exeter. That at Exeter is written in Latin and in Saxon; the other wholly in Saxon, and ſeems a tranſlation from the Latin. And theſe epiſtles and ſermons were uſed by the biſhops in their cathedrals.

Ælfric had been bred up, as he ſays himſelf, in the ſchools of Ethelwold, the biſhop of Wincheſter; the ſame who, in conjunction with

Ealdred the 8th abbot.

Dunſtan the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Oſwald Biſhop of Worceſter, expelled from all the cathedrals the married prieſts, and encouraged monks to ſupply their places. Ælfric was abbot alſo of Malmſbury in Edgar's time: and what is remarkable is this, that in his epiſtles, and in one of his ſermons for Eaſter Day, his doctrine concerning the Euchariſt is wholly ſuch as the Reformers took up in the Church of England under Elizabeth and Edward; that is, againſt the bodily preſence and tranſubſtantiation; and perfectly the ſame as Berengarius taught in the time of William the Conqueror, and Pope Gregory VII. called Hildebrand; making the ſacraments a memorial only, and to be taken ſpiritually and typically. 'Certainly,' he ſays, 'this houſel (hoſt), which we do now hallow at God's altar, is a re-'membrance of Chriſt's body, which he offered for us, and of his blood, 'which he ſhed for us. Once ſuffered Chriſt by himſelf: yet his ſuf-'fering is daily renewed at the maſs, through myſtery of the holy 'houſel.' And in his Epiſtle to Wulfſtan, Biſhop of Shirburn, are theſe words, as may be ſeen in the original ſtill preſerved in Exeter cathedral: "and yet that living bread is not ſo bodily: not the ſelf 'ſame body that Chriſt ſuffered in; nor is the holy wine the Saviour's 'blood which was ſhed for us in bodily reality, but in ghoſtly under-'ſtanding.' In the Latin copy of this epiſtle at Worceſter, ſent to Oſwald the biſhop, thoſe words are eraſed.

Alfric, or, as he is generally written, Ælfric, tranſlated alſo the Bible, or many books of it, as may be learned from his tracts; which were printed by that great lover of antiquity *William L'Iſle*, Eſq. of Wilburgham, in 1623. And ſome books of the ſaid Bible Tranſlation were printed by *Dr. Hickes*, at Oxford, in 1698. Ælfric was abbot in 950; and brother to Leofric, who was elected to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury.

Ælfric was ſucceeded by *Ealdred* the *eighth* abbot: This man was wholly intent on ſearching the remains of the ancient city, in digging out the old foundations and arches, and levelling the uneven places; with a view not only to clear that place of thieves and robbers, who lived there in concealment; but alſo to provide all kind of materials for building; having determined to pull down the preſent fabrick, which had ſerved for a church, and in due time build it quite new. His workmen, in digging deep into the earth, were ſaid to find planks of oak with nails, and ſmeared over with pitch; to have found alſo very ancient anchors, marine ſhells, and ſhell fiſh. And from theſe diſcoveries they gave names to places about the ancient pool,

as

as Oyſterhill, Shelford, Anchorpool, and Fiſhpool. And this abbot departed without any other deed worthy to be recorded of him. Eadmer the 9th abbot.

The next in ſucceſſion was *Eadmer*, a man of great piety, gentleneſs, and learning. He was employed alſo in further providing, not in waſting the materials deſigned for the new church: and amaſſed a vaſt quantity of the Roman tile, ſtone, and timber. His workmen, in ſearching the ruins of the old city, overturned the foundations of a large palace, and found concealed in a wall a parcel of books and rolls: one among the reſt with an inſcription and title that gliſtened with letters of gold. It was encompaſſed or bound with boards of oak, and ſilken bands; which ſtill preſerved their ſtrength and their beauty. But, alas! they found themſelves quite unable to read this book: and though the curioſity of all perſons was great to be informed of its contents, yet no perſon could be found able to read it; until, after a long ſearch, they found a poor decrepit old man, a prieſt, who was verſed in languages, and who reported it to be written in the language that had uſed to be ſpoken by the ancient inhabitants of Werlamceaſtre; for ſo the Saxons called Verulam. Having committed the other books to the flames, becauſe they treated of the idols and worſhip of Heathens; this, which contained a hiſtory of the life and ſufferings of Alban, was laid up, and uſed to be read in the monaſtery with great devotion, ſays *M. Paris*, even to this day. Eadmer cauſed it to be tranſlated into Latin, in order to make the ſubject more known and underſtood; and as ſoon as the Latin tranſlation was finiſhed, the original in the Britiſh tongue fell to duſt and aſhes.

Now, this ſtory hath ſo much the air of a monkiſh impoſture, and of that affected reverence which they would draw to their founders, that I have written it at length, as a juſt ſpecimen of that art which monks uſed, to ſanctify falſehood or novelty; and often downright fraud and deception. For it is probable that Ælfric the 2d compoſed this little hiſtory in Latin; becauſe in Biſhop Oſmund's Breviary, or Maſs Book, there is an office compoſed by Ælfric, in honour of Alban.

Eadmer diſcovered, among the ruins of Verulam, ſeveral ſlabs of ſtone, beſide tiles and columns, and other materials proper for building. They dug up ſundry veſſels of earth and of glaſs, uſed formerly as pitchers and cups: they found veſſels of glaſs containing the aſhes of the dead: temples alſo half ruined were diſcovered, with altars and idols, and divers ſorts of coins and money formerly in uſe. All of which this pious abbot, having more zeal than love of antiquity, cauſed to be ſtamped to duſt and deſtroyed. He was ſucceeded by

Leofrric the 10th abbot.

Leofric the *tenth* abbot. This man was ſon of the Earl of Kent, and of great perſonal beauty; but ſtill more excellent for his faith and his morals. His merits and fame were ſo great and conſpicuous, that he was elected by the monks of Canterbury to be the archbiſhop and head of the church. But he conſented not, and refuſed this dignity; alledging his brother Ælfric, whom he had perſuaded to write the ſhort hiſtory of St. Alban, to be more worthy of it. A great famine prevailed in his time over all parts of England; and, to alleviate the diſtreſſes of the poor during this exigence, he ſpent all the treaſure which had been collecting for the future building. And, to raiſe more money for this charitable purpoſe, he ſold the materials which had been gathered, with all the columns or pillars, and ſtone pavements preſerved out of the old city; and alſo diſpoſed of all the gold and ſilver veſſels; as well thoſe that had been deſtined to the uſe and ornament of his table, as for that of the church ſervice: reſerving only certain precious ſtones, for which he could find no purchaſer, and ſeveral curious engraved ſtones, called even at that day Cameo's. All which were intended for the embelliſhment of the ſhrine, when the new church ſhould be built.

In excuſe for this waſte, or, as ſome called it, extravagance, he ſaid, 'that the faithful in Chriſt, eſpecially if they were poor, conſtituted the church and temple of God; and was indeed that real and true church, which it was his duty to build up and preſerve. And that it was the beſt inſtance of pure and undefiled religion to viſit the fatherleſs and the widows in their affliction.' However, this liberality cauſed great diſſentions in the monaſtery, which were at length compoſed and moderated, not ſo much by the intreaties of this charitable man, as by the fears of the civil power. For the abbot being of high deſcent, and related to many of the nobles, found himſelf well ſupported in his conteſts concerning the property and rights of his abbey: and his notions of high birth were ſuch, that he never would admit into the profeſſion of a monk any perſon, unleſs of famous deſcent, or at leaſt legitimate: ſaying, 'that the ignoble and the illegitimate, eſpecially if 'without any fame, or given to change, were ever prone to all enormities.' This man at length conſented to be exalted to the ſee of Canterbury, and, in Godwin's catalogue, is mentioned by the name of Alaricius by the Latin authors, and died in 1006, in the reign of Ethelred, having ſat there 13 years.

He was ſucceeded in the abbacy by his own brother *Ælfric*, the 2d of that name; who poſſeſſed the ſame generoſity, and the like accomplishments

pliſhments both of body and mind; and was elegantly ſkilled in ſacred learning. When he entered on his office of abbot, a brother of the houſe, named Leofſtan, paid him the following compliment, which is a ſpecimen of their learning, and of their mechanical poetry, rather than of their ingenuity and real good taſte: Elfric the 11th abbot.

Fac ſuperes tu qui ſuper es ſucceſſor honoris.
Degener es, ſi degeneres a laude prioris.

Now this Ælfric, ſaith *M. Paris* expreſſly, was the compoſer of a life of Alban, written while he was Chantor of the abbey, and ſet to muſic; and, by the authority of his brother the archbiſhop, the ſame was publiſhed in many parts of England, and a day appointed every week, viz. Thurſday, for the celebration of the martyr. This man, being of high birth and good education, was advanced, while a ſecular, to be chancellor to King Ethelred. And when in this high ſtation he purchaſed of the king (and, when abbot, obtained a confirmation of the ſaid deed from Ethelred) certain lands called Kingſbury; containing the royal manſion, together with the ſtews, warrens, and woods belonging to the ſame. Which manſion, becauſe it had often given offence and trouble to the monaſtery, Alfric cauſed to be demoliſhed, and levelled with the ground; except one ſmall tower nearer to the monaſtery, which the King, at this time Canute, would not permit to be thrown down; in order that ſome footſteps of royalty might appear; 'and which endures,' ſays *M. Paris*, 'to this day, and bears 'his name;' and probably is the old tower which ſtands at this time by the ſide of the market, and is a ſort of clockhouſe.

This abbot lived through the reigns of Canute, Harold, and Hardicanute; and when King Edward, called afterward the Confeſſor, ſucceeded in 1041. In this reign the Danes renewed their invaſions, and made dreadful havock in many parts where they marched, or where they choſe to ſettle and eſtabliſh themſelves. Alfric, therefore, fearing their ravages and robberies, cauſed the moſt valuable effects of the monaſtery, and, what was more eſteemed than all other goods, the bones of St. Alban, and the ſhrine encloſing the ſame, to be concealed in a ſecret wall, viz. cloſe under the altar of St. Nicholas; with the privity of ſome few only of the brothers. But he ſent an open meſſage to the abbot and monks of Ely, requeſting, that, as their place was well ſecured by waters and marſhes from the incurſions and dangers of robbers, they would be pleaſed to receive into the convent of Ely the relicks of St. Alban;

and

Leofſtan the 12th abbot.

and keep them ſafe untill the ſame ſhould be demanded, when peace and quiet ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed. The monks of Ely conſented; and Ælfric ſent them the remains or relicks of ſome ordinary monk, incloſed in a very rich cheſt. He ſent alſo many ornaments of his church; and, to give it a better appearance of truth, he added a very rough ſhagged old coat; with an inſinuation and caution that this was the very coat that was uſually worn by Amphibalus (a) the maſter of Alban.

The Danes were diſappointed in this projected invaſion, by the loſs of their king, who, in going on board, fell into the ſea and was drowned; and in leſs than a year the alarm was over, and England returned to peace and ſecurity. The Albanians then demanded the relicks: the Elyeians refuſed; and, ſending back a ſaucy anſwer, determined to keep them: the true owners pleaded the ſanctity of the engagement; and threatened to inform not only the king, but the Pope alſo, of their breach both of faith and of religion. The Elyeians then began to entertain a fear; and, diſagreeing, a great ſchiſm happened among them. The major part, however, thought the bones of Alban to be valuable; and as much ſo to them as to their old maſters; and reſolved to keep them. And, to ſave appearances, they contrived to open the bottom of the cheſt, drew out the bones there contained, and placed others of an ordinary ſort in their room; and thus ſent back the cheſt and its ſacred contents. The Albanians depoſited the ſame in a wooden cheſt, which was over the altar of St. Oſwin (b), in which, corporeal remains uſed to be reſerved: and in which very cheſt the martyr Alban had laid untill he was immured.

Alfric now drew the authentic relicks out of the wall, and placed them with the ſhrine in the midſt of the church. Edward the Confeſſor being informed of this fraud committed by the monks of Ely, expreſſed great anger; but left them in poſſeſſion of their imaginary relicks.

Alfric was ſucceeded by *Leofſtan*, who had compoſed the diſtich above recited. He had been a familiar friend with Edward the King; confeſſor and counſellor to him and his Queen Editha, who was the daughter of Earl Goodwin. The ſurname of this abbot was Plumſtan: and his chief attention was employed in rendering the ways leading to this town ſafe and commodious for merchants and travellers. The way to London, called Watling Street and the Royal Way, as well as all

(a) See farther in the life of Symond the 19th abbot.

(b) See its place in the plate. Oſwin was in 644 a pious king of Northumberland, and baſely murdered. But his piety raiſed churches and altars to his memory in the north; and from thence his fame reached this place.

parts of the Chiltern, being covered with thick woods and groves, was become the refuge of divers ſorts of wild beaſts, ſuch as wolves, wild boars, ſtags, and wild bulls; and was alſo a harbour for thieves and robbers, outlaws and fugitives; to the great annoyance and dangers of all paſſangers. On which Leofſtan granted the manor of Flamſtead to a very valiant knight named Thurnot, and to his two fellow ſoldiers; for which Thurnot gave privately to the abbot five ounces of gold, a very beautifull palfrey or nag, for his own riding, and a very choice greyhound; on condition that Thurnot ſhould guard and defend by himſelf and his retinue all the ſaid highway, and all the weſtern parts of the Chiltern (a), and that he ſhould be anſwerable for any loſſes that might happen therein by his neglect; and in caſe any general war ſhould ariſe in the kingdom, that Thurnot ſhould ſtrenuouſly guard and protect the church of St. Alban. Leofſtan the 12th abbot.

Theſe conditions were punctually complied with and fulfilled by Thurnot and his companions, until the time of the Conqueror, when that manor was taken from them becauſe they diſdained being ſubject to the Normans. And frequent ſkirmiſhes happened between theſe defenders and the invaders, and ſeveral houſes were burnt, and many on both ſides ſlain; when at length, the Normans gaining ſtrength, and their conqueſt being eſtabliſhed, the ſaid manor was given to a follower of William, named Roger de Thoni, who wiſhed to deprive the monaſtery of their right; but fulfilled with great diligence the above ſervice and engagement.

This abbot conferred ſome ornaments on his church; and left his monaſtery very affluent and abundant. But, as a great revolution is ſoon to be experienced, it is proper to look back and ſhew what acquiſitions the monks poſſeſſed, and from whoſe benevolent and pious endowments the ſame had ariſen.

Beſide the palace, buildings, lands, and manor of Winſlow, the original gift of the founder; his ſon Ægfrid, in the firſt year of his reign, 795, conferred on the abbey five manors, in a place called Pynesfeld; that is, the manor ſo called, and ſituate in Rickmanſworth, and other manors in the ſame pariſh.

In the reign of Edmund Ironſide, and Edward the Confeſſor, Ælfric purchaſed of the king, for 5 marks, an eſtate called Oxonage and Adulfinton: and for fifty pounds he bought Norton, Upton, and Becces Wortham, in perpetual right and inheritance. At what time they became poſſeſſed of Flamſtead I cannot find; but the preſent

(a) The chalkey country near this town was ſo called.

abbot,

Leofſtan the 12th abbot.

abbot, Leofſtan, by means of his connection and intereſt at court with the king and queen, obtained Studham, Redburn, Langley, Grenebury, and Thwangton. The firſt was probably by grant or legacy from one Oſwulph, and his wife Adilitha; and the other four were from Egelwin and his wife Winefled; and probably by legacy; becauſe they were accompanied with other rents, gifts, and ornaments.

At the time when the great ſurvey was made and entered in the book called Domeſday (a) the poſſeſſions of the abbey in this county there *recorded* are theſe following, where we may note what their eſtates were at this period, and in the time of Paul, the 14th abbot, when the ſurvey was taken.

THE LAND OF ST. ALBAN, IN THE HUNDRED OF ALBANESTON (b).

In Henameſted (Hempſted) were 20 hides; the abbot was rated for ſo much: two mills of 20s. each rent; paſture, or common for cattle; wood for 1400 hogs: The whole value 22l. 10s.; and in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, 25l. This manor lies in the lordſhip of the church of St. Alban.

The abbot holds in Scenlai, (Shenley), and is taxed for 6 hides; paſture or common for cattle; and wood for 400 hogs: the value in the whole is 12l. and in time of Edward 6l. This manor lies in the lordſhip of the church of St. Alban.

The abbot holds Walden, and is aſſeſſed for 10 hides. The land is 14 carucates; in domain three hides, 2 mills of 15s. rent; meadow, half a carucate; paſture for cattle; a grove or wood for hedges and for houſes: the value 18l. 10s. and in time of Edward, 20l. 10s.

The abbot holds Sandridge for 10 hides. The land is 13 carucates. In domain 3 hides; 1 mill of 10s. rent; paſture for cattle; a wood for 300 hogs: value 18l.

The town of St. Alban is aſſeſſed at 10 hides. The land is 16 carucates; in domain 3 hides. Here are 46 houſeholders. From the toll and other rents, 11l. 13s. is raiſed; 3 mills of 40s. rent: value 20l. a year; a wood for 1000 hogs. In this town are 12 cottagers; 1 incloſure (c), or park, for beaſts of the foreſt; and one fiſh-pool. The ſaid houſeholders poſſeſs half an hide of land.

(a) Domeſday book is a ſurvey of all the lands and poſſeſſions granted by the Conqueror, and then held by his Norman chiefs; and by no means a ſurvey of *all* the lands comprehended in his new kingdom. The firſt caſe was neceſſary for William, in order to enable him to eſtabliſh his knights fees, inſtitute his feudal ſyſtem, and guard his new acquiſition. See Ingulphus.

(b) Hundreds were formed in the time of King Alfred. But how and when Hempſted came into Dacorum is not known.

(c) Round Kingſbury.

IN

Leoſſtan the 12th abbot.

In Brodewater Hundred.

Codicote and Oxewiche. Theſe two manors were ſeparate and diſtinct in the time of Edward; but now make one, and contain 8 hides; with paſture for cattle, and a wood for 200 hogs: the value 6l. and in time of Edward 12l. a year. Here did Alwin hold of the abbot 13 hides, not ſeparable from the church.

The abbot holds Norton, for 4 hides: 2 mills, of 16s. rent; paſture; and meadow ½ a carucate: value 17l.

In Eſcepehale (Shephall) 3 hides; paſture; wood for 10 hogs: and value 4l. a year.

In Danais Hundred. (Dacorum.)

In Langley the abbot holds 5 hides; 2 mills of 20s.; paſture and wood for 300 hogs.

In Redborne, 7 hides and 1 virgate; 2 mills of 26s. value: paſture and wood for 300 hogs; whole value 30l. a year.

The abbot holds Abſa (Napſbury) for three hides; and 1 mill of 10s. rent; meadow, ½ a carucate; paſture, and wood for 300 hogs: value 3l. and in Edward's time 4l.

In Winrige, Goisfric de Bech held one hide and a half of the abbot; paſture, and wood for 300 hogs: worth 40s. and in Edward's time 50s.

In Titeberſth the ſame Goisfric held of the abbot half a hide, value 6s.

In Redborne one Amelger held of the abbot 3 virgates and a half, with wood for 200 hogs: and worth 30s. per annum.

The abbot holds in Richemareworde 5 hides. The land is 20 carucates; 1 mill of 5s.; paſture for cattle, and wood for 1200 hogs: value 20l. 10s. but when received 12l.

The abbot holds the manor of Caiſſou for 20 hides; of theſe the abbot poſſeſſes 19. The land is 22 carucates; 4 mills of 26s. 8d. rent; meadow 22 carucates; paſture; wood for 1000 hogs: value 28l. and in time of Edward 30l.

In Eldeham (Aldenham) Goisfric holds of the abbot 1 hide, with wood for 100 hogs; now worth 12s. and in time of Edward 20s.

In Odesie Hundred.

The abbot holds Newham, for three hides and three virgates. The land is 8 carucates, value 9l. and in Edward's time 10l.

Leofſtan the 12th abbot.

In the Half Hundred of Hiz.

In Hegæſtaneſtone (Hexton) the abbot holds 8 hides and 3 virgates; 2 mills of 7s. 4d. rent; meadow, ½ a carucate; paſture: value 17l.

In Bennington the abbot holds 1 hide. The land is 2 carucates; paſture and a grove for hedgewood: value 50s.

Beſide the above poſſeſſions, recorded in Doomſday book, the abbey held the following eſtates: Æthelgive gave by will Gateſden and 30 oxen. Wulph gave Eſtun, or Eaſton, and Oxawic, or Oxeys. King Ethelred, in the time of Leofric the abbot, had given 6 houſes in Flamſtead and Verulam. Egfrid, the ſon of Offa, had given, beſide Pynefeld, land in Therfield (Turville in Bucks), *(terram decem manenſium)* (a).

But after all we are quite at a loſs in any enquiry about the real yearly value of theſe eſtates: the body muſt probably have been always poor, or ſtood in need of a good revenue, from the conſtant expence that attended the bare maintenance of their houſe; wherein at leaſt 100 perſons were daily reſident, fed, and cloathed; beſide the charge of travellers and viſitors, and of the poor relieved at their gates.

Frederic the 13th abbot.

Leofſtan died, and *Frederic* was elected in his place before the death of King Edward: and he ſaw the ſhort and bloody reign of King Harold.

The change wrought by the Norman Conqueſt was not merely a diſpoſſeſſing of perſons from their eſtates and houſes, but it went alſo to a perfect alteration of manners and cuſtoms; for, the conquerors not only employed the utmoſt deriſion on the nobles and gentry, but compelled them and others to practiſe a more poliſhed mode of dreſs (b) and civility; which was conſidered as ſo ſhocking an inſult, and ſo wanton a mark of foreign dominion, that many of them quitted their houſes and ſought ſhelter in the woods; where, with, their families, they would conſtruct a kind of houſe, and endeavour to ſubſiſt. And it grew to be cuſtomary with this unfortunate race, whether remaining at home or ſeeking ſhelter in the woods, to barricade their doors every night, and at the ſame time invoke the protection of the Almighty in prayer, as uncertain of ever ſeeing the next day: "A practice this" ſays *M. Paris*, "which continues even to this day (1252) "though the dangers are paſt." The conquerors introduced alſo numberleſs vices and immoralities before unknown to the Saxons. They practiſed rapine and perjury, as being ſupported therein by their ſuperi-

(a) Mon. App. 37, 39.

(b) To ſhave their beards and trim their hair.

ors;

ors; and they indulged themſelves in extreme uncleanneſs and debauchery, in late hours and gaming, and in uttering moſt dreadful oaths and imprecations with impunity: vices which were ſhocking from their novelty as much as from their atrocious nature. Frederic the 13th abbot.

This abbot (Frederic) perceiving the road to London, which was by the Watling-ſtreet, to be much infeſted with thieves and robbers, who ſheltered themſelves in the thick woods adjoining, demiſed the manor of Aldenham to the abbot of Weſtminſter for a term of 20 years; he engaging to defend and guard the road, and protect all travellers; paying the yearly rent of one hundred ſhillings, and four fat oxen. This abbot of Weſtminſter was Theobald, who in right of that abbey had in poſſeſſion the adjacent manor of Titburſt and Kendals. But being a familiar friend of the Conqueror, and having good intereſt in the Court, he not only did not fulfil his engagement, but thirſted after more; and deſired to be poſſeſſed of a fine wood or grove not far diſtant from Aldenham, called, for its beauty and pleaſantneſs, Prudeitti(a); alleging that the ſame was within the manor, and ought to be conſidered as part thereof: at the end of the 20 years, he refuſed to give up the manor, pretending loſſes and injuries from being denied in his claim to that wood; and, being ſupported by his Norman friends, kept poſſeſſion, and gave all poſſible trouble and vexation to the abbot and monks of St. Alban.

Frederic died about 10 years after his election, which was in 1066; but he began to rule the abbey and tranſact the buſineſs relating to it, two years before, though not ſolemnly inſtalled and inveſted with all the rights of abbot until the end of Edward's reign, in the beginning of 1066. He was one of thoſe Engliſhmen who could not ſubmit to a foreign maſter, even had he ruled with juſtice, or with humanity: for, the new king had come in by that right which ſubſiſts only among men of the ſword, but is no right amongſt patriots, and men of civil prudence. William had from the beginning ruled with ſuch ſeverity, and tyrannical authority, as to alienate the minds of all his new ſubjects: and he found it neceſſary to hold that ſword always drawn, which had gained him the poſſeſſion at firſt. His adminiſtration, though ſworn to obſerve the laws and cuſtoms of the realm, was conducted in many reſpects quite oppoſite, and in others with much political craft and ſeverity. For, in order to ſeparate the Engliſh nobles when he feared a confederacy, he would rob one of his eſtate in Eng-

(a) From the Britiſh word *Pruddau*, mournful, penſive, decent, comely. Perhaps the wood now called Bury Grove, of fir-trees, and ſituate weſt of the church.

 land,

Frederic the 13th abbot.

land, and give him another in Normandy; and unite the Normans, ſuch as were in military rank and fame but unprovided, to the rich heireſſes in England, and to the utter diſheriſon of her male kindred.

The diſcontented and oppreſſed nobles began to unite for a public defence: thoſe of the north put themſelves under the advice and conduct of Alfred the archbiſhop of York; and thoſe of the ſouth conſidered the abbot of St. Albans at the head of their confederacy: they had alſo with them the biſhop of Worceſter, named Walſtan, and Walter biſhop of Hereford, and many other of the nobles: and their plan was to bring their new king to better terms if poſſible, or to take arms and ſet on the throne Edgar Etheling, who in thoſe days was called *Engelondes Dereling*; and was in truth the right and lawful heir to the crown, being deſcended from the Saxon family that had laſt ſat on the throne: he had fled into Hungary, and was now returned to this country.

The king, perceiving the diſcontent to become formidable, cauſed Stigand, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, to be thrown into priſon (where he confined him for four years, until he died), under a charge that Stigand had uſurped the archi-epiſcopal chair; which, though true, might be a juſt cauſe for trial, &c. but not for perpetual impriſonment. The king ſent for Lanfranc, who was abbot of Caen in Normandy, and placed him in Stigand's room at Canterbury, and made him his privy counſellor and chief miniſter during the reſt of his reign. And here I muſt note, that, when Lanfranc went to Rome for his pall and inveſtiture, and came afterward into England, he had in his train a near relation and brother monk of Caen, named Paul, whom we ſhall ſee advanced to the place of abbot of St. Albans.

But this confederation had ſuch an effect on William, that, by the advice of Lanfranc, he ſubmitted to the terms required by the nobles and biſhops, and conſented to meet them at Berkhampſtude; where, in the preſence of Lanfranc, he ſwore upon all the reliques of the church of St. Alban, and Frederic adminiſtered to him an oath, 'that he would 'keep and obſerve inviolably all the ancient laws of the realm, which 'his pious predeceſſors, and eſpecially the holy Edward, had eſtabliſhed.' Yet was his government ſo oppreſſive that no truſt could be put in him; and Edgar thought fit to fly into Scotland, and other nobles into Denmark and Norway: Walter, the biſhop of Hereford, lay concealed in Wales; and Frederic took refuge in Ely with the abbot and monks of that place, where he ſoon after died, of mortification and grief.

The king kept the abbacy vacant near the ſpace of one year, committing great miſchief and devaſtation on the manors, eſtates, and

tenants of the ſame: and, had not Lanfranc reſtrained him, he would have deſtroyed the monaſtery itſelf, beyond all poſſibility of recovery. In the year 1077, Lanfranc procured of the king this preferment for *Paul* his kinſman, and, as ſome conjectured, his ſon. And Paul was the firſt abbot of this church after England had been ſubdued to the Norman Yoke. Paul the 14th abbot.

This abbot within the firſt eleven years of his government rebuilt the church, and all the adjacent buildings of the monaſtery, except the bakehouſe and millhouſe: and in theſe immenſe charges of building he was much aſſiſted by Lanfranc, who gave him for that purpoſe 1000 marks, of 13s. 4d. each. But when it is ſaid by my author, *M. Paris*, that he rebuilt the church, this muſt be underſtood only of ſo much of the preſent building as comprehends the choir or body, the tower or ſteeple, and the eaſt end called the ſaints' chapel, where ſtood afterward the ſhrine of Alban; with the tranſept north and ſouth, and part of the nave, as far only as the ſcreen. All this is of one uniform ſtyle, and in the plaineſt and rudeſt form of the Gothic; being much inferior in beauty to many buildings which had been erected ſome years earlier.

This conſtruction is ſaid to be intirely built of *brick*, that is, of the Roman tile; which ſeems to intimate that the former church had been built of ſtone, which having been taken out of the ruins of Verulam, and being originally brought from the Totternhoe quarries, was found by Paul to be utterly decayed; which decay might have happened not only from old age and length of time, from the days of Offa to Abbot Paul's; but moſt probably from its being laid and fixed in the new work by Willegod, in an unſkilful manner; that is, in ſome way different from its natural poſition in the quarry. And one principal cauſe of the plain and rude ſtyle of Paul's building was this, that his materials, namely, the Roman tile, would not admit of ſo many ſhapes and forms, and elegant curve lines, as ſtone would; being too hard to be cut, but yet extremely proper where nothing was aimed at, or thought requiſite, but mere ſtrength and ſolidity. And, if we reflect on this circumſtance, we ſhall ſee a reaſon why the arches are ſemicircular, with a coarſe pillar between two; why the inner ſurface of the walls would not admit of even courſes; and why the edges of the great arches under the tower are all void of the leaſt degree of embelliſhment, or even variation.

And that the rudeneſs of this work is intirely owing to the rude and untractable nature of the materials, which are wholly of the Roman tile, without any ſtone, even in thoſe parts where ſtone only ought

Paul the 14th abbot.

ought to have been uſed, ſeems highly probable from there being at this time no want of good artiſts and ſkilful builders; ſince it is manifeſt, that, at the very time when Paul was building here, at York the new archbiſhop, Thomas, (brought from Normandy) was conſtructing that moſt exquiſite and perfect of all Norman edifices, the preſent cathedral. Thomas came to York in 1070, and died in 1101, and in that ſpace re-edified not only the church, which is the moſt admired pattern of this kind and order of building in the kingdom, but he alſo rebuilt a great part of the city, after the Danes had burnt the whole a few years before. This cathedral church is 161½ yards in length, and 35½ in breadth, and probably the largeſt in England; but, beſide its magnitude, it is a ſpecimen of the moſt beautiful in this ſtyle; and ſhews that the art and the taſte of the artiſt did not improve in later ages; but endeavoured to excel by new ornaments and more profuſe decorations only (a).

And Paul would have built in a better ſtyle, had he not confined himſelf to ſuch improper materials. And we ſee how the work did improve, when the Roman tile was all uſed, and recourſe was had to ſtone: for, from the ſcreen before mentioned to the great weſt door was built in the later years of Paul, or the beginning of Richard's time, by different undertakers and companies of builders; and the whole was complete when dedicated in 1115.

Paul was moreover a very prudent and religious man, and by degrees worked ſuch a reform in the conduct and behaviour of the body under his care, by virtue of the rules and ſtatutes which he had received from Lanfranc (b), and which had been approved by the pope, that the monaſtery of St. Alban was called the ſchool of religion: and this good fame drew towards him the inclination and affections of many of the biſhops and principal perſons of the land. By his zeal and prudence he obtained a reſtitution of Eiwood (which was a very

(a) Lincoln cathedral was built in the time of Henry II. by Biſhop Hugh, who came out of Burgundy.

(b) The Norman Conqueſt had cauſed many innovations in the civil and eccleſiaſtic affairs of the kingdom; but in nothing more than in encouraging learning, and improving all places of religious diſcipline. William introduced many very learned and religious men, and among them this Lanfranc, who had been born of honourable parents at Pavia, bred up in that famous univerſity, was admitted a monk of St. Bec in Normandy, and choſen by Duke William to go to the pope twice as his ambaſſador, was made his privy counſellor, and at his appointment to the ſee of Canterbury was made the king's prime miniſter and regent in his abſence. His works ſtill extant ſhew him to be a man of great learning and ſound judgement: and the ſtatutes of reform, which he either made or collected from others, ſhew him to be zealous for the monaſtic inſtitutions.

pleaſant

pleaſant wood, ſituate between the preſent ruins of Sopwell and St. Julian) and of three farms called Tiwa, (Tewin) Apſa, (or Napſbury), and Wycumb; all which, in the time of King Edward, had been of ancient right poſſeſſed by this church; but afterwards, in times of trouble and diſtreſs, being granted as a pledge for money borrowed, they were retained, and in a manner alienated; but the uſurpers, Odo Biſhop of Bayeux, and Remigius Biſhop of Lincoln, were now induced by the intreaties of Paul, and the influence of a little money, and through a dreadful fear of the martyr (ſays *M. Paris*), to reſtore them to the Church: and Jeffry de Aneſi became tenant of the Vill of Wycumb under Abbot Paul. He recovered alſo the village and manor of Redburn, and that of Childwic, which had both been unjuſtly withheld from the church: and this withholding was very common with tenants, who thought they could by fraud or force defend their uſurpations and new claims. Paul the 14th abbot.

In Paul's time many new benefactions were made to this church; viz. two hides of land in Shephal; three yard-lands in Potton; and one carucate at Leting; ſome land at Talinton; three manſions, or tenements with gardens, at Glaiſton in Rutland; in Cambridge the church of St. Bennet, and that of All Saints; and in London many more churches, one of which the abbot exchanged with the abbot of Weſtminſter for one that had been the chapel (a) of Offa the founder and was contiguous to his palace (b): but this latter by neglect and ruin was ſunk into a ſmall tenement. Beſide theſe, there was given one church in Stamford, and eleven acres of land without the town; the church alſo of Glaiſton, with the tithes thereof, which were afterward aſſigned by this abbey for the maintenance of a cell at St. Mary's at Belvoir. There were given alſo the tithes of Cundell, Rington, Royns, Bretham, Herlay, Thamesford, and Clifton; alſo part of the tithes of Eſendon, and Bayford, and Hertingfordbury; the church alſo of the Holy Trinity at Wallingford, and half a hide of land without that town: unto which church he ſent ſome monks to form a cell, and live under rules preſcribed by this church.

At this time alſo, Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, cauſed certain monks of this church to dwell in the church of St. Mary, at Tinmouth, where had been interred the body of Oſwin, King of Northumberland, and Martyr, and there to conſtitute a cell, ſubordinate to this church. The cell at Belvoir was founded and conſtructed by Robert de Totheni. Another cell was founded at Hertford by

(a) Now St. Alban's, Wood-ſtreet.

(b) This had likewiſe been the Palace of *Athelſtane* the Saxon King, and thence comes the name of *Adel*, or, as it is now written, *Addle*-ſtreet.

Paid the 14th abbot. Robert de Limiſi (a), and an ancient cell at Binham was conferred on this church.

But, among other things, one Robert, a very ſtout ſoldier, who lived at Hatfield, and being one of the Norman leaders had received that vill and manor in the diſtribution, gave two tenths of the tithes of his demeſne; aſſigning it for the purpoſe of purchaſing and providing books for the monks: for, this Robert was a man of letters, and a diligent hearer and lover of the Scriptures. The tithes of Redburn were aſſigned to the ſame purpoſe. And the beſt writers and copyiſts were ſought for far and near for tranſcribing books; and their diet ſo provided for them, that they might never be taken off or hindered in this employment. The abbot, in return for theſe favours, gave to Robert, for the uſe of his chapel in his court or palace at Hatfield, two ſuits of pontific veſtments (which in thoſe days conſiſted of many garments, and thoſe highly enriched with gold and ſilver), one ſilver cup, a maſs book, and other neceſſaries. Having thus furniſhed Robert's chapel, a particular room in the abbey was ſet apart for theſe copyiſts, called the *Scriptorium*: and by their means twenty-eight volumes of the choiceſt books were procured, Lanfranc furniſhing the originals: beſide theſe, they prepared eight pſalteries, a collection of the collects, another of the epiſtles, and a book containing the chapters of the Goſpel, to be read throughout the year; and alſo two texts (probably of the Vulgate Bible) much ornamented with gold and ſilver and precious ſtones: beſide ordinals, or a ſort of rubrick miſſales; troparia, or books of ſequences or reſponſes; conſuetudinaries, and ſeveral other books in daily uſe.

This may give one ſome idea how manifold and perplexed the divine ſervice was in thoſe days; how little calculated for the inſtruction and edification of the congregation, being all performed in the Latin tongue; and how perplexing to the clergy, unleſs they were daily exerciſed in it.

The women, who lived in the monaſtery as ſervants and attendants, he obliged to appear at the holy offices in the church, allotting for them a place called the Almonry. He directed alſo that they ſhould be cloathed in one uniform dreſs, called a black mantle, and obſerve certain times for reſt and for ſilence, for the offices of the houſe and for going abroad: and theſe henceforth began to be called nuns or holy women.

(a) Ralph de Limiſi held lands at Caldicot, value 40s.; in Pirton, value 20l.; in Amwell, value 14l. 10s.; in Hainſtone (Anſtey), value 10s. *Doomſday.*

After

After he had rebuilt the offices, he made many regulations in the diet of the monks: reſtraining them from immoderate uſe of fleſh meat, and cauſing them to live on pickled herrings (a). As a puniſhment to any offending monk, he compelled him to bear a lantern about the choir, during the ſervice in the night time; as well to diſtinguiſh him, as to keep the reſt from drowſineſs and indolence: and, for a greater offence, or while any one was doing penance, he was compelled to carry the lantern very high: and, for the correction of the more obſtinate and incorrigible, he built a ſtrong but horrid jail, which remains to this day with very little alteration, and ſerves for offenders committed by the civil power; to whom is deſcended all that high authority, which great lords poſſeſſed in their manors, and the great abbots over all their eſtates. He injoined a ſtrict ſilence in the church, in the cloiſter, in the refectory, or hall, and eſpecially in the dormitory. In the infirmary alſo a dead ſilence was ever to be obſerved, and no meat to be eaten, unleſs the ſick were beginning to recover; and they were ſtrictly forbidden to go beyond the door of this place, which opened into the cloiſter, unleſs to the bath or for ſome allowed cauſe. He furniſhed the tower with bells; and to theſe were added two more of a large ſize, by Litholf, a man of great rank, who lived in the woody part of this country. Paul alſo gave to the church a large ſilver baſon, in which wax might burn at all times without being extinguiſhed; alſo three candleſticks richly adorned with gold and ſilver, to be placed on the great altar; and two more of curious work, and gilt only, to be borne on ſpecial feſtivals, with their wax lights, before the martyr in proceſſion. He alſo adorned with ſtately painting all the rooms behind the great altar, called *Concameratio*, in which was afterwards placed the ſaints ſhrine.

Paul the 14th abbot.

Lanfranc, who had reſtored the church at Canterbury, and that at Rocheſter, to their ancient ſplendor, and laid out great ſums in buildings for the monks, and by his induſtrious care had recovered to the cathedral at Canterbury twenty five manors (b) that had been torn from it, departed this life in 1089; having been under the diſpleaſure (c) of the young King William II. for two years, and forced to fly into Normandy. In his room was Anſelm placed by the King: but the latter

(a) Called by the Normans *Harenpie*.

(b) Offa had been a great benefactor to the church at Canterbury, having given many eſtates in 790; and in 791 he gave to it the manor of Otford. and 12 plowlands at Tenham. *Dug. Mon. I.* 19. And to Rocheſter he had given the manor of Frendſbury.

(c) He had been preceptor to William and reproved him now for his enormities.

 refuſed

Paul the 14th abbot.

refuſed to make reſtitution of the temporalities, and kept them for two years; to the great injury of the prelate and impoveriſhment of the eſtates. Anſelm had been abbot of Bec, and was an intimate friend of Lanfranc and of Paul; and, during his diſtreſs from the King's perſecution, he was greatly aſſiſted by the liberality of Paul. But in the year 1093 Paul alſo died, on his return from Tinmouth, where he had been viſiting the cell and directing the future government of that body.

M. Paris cannot conclude his account of Paul's improvements and benefactions without accuſing him of great neglect in ſome other matters. He was charged with loſing the manor of Barton (probably in Bedfordſhire) which had been held by ſome ſimple Engliſhman; but which, together with the body of the deceaſed owner, was ſnatched up and kept by the abbot of Ramſey, who was another ſimple Engliſhman. He loſt alſo many other eſtates by letting them to farm. Another great and inexcuſable neglect was, that, like his predeceſſors, he had never brought the body of their illuſtrious founder (with his tomb) to be depoſited in this church. But, what was the greateſt crime, he demoliſhed the tombs of all the former abbots and great men, who had been interred in this place; although they were deſcended from the royal family, or of high birth and rank; and whom, Paul, being himſelf of low deſcent, uſed to call *rude and ignorant* men, merely becauſe they were Engliſh. Paul alſo granted to Peter de Valoinges, a Norman chief who lived at Hertingfordbury, the wood of Northaw to farm, on condition that Peter paid the yearly rent of 25s. and two hawks, to hold the ſame during his natural life, and no longer: but Paul had taken a fine of 100s. to be induced to grant it on theſe terms: and this laid the foundation of a great diſpute, as will be related; although the ſaid Peter, and his two ſons, William and Roger, declared in the chapter, that they held not the ſaid eſtate in fee, nor any longer than the father's life, unleſs the abbot ſhould conſent. There was alſo one Robert, the maſon or maſter-builder, a man of great fame and excellence in his profeſſion; to whom and his heirs Paul granted lands in Syret (Sarret) and in Wanthony; and one houſe in the town of St. Alban, free of rent and taxes: which lands in Syret had been before held by Derlewin for a rent of 60s. But Robert in his laſt illneſs, knowing his title to be bad, made a reſignation in form, and prevented a loſs to the church. Paul had alſo granted to one Humbald, at the requeſt of Lanfranc, the lands called Weſtwic, to hold during his life; and other grants and proviſion did he alſo make to many other relations and friends from Normandy, who were mean illiterate perſons; unadviſedly and ſecretly waſting the goods of the church.

CHAPTER II.

AFTER the death of the venerable Paul, the church ſuffered a vacancy for the ſpace of four years; during which time Rufus received all the profits, and impoveriſhed the eſtates by cutting down the timber, and extorting money from the tenants, and from the inhabitants of the town of St. Alban. And in this time alſo a great diſſenſion aroſe, in the abbey, between the old intereſt and the new; that is, between the Engliſh and the Normans. This was happily ended in 1097, when *Richard* undertook the paſtoral charge. This man was deſcended of a good family in Normandy, and being an intimate friend of the King's, and alſo of Henry the firſt, was enabled to gain great acquiſitions to his church, and as ſtrenuouſly to defend them. In his time there was given to this church, the church of St. Mary, of Wymundham in Norfolk, with all its appurtenances, to be converted into a cell. The church of Hatfield Peverel alſo, with the church of Melbrook in Bedfordſhire, was given for the ſame purpoſe. There was given alſo a manor called Tinghurſt in Berkſhire, with its church; and a village, called Wilſtead; with land to the value of 30s. per annum, at Wallingford; and alſo the manor of Eaſtwell in Kent. Richard the 15th abbot.

Many other benefactions of leſs note, and of obſcure places, were made in Richard's time; for, it was a practice in thoſe days to place their younger ſons in theſe religious communities, when men of ſmall eſtates could not provide for them, and to grant in frank-pledge a portion of land or tithes for their maintenance. And this was one great benefit of theſe inſtitutions, and what kept up their credit for ſo many ages, that they were not only the ſchools of religion when well governed,

Richard the 15th abbot.

and the ſource of inſtruction for the neighbouring pariſhes, to whom the abbey ſent out preachers every Sunday; but they received and ſuſtained many old ſervants, and younger ſons and relations who had no portion from the paternal inheritance, and in whoſe time there was no other profeſſion, trade, or employment, to occupy them. And their liberalities to the poor and the deſtitute, the ſick and the diſeaſed, were great beyond the example of the preſent times in any place, except in eſtabliſhed hoſpitals; moſt of which, it is to be noted, had their riſe and beginning when theſe monaſteries were ſuppreſſed.

The cell at Tinmouth, founded as above by Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, had received many endowments and benefactions, and was in ſo reputable and proſperous a ſtate, that Richard obliged them to pay to the mother-church of St. Alban a yearly ſum of thirty ſhillings; beſides the abbot's expences for himſelf and twenty followers, whenever he ſhould chooſe to make a viſitation to that place (a).

The principal events of his time were the conſecration of this church, which never had received this ſolemn dedication ſince it had been rebuilt; and, as this was thought neceſſary, it muſt be concluded that Paul made a perfect new ſtructure from the ground, and not a repair of the old church. And accordingly, at the time of Chriſtmas, in 1115, a great aſſembly of biſhops and nobles was gathered by invitation; ſuch as, Geoffry, Archbiſhop of Rouen; Richard, Biſhop of London; Ralph of Durham; Robert of Lincoln; and Roger of Sarum; with many abbots. There were preſent alſo King Henry I. and his good Queen Matilda; with many earls, barons, and nobles, both of England and of Normandy; and a great body of inferior clergy. Theſe were all lodged and entertained in the monaſtery and town, from the 27th of December till the 6th of January, at the expence of the abbey; and aſſiſted at the ſolemnity of the conſecration. And the king gave to the church, and confirmed by grant, the manor of Biſhopſcote.

Another event was this; that, during the Abbot Richard's viſit at Tinmouth, he received a wonderful cure of a withered arm, with which

(a) We may here diſcern how much the intereſt and character of Paul had contributed to procure donations and grants to his church: and eſpecially from his countrymen the Norman captains; who, in all the new grants made to them, built where wanted a ſmall cell, and furniſhed the ſame with monks, and thereby connected the cell with ſome great abbey; an inſtitution this, and cuſtom, very beneficial to the great lord of the manor and his tenants; as not only adminiſtering to them all ſpiritual aids, but alſo promoting civilization and all temporal arts. Of this ſort was the cell at Belvoir, founded by Totheni; that at Hertford by Limiſi, and moſt of the reſt.

he

he had been afflicted many years. It is related, that, being preſent at Durham, when the monks were removing the corpſe of St. Cuthbert (a), the founder of Durham Cathedral and the apoſtle of the North, he aſſiſted to lift and ſupport the ſhrine, and received from that inſtant a cure of his malady, and found his arm reſtored to health. Now, whether this was a miracle, or performed by the intervention of ſecond cauſes, as was probably the caſe (for, it is more likely, that by ſome ſudden and uncommon exertion he might ſtretch the contracted ſinews, and cauſe the humours to flow again and nouriſh the part, than that the Almighty ſhould work a miracle, when there was no juſt occaſion), yet, in compliance with the credulity of the times, he would conſider it, not as a bleſſing from God and worthy of grateful thanks, but as a miracle wrought on him by the interceſſion of Cuthbert. And accordingly, on his return, he built a wall, or ſcreen, acroſs the nave of the church, about 50 feet below the choir; and, adjoining to the wall, a chapel, dedicated to St. Cuthbert. This chapel ſtood on the weſt ſide of the ſaid ſcreen, and had ſervice performed in it and an altar; but has been long ſince pulled down, though the ſcreen remains to this day.

Richard the 15th abbot.

After he had ruled this church and abbey 21 years he died, in the year 1119. He is called Richard de Albany, or D'Aubeny, *(de Exaquio)*, being of Norman extraction. And the faults or neglects laid to his charge are, that he loſt to the church ſome of their lands and eſtates, by enriching his relations and countrymen with beneficial leaſes, &c. For, he granted the vill of Stanmore for 60s. annual rent; and the land of Sopwell to Robert the builder for 8s. And the lands of Syret, after Robert had ſurrendered the ſame, he gave to Peter, the butler, or cupbearer, of William Earl Moreton.

Richard was ſucceeded by the Prior of the abbey named *Geoffrey de Gorham*: from a place of that name in Normandy; he being deſcended of an illuſtrious family which dwelt at Caen. While a ſecular, he had been invited by Richard to come over, and take the charge and government of a ſchool belonging to this abbey; but, he delaying, the ſchool was conferred on ſome other, and Geoffrey went to Dunſtaple (b) and

Geoffrey de Gorham 16th abbot.

(a) From Lindisfarne to Durham. Cuthbert died in 688.

(b) Henry I. had eſtabliſhed here in 1107 a number of the canons regular of St. Auguſtine, in a priory now erected and endowed. Theſe canons were ſuppoſed to be more pure and uncorrupt than the common monks, and approached near to the ſeculars; but were confined to a conventual life. They were firſt inſtituted by Ivo, Biſhop of Chartres,

Geoffrey de Gorham 16th abbot.

and read lectures, &c. in the ſchool of St. Catharine(a); and, for the greater dignity of his appearance, he borrowed of the ſacriſt of the abbey the choral copes; but ſoon after his houſe was by accident burnt down; and all his books, together with the copes, conſumed to aſhes. On this, he gave himſelf, as a whole burnt offering, unto God, ſaith my author, and aſſumed the religious habit in the monaſtery.

One of the principal deeds of this abbot was to regulate and amend the œconomy of the houſe, and to make a more juſt and proper aſſignment of its revenues. And in this work he began with adding 5s. a week to the expence of the kitchen, to augment the commons of the monks. The allowance and diſtribution of their income was thus; they had, in all their manors, fifty-three farms, that is, of 46s. each on an average. And this ſum of 46s. was allowed every week: the ſteward of the abbot's houſehold had 13 of that ſum, and the ſteward of the monks the remaining 33. Of which 33, three ſhillings were allowed for maintaining 9 packhorſes, to fetch their proviſions from London or elſewhere; and the remaining thirty were for the purchaſe of the proviſions. So that, at this ſtinted allowance, they were to live, in number 60 at leaſt; and the abbot to enjoy near half as much for his own ſplendor and dignity. And they had an overplus of rent, of only 46s. or one farm more, for all extraordinary charges and repairs. But he was enabled to make this addition to their former allowance by getting a rent of 12l. a year (now perhaps beginning to make ſome returns) for the manor of Eaſtwell: and 12s. more for the land of Robert of Eiwood; and 8s. more for the land of Wimund of Barnet. All which makes 13l. or 5s. per week through the year.

Chartres, in the 10th century; and came into great repute for their ſanctity and good order: were brought into England by Edelwald, confeſſor to Henry I. and placed firſt in a priory at Roſtel in Yorkſhire. Queen Maud gave them the priory of the Holy Trinity in London, now called Duke's place. And in 1117 a noble earl of Norman extraction, named Gilbert, gave them a great priory at Merton in Surrey; refounded in 1274 by Walter de Merton, Biſhop of Rocheſter. And in the time of Edward I. theſe regular canons of St. Auguſtine were found to be poſſeſſed of 51 priories, and at the diſſolution of 57 in England. Moſt of them had been founded by Henry I. or by others in his reign; and none exceeded that of Merton in revenue, which was near 1000l. per annum.

(a) This ſchool was probably in the priory now founded by Henry. Catharine was reckoned, in the opinions of the Romiſh church, to be the patroneſs of learned men. But it is quite unknown who this Catharine was. She is thought to have been introduced from the Greek Church; and the name imported hither, together with ſundry relics and other ſuperſtitions, by ſome of the Cruſaders. *Moſh. Ecc. Hiſt.* 9 *Cent.*

But,

But, beſide this, they had every week two ſeams or quarters of wheat for the kitchen; and every year 60s. from Aſpa, or Napſbury, for the purchaſe of milk. And Geoffrey aſſigned alſo all the cheeſe which came yearly from their demeſne, in Langley, Sandridge, and Walden. Moreover, there were yearly preſents, *Xenia*, from ſome of the manors; to be divided between the two ſtewards, after a third was reſerved for the entertainment of the gueſts and their retinue. Theſe preſents came from Norton and Newnham, at three ſpecial ſeaſons, at Chriſtmas, at Eaſter, and on St. Alban's day, to the amount of 15s. yearly: from Hexton came 6s. in like manner. From Caiſhow, or Caſſio, came at Chriſtmas 2s. and 24 hens; at Eaſter, 2s. and 600 eggs; and on St. Alban's day 2s. and 24 cheeſes, after a form and manner preſcribed. From Rickmereſworth, at Chriſtmas, 48 hens and 1 hog; at Eaſter, 1000 eggs, and 1 hog. From Cuddicote and Walden, at Chriſtmas, 50 hens and 1 hog; at Eaſter, 1000 eggs, and one hog. All which were to be diſtributed between the ſtewards. They had alſo four mills; one at Sopwell, another at Stanekfield, and two called Park Mills: which, together, were bound to furniſh, for the uſe of the monks one thouſand of good eels every year. Beſide theſe, the abbot was bound to provide yearly 4 ſeams or quarters of good bread corn, 4 of the fineſt flour, and 6 of oats.

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Geoffrey alſo appointed the church of Rickmereſworth, and all its appurtenances, to the ſecretary of the monaſtery, to be by him applied in providing the ornaments of the church, and repairing the decays thereof. The tithes and profits of this church uſed to go to the common ſtock; but this was a new and ſpecial appointment of the ſame: and it is probable that at this time the ſaid pariſh-church was turned into a vicarage, and ſome ſmall articles of tithe allotted by the writ of endowmment for the reſident vicar; who being unmarried, and perhaps a monk ſent to the church on a Sunday, was thought well maintained if he could get milk, eggs, wool, and garden-herbs. The ſecretary was bound to give an account, on the day of the abbot's acceſſion, what charges he had made, and what was proper to be made: and on this occaſion his duty was to dreſs up the monaſtery as ſplendidly as poſſible: and the whole convent attended divine ſervice, and paſſed the day with great ſolemnity and pomp.

He made a donation alſo of the church of St. Peter, and all the appurtenances thereof, to the perpetual uſe of the infirmary: and enjoined one of the monks to act as maſter and provider (a) of the infirmary; to buy all

(a) Infirmarius.

neceſſary

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neceſſary medicine and refreſhments for the ſick and aged; and to provide the wine or mead for the uſe of the refectory, every Sunday, or on one holyday inſtead of a Sunday, which had uſually before been provided at the expence of the abbot. And this donation was confirmed on the great altar every year; with threats of excommunication to all violators and impugners thereof. His predeceſſor Richard had ſet apart the alms, which had uſed to be given to the poor, for the maintenance of the copyiſts. But Geoffrey reſtored the alms to the poor, and aſſigned a certain portion of dinner from the monks table for the company of writers, that they might not be hindered in procuring their victuals.

But beſide theſe improvements in the œconomy of the convent, he built a church and hoſpital near the way that leads to London, for the uſe of lepers: and endowed the ſame with ſundry portions of tithe: as two parts in ten of the corn tithes of St. Stephen's and St. Michael's pariſhes; but with the whole tithe of St. Alban's pariſh, value 60s. and the whole corn tithe of the lordſhip of Hamſtude, and of the lordſhip of Kingſbury. This was built and endowed with the advice and conſent of the convent, and dedicated to the honour of God and of St. Julian.

The leproſy ſeems to have been as common and as filthy a diſeaſe at this time as it was in the days of Moſes, and in Judæa at all times; but whether it aroſe from the ſame cauſes may be doubted. It did not ariſe, in either of thoſe periods, from exceſs of groſs food and animal fleſh; for, the Jews were accuſtomed to eat very little fleſh, and the monks were allowed to eat none; but probably from the uſe of woollen garments next the ſkin, which are thought to render it unfit for perſpiration, and of courſe to breed obſtructions in the pores, and cauſe cutaneous diſorders: to this may perhaps be added want of perſonal cleanlineſs. The method of cure, if there was any in thoſe days, we know not; nor ever find any perſons cured of this malady but by the miraculous word of the Son of God. But, as theſe afflicted perſons were ſhunned and avoided by all others, it became a matter of great beneficence to provide a ſeparate houſe, &c. for them. And ſo univerſally did this charity prevail, that a larger hoſpital for lepers was founded at Burton Lazars, in the county of Leiceſter, with which all others were in ſome degree connected, and did hold an intercourſe.

Geoffrey confirmed the grants made to St. Julian's, and procured a confirmation thereof from Pope Gregory, in the 2d year of his pontificate. He procured alſo a charter of confirmation from Henry I. and a grant of one penny a day out of his treaſury for the uſe of this hoſpital. Abbot Roger confirmed the ſame with all its

benefactions in the year 1287: and then abbot Richard II. (Wallingford) confirmed the recovery of the 60s. which had been unjuſtly withheld from this hoſpital; and dates his confirmation on the day of the 7 holy ſleepers, in the year 1329(a). The abbot Michael, in the year 1344, thought proper to reviſe and amend their ſtatutes, as if it were like to be a large body of brethren; but, by his own confeſſion, the houſe never had more than three at once, ſometimes but two, and often one. Yet he framed 39 ſtatutes for the government of this houſe: which ſtatutes direct the number not to exceed ſix, who ſhall be elected a brother leper, and their dreſs and diet; with others that concern the prieſts, their dreſs, duty, and appearance: for, beſide the leprous brethren, there were five prieſts always reſident; one of which was a kind of ſuperior, and called *Rector Capellæ Juliani.*

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Another cell, founded by abbot Geoffrey in 1140, was that of Sopwell; where, having obſerved two pious women to have erected a hut for their dwelling, he conſtructed a houſe for their better accommodation, and ordered that thirteen ſiſters ſhould inhabit the ſame, under certain rules and orders, together with a chaplain. They were allowed a place of worſhip and a cemetery; and he allotted them certain rents and poſſeſſions: and, becauſe the two firſt women uſed to dip their dry bread in the water of the ſpring, the place was called Sopwell.

This abbot built ſome additions to the abbey: he made a handſome apartment with a double roof, it is ſaid, (which means only that it had a cieling alſo), for the entertainment of ſtrangers; and near this he built a very handſome chamber, called afterwards the Queen's chamber: and towards the eaſt he built a ſmall houſe and chapel for the uſe of an infirmary; into which any ſick brother was ſent the third day after he complained; where he generally was reſtored to health by being allowed fleſh meat; and on a perfect recovery he returned to the cloiſter, and was again, as before, obliged to abſtain from the uſe of fleſh. He built alſo a large hall at Weſtwick, for the uſe of a certain friend and kinſman, who had ſhewn great beneficence to the abbey. Geoffrey was preparing a very ſumptuous ſhrine for the body of St. Alban, and had expended thereon no leſs than ſixty pounds: but, a year of great ſcarcity happening, he converted the gold and ſilver into money, for the relief of the poor: a quarter of wheat at this time roſe to twenty ſhillings value; whereas the uſual price was four ſhillings: and in the reign of king John, who made an aſſize of bread in 1203,

(a) Theſe grants and confirmations may be ſeen in the *Auct. Addit. of M. Paris.*

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the price was calculated for *ſix ſhillings*, and down to *eighteen pence*. The year following being plentiful, he collected money, and purſued his intentions with regard to the ſhrine; and, by the art of a monk named Anketill, he brought the ſame to great perfection of ornament and ſhow. This Anketill had been bred to the buſineſs of a goldſmith, and had paſſed ſeven years in the kingdom of Denmark, in conſtructing curious works for the king, and in ſuperintending his mint: then, coming into England, he choſe to fix himſelf in this abbey, and to aſſume the habit of a religious. The materials of this ſhrine were ſilver gilded; but the upper part of the canopy, called *the creſt*, was not finiſhed; though intended to be adorned and enriched with gold and precious ſtones, whenever they could collect a quantity ſufficient. The ſhrine being erected in the ſpace behind the great altar (a) as built by abbot Paul, a day was appointed for the tranſlation, or removal, of the ſaint. On this day attended Alexander, biſhop of Lincoln, whom the abbot owned as dioceſan; Walter, abbot of Enſham, formerly prior of this abbey; Robert of Thorney; and other abbots; together with the whole convent: and in their preſence the antient tomb of Alban was opened. But, becauſe a certain college in Denmark, and the monks of Ely alſo, had aſſerted and ſtill pretended, that they reſpectively were poſſeſſed of the whole body, or a great part of this ſaint, the bones were numbered, taken out, and ſhewed ſingly; the head was lifted up, for the inſpection of all preſent, by the hands of the venerable Ralph, archdeacon of the church: on the forepart was a ſcroll of parchment, pendent from a thread of ſilk, with this inſcription, *Sanctus Albanus*; and a circle of gold incloſed the ſkull, fixed by the order of Offa, engraved with theſe words, *Hoc eſt caput Sancti Albani protomartyris Angliæ*. But, in reviewing the bones, the left *ſcapula*, or ſhoulder-bone, was miſſing. However, the tranſlation was effected; and ſome years after, ſaith the hiſtorian, came two monks with letters credential from the church and monaſtery of Naumburg, in Germany, ſaying that they were poſſeſſed of this valuable relick, viz. the *ſcapula*; and that the ſame had been brought to them, many years ſince, by King Canute. This tranſlation was a day of great feſtivity: the abbot ordered three hundred poor perſons to be relieved at the gate of the monaſtery; that the prieſts ſhould ſing four maſſes (or ſolemn ſervices); and the reſt of the brethren ſhould ſing, inſtead of a maſs, fifty pſalms. The day of this ſolemnity was the 4th of the nones of Auguſt, in the 29th year of the reign of Henry I. or 1129: and the anniverſary was ſolemnized with great devotion and feſtivity; with a remiſſion to all

(a) Called the *Preſbytery*: and behind the preſent wall, or ſcreen.

penitents,

penitents, who ſhould attend, of one day's duty of their penance in every week through the year. Geoffrey de Gorham 16th abbot.

He ordained alſo certain days to be kept with peculiar holineſs, viz. the feaſt of the Aſcenſion; that of St. Matthew and St. John; of the bleſſed St. Giles; the Conception of the bleſſed Virgin; and of the bleſſed Catharine. Theſe days were to be celebrated in copes, and he cauſed ſeven to be made for the purpoſe: one was uncommonly rich with gold and precious ſtones; another with taſſels of great value, and ornamented with gold and pearls; four were enriched with the beſt and moſt coſtly gold fringe; the 7th was of purple, and only decently adorned. He provided five other habits, called chaſubles (a), one of which was wholly covered with gold, to the value of ſix marks and a half, beſide a coſtly gold fringe, very broad, and ornamented with rich taſſels and precious ſtones, all laid upon a bright crimſon cloth. But this rich veſtment was burnt in the time of his ſucceſſor Ralph, in order to melt out the gold, with which it was too much loaded. He cauſed to be prepared many other rich garbs for the particular ſervices or ſolemnities in which the abbot was to appear; for, they all ſeem intended to augment his ſplendor and perſonal dignity rather than to promote the glory of God and edification of man. He provided alſo a large cup and patin; which he afterward ſent as a preſent to the pope, Celeſtine, to aſſuage the thirſt of his avarice, when he was trying to appropriate the rule and election of this abbey, and perhaps the revenues, to himſelf: this ſucceeded, and the pope gave up his exorbitant claims for the preſent. He made a large table, or plate, of gold and ſilver and choice gems, to be laid on the great altar: but this, on a very urgent occaſion, was melted, and given to earl Warren and others, when, in the time of king Stephen, they were preparing to burn down the town. He made alſo ſeveral veſſels for burning frankincenſe; and rich candleſticks; and a veſſel for the reception of certain relicks in their poſſeſſion, viz. of St. Bartholomew, Ignatius, Laurence, and Nigaſius, martyrs.

He provided books of all ſorts, neceſſary for the ſervice of the church; one miſſale, incloſed in a binding of gold; another, in two volumes, incomparably illumined with gold, and written in an open and legible manner, that is, fair, correct, and without abbreviations; a pſalter alſo of great value, illumined; one book containing the benedictions pronounced by biſhops, and the ſacraments or religious oaths and obligations; one book containing exorciſms, or forms of praying out the devil; and one book of collects. He gave alſo one large *dorſale* (b), on which was repreſented the finding the body of

(a) Theſe were garments that covered the whole perſon.
(b) Cortina ad dorſum altaris pendens.

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St. Alban; and another of leſs ſize, where was ſhewn the hiſtory of the wounded who fell among thieves; and a third, ſhewing the hiſtory of the prodigal ſon.

Theſe ſplendid gifts did Geoffrey make to his church: but my author cannot diſmiſs his character without making mention of ſome things that argued negligence or imprudence. A bad bargain, that Richard had made with Goſpatrick, Geoffrey kept and obſerved; and granted the ſame lands to the ſon of Goſpatrick by a new charter, though he raiſed the rent: this had been ſixty ſhillings; but now the leſſee was to pay twenty ſhillings more, and in deficiency of money (viz. the 20s.) to pay ſeven oxen, worth three ſhillings each. This rent had been ſettled on the church of Oſwin, or, which is the ſame, the cell of Tinmouth: and it was agreed that, if there was a deficiency of oxen, he ſhould pay three ſhillings for each to the church of St. Alban. He rebuilt the church, and other buildings of the Holy Trinity of the Wood *(de Boſco)* (a) twice from the ground, after the ſame had been conſumed with fire, and endowed this cell with portions of tithe from Caſſio and Watford; but without the conſent of the convent, and, as it were, by force. He granted alſo the wood of Northaw to Roger, the ſon of Peter de Valoinges. And all the lands of Weſtwick, which had been granted to Humbald for his life, and which had been ſet apart at firſt for the uſe of the monks table, he granted to the ſon of Humbald, who had married a ſiſter of Geoffrey. He granted alſo ſome lands, near Weſtwick, to a familiar friend and client, who had been born of obſcure origin, at a ſmall hamlet in Normandy, called Gorham: and this he confirmed by charter, againſt the conſent of the convent, and to their great loſs and grievance. He had formed a deſign of completing the canopy of the ſhrine in a very coſtly manner; but he was cut off by death, in the month of February, 1146, after he had ruled this abbey 26 years, and ſome months.

As we have thus ſeen Geoffrey ruling the conventual body with great order, and regulating the œconomy of the monks, and improving the inſtitution, beyond the example and practice of any predeceſſor; ſo to this man was made the firſt grant of the liberty, by Henry I. (b); that is, the great civil power of holding pleas, and of taking cognizance of all leſs crimes and offences, which had been puniſhable only in the leets, the hundred, and the county-courts; with a power of appointing a *ſeneſchalius*, or ſteward of the hundred; and of receiving, for the uſe of the abbey, all fines and amercements. This was a grant to the abbot of a portion of the royal authority, and of the profits which

(a) The cell at Merkyate-ſtreet.

(b) Henry granted a ſimilar charter to the priory which he had founded at Dunſtaple.

uſually

uſually went into the king's exchequer: but the powers were no other than what were granted to many other lords, and great men, in ſeveral other hundreds; and who, from preſiding in the court, and taking the fines, were called *hundreders*. But, though there was an hundred-court here, before; yet the powers now granted were, the privilege of reſembling the county-courts, and holding the ſame pleas with them. This original grant was reſerved in the abbey, in the time of Henry VI. and by him was renewed, in 1440; it mentions the offences there cognizable: and, in 1448, Henry grants to the abbot, by a new charter, power to take cognizance of all pleas of lands and tenements, within the hundred of Cayſho, and in the preſence of his ſeneſchal; a power, alſo, to make juſtices of the peace within the ſaid liberty; and that the ſeneſchal ſhall execute the ſame powers, with regard to all tranſgreſſions of felony, as any ſheriff of our kingdom.

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This may be ſeen in the following Hiſtory of John Wheathamſtead's time, ſoon after he was re-elected. And here is ſuch proof of the origin of the liberty, that one cannot forbear to wonder at the miſtake of Chauncy, when he ſays, that it was firſt erected in the time of Edward IV; but this miſtake ſhall be accounted for, when we come to treat of the new power granted to the abbot, in the early part of that king's reign. The privileges granted to the abbot, on creating this liberty, were the uſual ancient privileges derived from the Saxon times, and given in ſome degree to every lord or great tenant in capite; viz. Sac, Soc, Toll, Theam, Infangentheof, and Outfangentheof.

By *Sac* was meant, a power to ſue a man in his own court.

By *Soc* was meant, a power to implead and puniſh any offender, or tranſgreſſor, in the court of his lord.

By *Toll* was meant, an exemption for the lord or abbot, and all his men, from paying toll in any market.

By *Theam* was meant, the power of having for your property all the children and generations of your villains.

By *Infangentheof* was meant a power of trying any thief or robber in your court, if taken in your fee, wherever the fact was committed. And

By *Outfangentheof* was meant, a power of bringing back and trying your villains in your own court, though the fact might be committed, and the thief taken, elſewhere.

In Geoffrey's time was the abbey of Croyland in a very low and and ruined condition; and, in order to reſtore things to their former ſplendor, it was neceſſary to have a new ſupply of monks: on

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application to Geoffrey, he ſent to Croyland ten men of eſtabliſhed character; and capable to amend the rule and government of that abbey. He ſent them alſo another monk named Godfrey; whom at Croyland they elected prior; and this prior, after the example of Geoffrey, ſet up a very coſtly ſhrine, in the year 1143 (a).

Ralph the 17th abbot.

Geoffrey was ſucceeded by *Ralph*, the ſeventeenth abbot, who had been one of the confidential domeſtic officers of the biſhop of Lincoln; and, though a layman at that time, he had the care of the biſhop's chapel, and was keeper of his treaſury; or, as called in theſe days, receiver of his revenue. By the biſhop's procuring, he was admitted into this abbey as a monk; but remained in the ſervice of the biſhop for ſome time after; on a promiſe, that the biſhop ſhould procure for him the abbey of St. Alban, if the biſhop ſurvived Geoffrey. "For "the power and influence of biſhops," ſaith *M. Paris*, "hath at "times been ſufficient to diſpoſe and direct all things in this church, "even againſt its advantage." While he ſerved the biſhop of Lincoln, which was Alexander, the martial biſhop, he attended the lectures of one Wodon, an Italian, who explained the Scriptures. And from that time he became a lover of books, and furniſhed this church with many volumes. When abbot, he ſhewed himſelf a zealous defender of its rights and eſtates; and managed the revenue ſo well, that at his death the convent was clear of all demands, and under pecuniary obligations to no perſon. He built ſome chambers adjoining to the church, for the uſe of the abbot, of very ſtrong work, and cauſed the houſe to be covered with ſhingles of oak; which ſhews that tiles of the modern ſort were not then uſed, and probably not invented.

He went into France, and met the pope, Eugenius, at Auxerre, and obtained from him the privilege (b) which had been granted before by pope Celeſtine; and, on his return, purchaſed, for the uſe of this church, two large palls, of ten marks value each. Geoffrey had granted the manor of Shephall to Adam, the ſteward, for 4l. 12s. and Ralph confirmed the ſame in chapter, and applied the rent to the uſe of the monks table.

Having ſome ſuſpicions of ill conduct in Alquine, the prior, about ſome table-plate, he cauſed him to be depoſed; and Robert de Gorham to be elected in his place. Alquine fled to his old friend, Laurence, the abbot of Weſtminſter; and, they having been familiar friends in this abbey before, he was by him received and choſen for a monk.

(a) 2 Cont. Mon. p. 370.

(b) This privilege ſeems to have been only peaceable poſſeſſion, and a temporary ſecurity againſt the avaricious and overbearing claims of the papal court.

Of

Of the faults of Ralph, it is mentioned by *M. Paris*, that he cauſed one of the rich chaſubles, which Geoffrey had provided, to be burnt for the ſake of the gold: and the ſhrine was ſtripped of all the plates and ſolid gold, in order to purchaſe the vill of Brentfield (a) for twenty-four marks: the jewels alſo, and precious ſtones, he cauſed to be ſold; when he might have furniſhed the ſum, from ſelling the gold and ſilver cups which were uſed at his table. The rent of the new purchaſe was applied to repair the buildings, and reſtore the ſhrine. Ralph the 17th abbot.

Ralph was abbot no longer than five years; and, finding himſelf decaying, he reſigned, and procured the prior, Robert de Gorham, to be elected in his place. He died in July 1151, in the fourteenth year of king Stephen: he was ſurnamed Gobion, and was of Engliſh extraction.

Robert was deſcended of a good family at Caen in Normandy, and born of a ſiſter of the late venerable abbot Geoffrey. Having heard of the good fortune of his relations in England, he came over from the monaſtery in which he had been educated; and, bringing with him a teſtimonial, was readily admitted a monk and brother of the church of St. Alban. Some time after, he took on him the office of ſecretary, which had under its function the care and repairs of the building: in this employment he rebuilt the chapter-houſe from the ground, whitened the inſide and outſide of the church, and covered the greateſt part of it, in a very becoming manner, with lead; for, probably, the covering before this time had been of ſhingles *(ſcindulis)*. In the time of abbot Ralph he had been created prior, which was a ſort of ſub-abbot, or repreſentative of the abbot; and, on the reſignation of Ralph, he was elected abbot by unanimous conſent. On his being inſtalled, he gave a pall to this church worth ten marks; which he afterwards preſented, by leave of the convent, to the church of St. Oſwin at Tinmouth. He was very diligent in all matters that related to the Church's property; and gave great aſſiſtance and relief to Lawrence, the new abbot of Weſtminſter; but which Lawrence requited very ill; for, he ſtrove, in a very fraudulent manner, to regain the manor of Aldenham. One of the monks, named Germanus, and made prior of Tinmouth, was thence elected, by the monks of Selby, to be their abbot: and another, named Godfrey, was choſen to be abbot of Croyland; where, by the help of Adam his nephew, and other monks of St. Alban, whom he took with him, when ſent thither by Geoffrey, he cauſed religion and good order again to flouriſh. King Stephen, having cauſe to paſs through the town, was honourably entertained by the monaſtery: and one day, while the king was hearing maſs, the abbot fell Robert the 18th abbot.

(a) So named, perhaps, as ſignifying that it was purchaſed with *Burnt*, or *Brent*, goods.

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Robert the 18th abbot.

at his feet, with ſome relicks of St. Stephen, the firſt martyr, in his hand; and beſought the king, that he would cauſe the remains of his royal manſe, called Kingſbury (a), to be demoliſhed; for, it harboured perſons, who, under pretence of the king's authority to keep the peace and guard the town, were the cauſe of great diſturbance, injuries, and extortions: on which the king gave the ſaid caſtle or remains (ſituate, it is ſaid, very near to this abbey) to the abbot, who cauſed the building to be demoliſhed. King Henry II. ſoon after his acceſſion, being at Clarendon, abbot Robert went thither, and petitioned him for a grant of the church of Luton and of Hocton: to which the king conſented, and confirmed the ſame by a charter; ordaining that the profits thereof ſhould be ſet apart for the entertainment of ſtrangers.

About this time, pope Anaſtatius being dead, his place was ſupplied by Adrian IV. better known in England by his former and family name, of Nicholas Brekeſpear; who, being born at Langley, and brought to this monaſtery to aſſume the habit of a monk, was refuſed as inſufficient in learning; but came, in after-times, to ſuch pre-eminence as to be choſen pope. The chief events of his hiſtory are theſe: on his being rejected (which was by Richard), he went into Provence, and became a canon in the houſe of Saint Rufus, and ſoon after was elected to be their abbot: hence he went to Rome, to expedite ſome buſineſs relative to his abbey, and ſo far recommended himſelf to the pope, that he was made biſhop of Alba, and then choſen by the cardinals to be pope. His father had been admitted a monk (probably after his ſon had left him, and his wife was dead) and lived fifty years in the monaſtery: and, in conſideration of his own and his ſon's merits, he was interred in the chapter-houſe, not far from the grave of abbot Richard, which was afterwards covered with the tiles of the pavement. On receiving intelligence of the exaltation of his countryman, Robert thought it neceſſary to make a journey to Rome, on purpoſe to pay his congratulations: the king, alſo, encouraging and commanding this compliment, as having ſome duty to pay on his part. Robert, accordingly, made great preparations; and collected preſents, &c. to the value of twenty-ſeven marks; beſide five cups of great value, and three very coſtly mitres, and ſandals, or ſlippers, and other delectable things; but, in paſſing the channel, he narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck; yet, having great intereſt with the Virgin Mary and the martyr, (St. Alban) he eſcaped and landed ſafe. When he met the pope, which

(a) Though my author has already ſaid, that Alfric II. demoliſhed this palace in the time of Canute, yet it is probable, that the principal manſion only was thereby meant, and that ſome of the offices, &c. might ſtill remain, and be the ſubject of Robert's complaint, and of the king's grant.

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was at Beneventum, he preſented the mitres, and the ſandals; which laſt had been worked by the Lady Chriſtina, prioreſs of Merkyate(a), where Geoffrey, the 16th abbot, had founded a cell for nuns. Robert the 18th abbot.

After much familiar diſcourſe, the abbot was encouraged to aſk a great favour, to which the pope aſſented. The abbot then requeſted, that, in conſideration of the 'troubles and vexations which their 'biſhop (of Lincoln) gave his monaſtery, the pope would be pleaſed 'to give them an exemption from all other authority than that of the 'pope himſelf.'. This was granted by Adrian, with many other privileges, which were allowed to no other abbey in England. Soon after, a ſynod was held at London, under Theobald the archbiſhop: where the biſhop of Lincoln, named Robert de Querceto, that is, of *Cheynies*, having heard that his authority at the abbey of St. Alban's was ſet aſide, refuſed to appear, but ſent a meſſenger to plead excuſe, by reaſon of weakneſs and ill health. This privilege was the cauſe of great diſſenſion between the biſhop and the abbot; and in the eighth year of Henry II. it was determined, in the preſence of the king and by his mediation, in a great aſſembly of biſhops and nobles; wherein, after much argument, it was proved, that the church of St. Alban was *ingenua*, or free-born; that the biſhops of Lincoln had gradually exerciſed authority therein, by the negligence of the abbot; that ſuch authority, ſo long uncontroverted, had become almoſt legal; but, as its legality was founded on preſcription, and not on any ſtatute, ſome recompence ſhould be given, for the redemption of its liberties. It was therefore agreed that the abbey ſhould give to the biſhop ſome farm of ten pounds value: and, this being the value of Tynkurſte(b), that farm was conveyed and confirmed to the biſhop, and his claims hereby annulled.

From the time of Adrian's granting exemption to this abbey, the abbot and his ſucceſſors aſſumed the mitre; and twice a year afterwards he aſſembled his clergy, and formed a ſynod, and preſcribed rules and laws for the convent and cells, habited in the mitre; but left to the biſhops, as before, all celebration of ſacraments, as ordination of prieſts, &c. conſecration of oil and unctions, dedication of churches and altars, and the bleſſing the abbot, &c. And the next year the venerable biſhop of St. Aſaph, named Godfrey, conſecrated a quantity of oil in the Euchariſt at the great altar, and in the preſence of the whole convent, to be diſtributed as formerly to all the churches belonging to this abbey; the ſaid biſhop acting in no reſpect as the biſhop of Lincoln. The ſame Godfrey alſo held a general ordination in the chapel of

(a) This cell was ſo named from *Merk*, a boundary; and *Yate*, or *Gate*, a way: it is ſituated on the border of Hertfordſhire, in the high road to Dunſtaple.

(b) Or Fingeſt, in Bucks.

Robert the 18th abbot.

the infirmary; and in the great church dedicated the altar of the Holy Croſs; and in the church of St. Peter he dedicated another altar, to the honour of St. Nicolas. So that the honour of the mitre, when conferred on any abbot, was not underſtood to ſet him on a parity with the epiſcopal order, except that the king always called ſuch to a ſeat among the barons of the realm; but it exempted the abbot and monaſtery from epiſcopal viſitation and dioceſan juriſdiction: the abbots then taking on them to rule and govern the ſeculars under their care, and leaving the biſhop to exerciſe and perform certain miniſterial functions in the abbeys, and to govern the other parochial clergy, though without any authority, or juriſdiction, over the vicars, or officiating clergy, of churches that did belong to the abbeys; becauſe ſuch clergy were always members of the monaſtic body, and ſent out to do and perform the ſacred offices in ſuch churches. And this probably was the uſage and practice, even after vicarages were endowed and made a ſeparate eſtate, unleſs, in the inſtrument of endowment (which always required conſent of the biſhop and king), the ſubordination and obedience of the vicar was therein transferred to the biſhop, and which was probably the caſe very often.

This elevation of the abbot to the mitre happened in the year 1161, and the 7th of Henry II. (a). But the conteſt with the biſhop was ſo much agitated and laboured by the contending parties, that the deciſion could not be made but by the king in perſon; who, together with moſt of the biſhops, many of the great abbots, ſome arch-deacons, and ſeveral of the earls and nobles, ſat during ſeveral days to hear their claims, and adjuſt their differences; and, at length, theſe perſuaded the parties to agree to the compromiſe above-mentioned, by which the abbot gained an high honour and place of pre-eminence, but by which the body loſt an eſtate of 10l. a year, and ſuffered a charge, in entertainments and lawyers expences, of 140 marks. This tranſaction took place in 1162, in the firſt year of Becket's advancement to the ſee of Canterbury.

The abbot of Weſtminſter, named Lawrence, had given much trouble to Robert; for, though Robert had aſſiſted him with two hundred marks during the late time of famine and want, yet Lawrence and his people made encroachments on the lands and tenants of the abbey; in particular on thoſe of Sandrugge (or Sandridge), and

(a) About this time Lawrence, the abbot of Weſtminſter, who had been bred in this monaſtery, compiled, by order of Henry II. a hiſtory of the holy martyr and confeſſor, King Edward. *M. Paris*, p. 1029.

ſuch

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ſuch as lay near the river Marford, which is ſtill a part of Wheathampſtead, then belonging to Weſtminſter. Lawrence, alſo, made new claims of the manor of Aldenham, and ſued the abbey, and Robert Tailleboys, their leſſee, before the barons of the Exchequer. But Lawrence, fearing the judgement of the court, and being rejected in his offer of twenty-three marks to Tailleboys if he would relinquiſh his right, a compromiſe took place; and the abbey confirmed Tailleboys in the quiet poſſeſſion of his right to pannage for twenty hogs every year in the wood of Aldenham.

But another and more ſevere trial harraſſed the patience and fortitude of Robert; and that was, concerning the wood of Northaw (a) and the danger of loſing it. It is proper to remember that Abbot Paul had granted this wood to Peter de Valoinges, a great Norman baron, who dwelt at Hertingfordbury, and to whom the Conqueror had given divers manors and poſſeſſions in this county. By the grant he was conſtituted tenant, or uſufructuary, for his life. Abbot Geoffrey had granted it to his ſon Roger on the like condition; and the grandſon Peter had the like grant from Abbot Ralph: but, this Peter being on his death bed, Robert the abbot ſent to him two of the brethren, to ſolicit him to make reſtitution of the wood of Northaw, according to the terms of the grant. The dying man, in the preſence of his ſoldiers and armed attendants, promiſed to do ſo, ſaying, 'that he 'held it by no hereditary right; but by the mere grace and favour of 'the convent, and would ſurrender the next day.' In the night, this grantee died; and inſtantly meſſengers are diſpatched by the abbot, to take poſſeſſion of the wood. But immediately Robert de Valoinges, brother and heir to Peter, (who died without children), makes earneſt application to Robert, that he would renew the grant to him; though without ſucceſs, for Robert would not comply. On this, Robert, the baron, haſtens to the King, who was then in France and engaged in the ſiege of Thouloufe: he there obtained the ſubject of his petition, and returned with letters written to this effect; 'That he forbade any 'perſon to deprive Robert unjuſtly of any poſſeſſion, which his pre-'deceſſors had held by inheritance and the rule of juſtice.'

(a) And here it is proper to remark, that the true etymology of this place is Northaugh, from the valley, which is there to be ſeen, vaſt and tremendous beyond any valley in all this county; for, in the language of thoſe times, and now in the north of England, a valley is called a *Haugh*; the Latin writers call Roſehaugh, *de Roſarum Valle*; and an artificial valley in a garden is called a Haugh: moreover, on the ſouthern boundary of this county, in Eaſt Barnet, there is another valley, with lands adjoining, which is called at this day by the name of *Suthaw*, or *Southaugh*.

Robert the 18th abbot.

Robert brought theſe letters to the abbot, and ſtrenuouſly demanded poſſeſſion of the wood. The abbot aſſembled his brethren, and they ſat like a court, or grand council, in the conſiſtory or chapter-houſe. Robert approached, with the letters in his hand, demanding the eſtate. The abbot roſe up and ſaid, theſe letters ought by no means to have been brought to us by you, who make no diſtinction betwixt a tenure by inheritance and one by grant. On which, Robert, in great anger, retired, and haſtened to the Earl of Leiceſter, then juſticiary, or chief juſtice of England; for the tenor of the letter was; 'If ye do 'not juſtice, let Robert Earl of Leiceſter do it, that the complainant 'ſuffer no longer vexation through want of right.' The earl directly iſſues his letter to the ſheriff of Herts, commanding him to ſummon the abbot of St. Alban, and to cite him to appear at Northampton, before the ſaid earl, and anſwer to this complaint in perſon. Abbot Robert refuſed to go; but ſent a brother, named Hugh, a man of diſcretion and prudence, who, though with reluctance, undertook the journey. The earl was incenſed, and iſſued another citation. The abbot ſtill declined appearing; the earl gave ſentence, adjudging the wood to Valoinges; and the ſheriff put him into poſſeſſion without delay. Then he, Valoinges, thinking that he ſhould be tenant but a ſhort time, from this unjuſt ſucceſs, ſet himſelf to commit all kind of waſte and ſpoil, beyond the example of any of his predeceſſors.

The abbot, finding the miſchief to be irrecoverable, ſpeeds away to the earl of Leiceſter, and obtains letters from him, to reſtrain and inhibit Robert de Valoinges from farther damage and injury. Robert refuſed obedience to the injunctions, and repeated, with double miſchief, the waſte and ſpoil of the wood. The abbot hereupon haſtens to the Queen (Eleanor), then in England; and obtains from her letters to reſtrain the bold proceedings of Valoinges, who, for a while, acquieſced, and then returned to his old practices, and did more miſchief than ever. On this, the abbot ſent meſſengers, with the complaint, to pope Alexander; who returned this anſwer, directed to Theobald archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Hilary biſhop of Chicheſter; 'Whereas, our beloved ſons, the abbot and brethren of the monaſ-'tery of St. Alban, have ſhewn, by their complaint, that Robert de 'Valoinges doth unjuſtly hold the wood of Northaw, their property: 'We charge you to convene the ſaid Robert within thirty days after 'the receipt of theſe letters, and cauſe him to make reſtitution, or 'perform to them full and ample juſtice, in your preſence; which, 'if he ſhall perchance, out of contempt, refuſe to do, our will is, 'that you pronounce againſt him the ſentence of excommunication.

'And

'And if one of you be unable to be preſent at this buſineſs, let it be put 'in execution by the other.' Given at Anagnia, 6. cal. Feb. Robert the 18th abbot.

The biſhops, on receipt of this papal order, were in the utmoſt fear and confuſion; becauſe Henry II. had forbid, that the ſentence of excommunication ſhould be pronounced againſt any of his nobles. The abbot, therefore, diſpatches one of the brethren, laden with preſents and promiſes, to the king, who was before Thouloufe; ſoliciting his Majeſty to give orders to the earl of Leiceſter, that he, together with Robert de Valoinges, would be pleaſed to hear this complaint concerning the wood of Northaw, in his own court at Weſtminſter. To this the king was not inclined; but, being ſoftened by the importunities of the monk, he conſented to write to the earl; directing, 'That he 'would not ſuffer Robert de Valoinges, from that day, to cut any 'more timber or wood, or to ſell or give away any.' Which injunction Robert having received, he, with great reluctance, complied with. Robert, the abbot, ſtill reſenting the unjuſt robbery which his church was ſuffering, repaired, with all ſpeed, to the king, then in Normandy, being returned from Thouloufe (a). The king and the abbot had a long conference on the ſubject of the wood; the latter claiming juſtice, the former denying the neceſſity of it. At length a bargain was ſtruck between theſe great perſonages, for 100l. on receipt of which, Robert obtained a reſcript to the chief juſticiary, commanding him to call before him the reſpective parties, 'and hear their 'allegations, and give a deciſion concerning the right of property, 'from the charter of Lanfranc (b), who was made archbiſhop of Can-'terbury in 1070, and other charters, and pronounce a definitive 'ſentence.'

The abbot returned, and laid the reſcript before the earl, who cites Valoinges to appear, allowing him only forty days. And, in the mean time, the abbot made a journey to their cell at Thinmow, or Tinmouth, in order to viſit and inſpect the brethren there ſettled.

At length the day came for the appearance of the two litigants; and Valoinges refuſed to appear: the abbot had travelled into Scotland, and was repoſing himſelf in the abbey of Dumfermlin; but Symond, the prior of St. Alban, appeared in his ſtead, and by his order. The

(a) This was in 1160; and in this year died Theobald, the archbiſhop. But a more material circumſtance that marks this year is, that Henry married his ſon, aged ſeven years, to the daughter of the king of France, who was aged three years.

(b) Lanfranc had been a great benefactor to this abbey; for, beſide aſſiſting Paul with large ſums to rebuild his church, as has been ſaid, he endowed the ſame with lands and manors; of which Northaw was one.

juſticiary

Robert the 18th abbot.

juſticiary proceeded not to a hearing, but iſſued a ſecond citation to Robert de Valoinges, to appear at the ſame place, at the end of forty days. On the day appointed the abbot appeared, and Valoinges did not: on which the judge declared the wood to be confiſcated to the uſe of the king; and ſummoned Valoinges a third time, allowing him ſix weeks. On the day, the abbot appeared at Leiceſter; and Valoinges did not, nor did he ſend any perſon to anſwer for him, or make exception. On which the earl, with the judgement of the whole court, decreed the wood to the abbot. He then put Robert in poſſeſſion, by the delivery of a branch; and compelled Valoinges to make reſtitution for the miſchief and damage by him committed.

I have been thus particular in the narration of this event, in order to ſhew, how much the rich and great envied the clergy in their poſſeſſions, and how much the latter were employed to combat the violence and artifice of the former: it diſcovers the difficulty of obtaining right in thoſe days; how corrupt the very fountain of juſtice was; and how weak and helpleſs the clergy, even at the height of their proſperity, were, to obtain redreſs, and ſupport themſelves againſt the uſurpations and encroachments of the great and opulent laity. It ſhews alſo, on a compariſon with theſe days, with what wiſdom great men, kings, and miniſters, and courts of law under them, have acted, in ſupporting the rights, and maintaining the body, of Proteſtant clergy; in conſidering them no longer as the lords of the heritage, but as helpers of the faith; and employing them as teachers and inſtructors of the people, in obedience to juſt and mild government, not as the inſtruments and tools of arbitrary rule and unjuſt authority.

This ſame abbot, Robert de Gorham, had another conteſt with the earl of Arundel, whoſe father had founded the cell at Wymundham; and Robert, going to viſit this cell, was very ill-treated by the prior, named Ralph de Nuers, and the ſervants. In ſhort, they denied his authority, and refuſed him admiſſion; and, having ſent his cook before, as was the cuſtom, to provide for the abbot, the man was beaten, and his horſe ſtolen. The abbot applied to the earl, who lived near, for relief and aſſiſtance: and he interpoſed, by giving correction to the prior and ſervants. But this he did, not ſo much to vindicate the rights of the abbot as to aſſert his own, and manifeſt his own ſuperiority; for, he affirmed that the abbot had no right or juriſdiction there, and that, his father having founded and endowed the cell, he was himſelf the patron and viſitor, to the excluſion of all others. The abbot anſwered, that it was his, the earl's, duty, to give confirmation to the grants made by his father; that the king's char-

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ter (which was all that was neceſſary to eſtabliſh a foundation in the time of Henry I.) was in his cuſtody, and by that the cell was made ſubordinate to the abbey of St. Alban; and he challenged the earl to ſhew any deed, or record, to exclude the abbey, or to limit the authority of viſitor to himſelf or his family. The earl, being unable to do this, ſubmitted his own pretended authority, and acknowledged the right of the abbey; but not without ſwearing by the lance of God (being a great armed knight), that the abbot's name ſhould, for the future, be called *Mate-felon*. Robert the 18th abbot.

Robert was on very good terms with his countryman, pope Adrian IV. and, being at Rome one ſummer, (a journey, which, in thoſe days, ſeems to have been only a ſummer jaunt for the clergy), he ſolicited his holineſs to enter on ſome meaſures to make the monks of Ely forbear their boaſting that they were poſſeſſed of the true relics of St. Alban. The pope, accordingly, directed a commiſſion to three certain biſhops, to make ſtrict enquiry; who, going to Ely, and ſhewing their credentials, the abbot and convent made choice of twelve of their oldeſt and moſt diſcreet brethren, to diſcuſs this *arduous affair*. When the biſhops had firſt exacted an oath, to examine the truth and obey it, otherwiſe they ſhould ſuffer ſuſpenſion and the cenſures of the church, they proteſted, with unanimous conſent, 'that they had been 'deceived by a pious fraud; that they had perpetrated ſacrilege, and 'were wholly without one bone of St. Alban: that, with regard to the 'ſaint's caſſock, or rough coat, they believed themſelves to have been 'deceived, through the like pious zeal; for, by reaſon only of the length 'of time, ſuch a thing could not then exiſt; and that Germanus, 'when he diſcovered the bones of the ſaint, found them not wrapped in 'a caſſock, but in a pall or cloak; and had left them in it, as he had 'found them: that Offa, likewiſe, who 344 years after Germanus, 'had raiſed the bones from the earth, did not find the ſaid caſſock: 'but the ſaid pall or cloak he had reſerved whole, and unhurt, in his 'church, in teſtimony of ſo great a miracle.' With this confeſſion, the abbot and monks of St. Alban declared themſelves ſatisfied.

Pope Alexander the Third had ſummoned a general council to meet at Tours in France; and, among the reſt, the prelates of England ſet forth to attend his holineſs, and conſult for the benefit of the univerſal church. With them appeared the venerable abbot Robert, a man eſteemed, at that time, the moſt eloquent, and the beſt inſtructed, in all divine and human laws. To him was aſſigned, by Hyacinth, the cardinal deacon, the firſt ſeat above all the Engliſh abbots, according to the privilege granted by pope Adrian; with

Robert the 18th abbot.

with a charge to keep and preſerve the ſaid ſeat, as one of his ſervants. And, leſt he might be too much puffed up by his elevation and honour, he was to conſider himſelf as door-keeper to the pope. In the writ of privilege, the tenor of the grant runs thus; "that, as Alban was diſtinguiſhed as the firſt mar-"tyr in England, ſo let the abbot of his monaſtery be ranked "the firſt in place and dignity." But the abbot of St. Edmundſbury, named Hugo, was ſadly mortified at this pre-eminence; and, on the night before the day of aſſembling, he got poſſeſſion of this firſt ſeat, and, together with his attendants, ſat up therein, driving out, by violence, a ſervant of abbot Roberts, who had been ſent to ſecure it: in the morning, abbot Hugo, fearing that the pope or cardinals would put ſome affront on him, and depoſe him from his ſeat, offered the court of the pontiff a preſent of ſixty marks; promiſing that his brother Hamon, a monk, ſhould be detained as a hoſtage until the money was paid. Robert was unwilling to appeal to the king's court for redreſs, becauſe Henry had forbid all the prelates to bring any complaint, on any matter, into his courts. But, in the preſence of all aſſembled, he laid before the pope the violence and affront committed by Hugo; and, arrayed in all his pontific habits, ſeated himſelf next to Hugo, and before all the other abbots.

Hugo did this in juſtification of the honour of his martyr, who had been a king; but it proved of little advantage to him to aſſert and vindicate the royal martyr; for, beſide the charges of the journey, &c. his preſents and liberalities to the pope, the cardinals, and court, coſt him very dear. Now, while Hugo was ſupporting his own affected honour and rank, Robert was turning his diſgrace and affront to a public benefit; for, under the influence of this grievance, he offered many petitions to the pope, which his holineſs granted without the leaſt heſitation. One was, that he would be pleaſed to comfirm that exemption from the biſhop of Lincoln, which Pope Adrian had granted to his monaſtery, and to the fifteen churches (a) under its juriſdiction; another contained ſome advantages for the cell at Hatfield; and the third contained ſome privileges in favour of the holy virgins dwelling at Sopwell.

Robert, on his return home, was received with all the pomp and ſolemnity of a proceſſion; and, approaching the high altar, he made an offering of two ſilver baſons, value five marks; and two mantles,

(a) Theſe were all that at this time belonged to the abbey. The other ſix, which conſtitute the arch-deaconry of St. Alban, were later acquiſitions. It is not clear which were the fifteen here entitled to the privilege.

adorned before and behind with gold fringe. He cauſed to be made a very handſome cenſer of ſilver, for burning frankincenſe. He purchaſed two garments, or cloaks, of the fineſt imperial purple; of which one was made into a cope, value one hundred ſhillings, and the other was converted into a mantle. He cauſed alſo to be made a ſmall image of the Virgin Mary, with its attributes, to be placed over the altar. He cauſed many books to be tranſcribed; "more" ſays my author, "than can be mentioned." He repaired the coffin and ſhrine of the ſaint, which, in the time of abbot Ralph, had been broken and ſtripped of its ornaments, in order to purchaſe their eſtate at Brentfield; and furniſhed it, as before, with much ornament of gold, ſilver, and precious ſtone. He beſtowed much expence in improving the buildings of the monaſtery; for, he built anew the chapter-houſe from the ground; and the grand room called the King's Parlour; and a chapel to the honour of St. Nicolas; and all that ſide of the cloiſter which ſtood in the *front* of the chapter-houſe. He erected alſo a granary, a landry, a larder, and a long ſtable; and appointed that a lamp ſhould be burning in the ſtable every night. He built, moreover, two ſunny rooms (a), ſuch as were in great requeſt in thoſe days, and which tended to ſoften the rigor of the winter weather.

Robert the 18th abbot.

But Robert, with all theſe virtues, ſtands charged with ſome faults; although, ſays *M. Paris*, they were very ſlight ones; for, he gave to his brother, named Ralph, the eſtate at Syret, without the conſent, or even privity, of the body. And he gave to William Baſſet, and his heirs, the whole vill of Thorpe, for the annual rent of thirty ſhillings; although the father of the ſaid William never had, or claimed, any inheritance therein. He gave alſo to the monks of Bermondſey the tithes, and all parochial rights of a farm called Brideſhorn; with this ſingle condition, that they ſhould obſerve an anniverſary day to his memory. Theſe two laſt contracts he procured, by earneſt ſolicitation, to be confirmed by the body. And, in a diſpute with Roger de Meriden about the lands at Bradway, he yielded to the claims of the ſaid Roger, not knowing the true title which the monaſtery had, and ſuffering himſelf to be deceived by the teſtimony, upon oath, of ſome of the dependents and ſoldiers of the ſaid claimant, who, according to truth, and the charter of Henry I. had no kind of right.

At length, Robert, having governed the abbey fifteen years and four months, departed this life, being afflicted with a pleuriſy. He

(a) *Solaria*, ſince called *Sollars*.

 died

Robert the 18th abbot.

died the 20th of October, 1166; and his funeral was attended by Gilbert Foliot biſhop of London, Lawrence abbot of Weſtminſter, and Simon the prior of this houſe. He was interred in the new chapter-houſe, at the feet of abbot Paul, who was the firſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed perſon here buried, as appears by his grave-ſtone, "in which," ſaith my author, "he is repreſented as habited in his pontific robes." "But," continues he, "at rebuilding this houſe, the bodies of thoſe "venerable men were indecently diſturbed, and thrown again pro-"miſcuouſly into the earth."

At the deceaſe of Robert, the abbey was confiſcated; that is, I imagine, the temporalities reverted to the king: but the whole care thereof was committed, by precept from the king's juſtice, the earl of Leiceſter, to the prior, and to the ſteward named Adam, and others of the brethren. The church was ſo much burdened with debt, that, when an account was drawn out, and ſettled by the king's officers (I ſuppoſe of the Exchequer, who had the care of the confiſcation), the debt amounted to ſix hundred marks, much of this owing to Chriſtians, but more to Jews. But this irregularity, and bad ſtate of their revenue, was eaſily excuſed; in conſideration of the numerous and arduous difficulties which they had been involved in, and through which their abbot had carried them with perfect ſucceſs. He bore alſo a ſpecial affection towards his relations and countrymen; and had conferred on them many gifts and preſents; in particular, the lands of Gorham, as they were now called, together with all their product and increaſe, he cauſed to be confirmed unto the grantee his relation, with certain enlargements, that were not ſtrictly lawful.

Symond the 19th abbot.

On Robert's death, the prior and monks petitioned the king for leave to elect a ſucceſſor; but the king kept the vacancy open for four months and more; and at length, after much intreaty, he wrote to the biſhop of London, Gilbert Foliot, directing him to go down; and that, "having procured a nomination of three perſons, he ſhould "make report to the king of their true characters and abilities, and of "the real ſtate of the monaſtery; that he (the king) might chooſe "whom he liked beſt." This the biſhop performed; and the king appointed *Symond* the prior to ſucceed as abbot. In June, he received the form of benediction from the biſhop, and, being inveſted in the proper habits, was enthroned. This was a new mode of election. But at this time the conteſt ran high between the king and Becket; and this was one of the inſtances, wherein Henry determined to ſhew Becket, that he could make abbots and biſhops, and give them inveſtiture,

titure, without the interference of the arch-biſhop; or of the pope, for whom Becket contended. Symond the 19th abbot.

Symond was an Engliſhman by birth; a privilege which three or four of his predeceſſors could not boaſt. He had been bred up from his infancy in the monaſtery, and was well verſed in all the rules, uſages, and cuſtoms, practiſed therein. He was well accompliſhed in letters, and the learning then moſt eſteemed; and of excellent morals and ſobriety. He took great pains to have plenty of good books. It has been obſerved, that there was in the monaſtery a certain apartment, called the *Scriptorium*, uſed for the ſcribes and copyiſts: this having been long neglected, and the uſe of it perverted, Symond repaired it; and employed three or four ſcribes conſtantly, and made ſome addition to their ſalary: by this means he provided a great number of very fair and reputable books, and among others, the Old and New Teſtament much embelliſhed. He cauſed a place to be made for theſe books, called the Almonry, oppoſite the tomb of Roger the Hermit, ſomewhere within the body of the church; for, it is to be obſerved, that, among all the rooms and buildings belonging to the abbey, there was none called the LIBRARY: the ſcarcity of books rendered this unneceſſary; and, from their being kept in holes and corners, they ſoon decayed, and furniſhed new employment for the ſcribes. He likewiſe ordained, that all future abbots ſhould employ *one* ſcribe at leaſt.

This abbot had no ſuch conteſts with the great and powerful as Robert had. But his whole time ſeems to have been ſpent in procuring gold and ſilver, and rich cups and utenſils; and in applying the gold and ſilver, together with many precious ſtones, in decorating the ſhrine of the ſaint. And herein he employed a very excellent artiſt, one maſter John, a goldſmith; who, in a very few years, ſo enriched and embelliſhed the ſhrine, that *M. Paris*, who lived near one hundred years after, ſays, he had never ſeen one more ſplendid and noble.

It is to be underſtood, that in thoſe days there was no ſcreen at the top of the choir, that the great altar ſtood where the rails and table now ſtand, and the ſhrine was placed in what is now the conſiſtory; ſo that it was all open, even from Cuthbert's ſcreen, to the view of the whole choir and congregation. Symond cauſed the ſhrine to be a little elevated, for a better view, and to appear directly before the eye of the prieſt who was celebrating maſs; whoſe place it was to ſtand and kneel with his back to the people, and on the weſt ſide of the altar. This poſition of the ſhrine was not only the moſt ſplendid to the eye of the beholder, but was intended to raiſe and elevate the devotion of

Symond the 19th abbot. the prieſt; and to this purpoſe, alſo, was intended the decollation of Alban, which was painted on the wall oppoſite. The ſhrine was in form ſomewhat reſembling an altar-tomb, but riſing, with a lofty canopy over it ſupported on pillars; and was intended to repreſent the ſaint lying in great ſtate; and thus to receive the homage and adorations of all ſuch as believe in ſaints and in their efficacious prayers. The inſide contained a coffin, wherein had been depoſited the bones of Alban by abbot Geoffrey. This was incloſed in another caſe, which, on the two ſides, was overlaid with figures caſt in gold and ſilver, ſhewing the chief acts of Alban's life, in work that was highly raiſed and emboſſed. At the head, which was toward the eaſt, was placed a huge crucifixion, with a figure of Mary on one ſide, and of St. John on the other, ornamented with a row of very ſplendid jewels. At the feet, which were towards the weſt, and in front of the choir, was placed an image of the Virgin, holding her ſon in her boſom, ſeated on a throne: the work ſeemingly of caſt gold highly emboſſed, and enriched with precious ſtones and very coſtly bracelets. The four pillars which ſupported the canopy, and ſtood one at each corner, were ſhaped in reſemblance like towers, with apertures to repreſent windows, and all of plate gold, ſupporting the roof or canopy, whoſe inſide was covered with cryſtal ſtones.

Such was the ſhrine or monument of the holy Alban; and which, in the notions of thoſe times, was calculated to excite devotion in the beholder. And, indeed, when the worſhip of ſaints made a great part of their religion, it was natural to ſet off the monument of the ſaint with all poſſible ſplendor; ſince this, with ignorant minds, would inſpire a degree of awe and aſtoniſhment, excite an idea of the ſaint's power and intereſt in heaven, and certainly tended to make the poor votary more ſubmiſſive to the maſters of the ſaint. But it was a part of that myſtery of iniquity which Chriſt and his apoſtles foretold would work: and now was the time when it drew near its higheſt perfection; when churchmen, now approaching to the greateſt pitch of power, had inſtituted and eſtabliſhed a rival juriſdiction, and were ever combating and controuling the civil authority.

The quarrel, between Henry II. and Becket, was nothing more than a ſtruggle which ſhould be ſuperior, the *Crown* or the *Mitre*; and which dependent and ſubſervient. Ever ſince the Conqueror had cheriſhed the clergy and church, in order to ſecure his new acquiſitions, they had gone on to obtain more and more privileges; William had founded new biſhoprics, enlarged and amplified the old, created new officers under them, and enabled the clergy to rule all his ſubjects: and,

in the ſpace of one century, they had grown independent of the Crown, and poſſeſſed privileges that were not only adverſe to the uſual laws and rules of civil government, but even dangerous to monarchy itſelf, whenever the monarch ventured to oppoſe them. This temporal power was greatly ſtrengthened by the doctrines which they had taught: tranſubſtantiation, the worſhip of the dead, and invocation of ſaints, in order to eſtabliſh a pretended intereſt with Heaven; the neceſſity of confeſſion, and reſignation of all private will and opinion; and, to complete their tyranny over kings and civil powers, the pretended lawfulneſs to *dethrone*, or to withdraw all *allegiance* and *duty* from them. Symond the 19th abbot.

In this ſummit of church power, but with a view to reduce or reſtrain its exorbitancy, did Henry place his chancellor Becket, by appointing him arch-biſhop of Canterbury; being firſt ordained only deacon, and now, for this expreſs purpoſe, prieſt. And, at firſt, the conduct of Becket ſeemed aſſenting to this plan; but he changed, and, inſtead of a moderate governor, became a moſt zealous champion and defender of the church. It is unneceſſary to ſay more of the perſecution he ſuffered, his exile, his undutiful carriage to the king, and his tragical end at laſt: but this event ſufficiently ſhews the exceſs of power poſſeſſed by the clergy, and of the enmity which the ſtate and its governors muſt conceive againſt them on that account.

Among the fautors and encouragers of Becket, our abbot Symond was not the leaſt; though there is no fact on record that ſpecially notes his courage, or his inſolence in the conteſt, except this, which I will relate: Becket, after a proſcription of ſeven years, was permitted to return to England: and he thought proper to go to Woodſtock, to pay his duty to prince Henry, juſt then crowned and aſſociated with his father in the throne. The arch-biſhop had incenſed the king afreſh, by refuſing to abſolve thoſe biſhops who had been excommunicated: and, while he was on his journey, the king forbade him to proceed any farther: the arch-biſhop turned back, and repoſed himſelf at his manor of Harwes (a), about ſeven miles from this abbey; and ſent for abbot Symond, to conſole him on his misfortunes and diſtreſſes. Here Symond paſſed ſome days with him; and, within fifteen days after their departure, Becket was ſlain by four ruffian knights, at the foot of an altar, on the 29th of December 1170. The death of ſuch a man often drew pious lamentations from Symond, who grieved "that he was not worthy to have been involved in ſo glorious a toil;

(a) This, I believe, is Hayes near Uxbridge.

"nor

Symond the 19th abbot.

" nor had ever had the honour to be maimed, or mutilated, or beheaded, " in ſo noble a cauſe."

This abbot prepared many ornaments for the church and the ſervice; ſuch as very fine cups, well wrought in gold, and enriched with precious ſtones: to which the king added another exceeding rich cup, to hold the veſſel that contained, what they called, the real body of Chriſt. He cauſed alſo to be made a very large croſs, covered with plates of gold; which was borne between two other croſſes on the day of the Lord's paſſion. The chapel of Cuthbert, built by abbot Richard, he now cauſed to be conſecrated. He made another very uncommon veſſel reſembling a writing-deſk *(ſcrinium)*, covered with plates of gold, and riſing in the top in ribs or circles of gold, wrought with figures and ſtories of the bleſſed Jeſus. This contained a ſmall cheſt, in which was depoſited the true body: and the whole veſſel was carried about with great ſolemnity, and, at certain times, worſhipped with all the tokens of adoration by the whole convent; 'to ſhew,' ſaith my author, 'how much that body ought to be reverenced and adored by 'men, which Chriſt gave up to be ſcourged, crucified, and buried in 'the earth (a)."

One is quite at a loſs to underſtand how the Saviour's body, mortified as it was, could be juſtly repreſented by a great gilded box, ſaid to contain ſomething, which the bearers pretended was the real body. Nor can one ſee by what logic the people could be thence reaſoned into a ſenſe of the merits of Chriſt's body or death; or how the ſight of this glittering veſſel could raiſe any true devotion or reverence for the Saviour; but it ſerved to dazzle and aſtoniſh, and thus prepare men to be more ſubmiſſive and credulous; it awed the vulgar, and raiſed a credit or opinion, that prieſts and monks, who abounded in gold and riches, muſt be favoured of Heaven.

Another principal event of Symond's time was the diſcovery of the body of *Amphibalus*, the maſter and inſtructor of Alban. This great event is related by *M. Paris* as having come to paſs by the miraculous appearance of Alban to one Robert, a lay perſon of the town; to whom he diſcovered, that, if they would dig on Redburn Green, they

(a) *Berenger*, who was one of the moſt learned divines of his age, was a principal of the ſchool at Tours, and afterwards arch-biſhop of Angers, ſuffered much perſecution for aſſerting and teaching the *ſpiritual* preſence only, and not the *corporeal*, of the Saviour, in the Euchariſt. He had derived this opinion from the writings of *John Scotus Erigena*, who lived in the *ninth* century. But Berenger was perſecuted for this doctrine, even when the church of Rome had not attained to any preciſe and ſettled doctrines concerning the preſence. *Moſh. Ecc. Hiſt.* 11 Cent.

ſhould

ſhould find the remains of Amphibalus, and many of his fellow-ſufferers. The abbot obeyed the direction, and was as ſucceſsful in the diſcovery as if he had known by tradition the place of their burial. And with great ſolemnity the bones of this pious man and his companions, or of ſome others that had been depoſited on that green, were brought to the abbey in 1178; and, to gain credit to the authenticity of the fact, wonderful cures were ſaid to have been wrought among the ſick, lame, and blind, at the place. The particular infirmities are related by *M. Paris*; but they are plainly copied from the miracles of Jeſus. Symond the 19th abbot.

This religious abbot at length died in 1183, having ruled the monaſtery fifteen years. But it was diſcovered, that he left his abbey in debt above ſix hundred marks to the Jews; and, to others, more than two hundred. Aaron, the Jew, came down, and with great pride and oſtentation made his boaſt, 'that *he* had built that noble ſhrine; 'and that all the grand entertainment of the place had been furniſhed 'out of *his* money.' Symond bore a very carnal affection towards his relations, and had enriched many with the goods of the crucifix: and, beſide knights and nobles, he gave preſents to many who only pretended to be his kinſmen; and for that purpoſe committed grievous waſte on the timber and woods of the abbey. He was ſucceeded in the abbacy by Warren or Waring.

Warren was deſcended from an ordinary family in the town of Cambridge, and had early acquired great fame and reverence for his learning and piety; and was no leſs remarkable for the accompliſhments of his perſon. While a ſecular, he went with his brother Matthew to Italy, and ſtudied phyſic at Salernum, which at that time was a renowned medical ſchool. But, while there, the two brothers, together with a nephew named Warren, and two aſſociates, who were of Salernum, formed a reſolution of entering as monks into the abbey of St. Alban: which wiſh and intent they did each of them accompliſh, except the nephew. And he, ſtill continuing a ſecular, kept a ſchool in the town, lived in good fame and character, and died in a habitation very near to the nuns' houſe at Sopwell. His ſchool was in ſuch reputation, that it was ſcarcely ſurpaſſed by any other in the kingdom at that time, either in the number of ſcholars or in the utility of the ſcience there taught. And it had this teſtimony from that learned doctor, called Alexander Nequam (or Neckam), who had ruled the ſame many years before young Warren took it, and who was at this time the director and governor of the great priory ſchool at Dunſtaple. This Warren, the nephew, applied himſelf much to the ſtudy of the Warren the 20th abbot.

Warren the 20th abbot.

the decretals and church law, being ſupplied with books by his two uncles. Theſe three men acquired great intereſt and eſteem among perſons of all ranks: and were termed, by the envious, *the threefold cord that could not be broken.*

The election of Warren the elder to the abbot's chair had paſſed with the univerſal conſent of the convent; except that of William Martel, the ſacriſt, who himſelf aſpired to that dignity, but with much indecent conduct; ſaying, that Warren (having a defect in his eye) was quite blind; 'that he was of mean origin, and born of that 'low tribe called Dealers in Salt; and that, if he ſhould be choſen, he 'would, with Matthew his brother, tread under foot the whole con-'vent; nor muſt any man dare to contradict them.' Warren ruled the abbey twelve years; and the moſt remarkable of his deeds was, his founding the cell and church of St. Mary de Pratis. He is ſaid to have done this at the admonition of a man, born at Waldon, who pretended that Amphibalus had appeared to him, and requeſted 'that ſome place might be dedicated to his honour, for that he had 'been the inſtructor and converter of the great Alban.' Warren complied ſo far as to found a cell, with proper offices, and a church, with chaplain and clerk, for the uſe and habitation of thirteen poor leprous women. Its ſituation procured its name *de pratis*; for, it is deſcribed as being placed at the extremity of the plowed land, and adjoining to the *meadows* of Kingſbury, with its offices on each ſide of the high-way (a). The perſon whom he placed over this ſociety, (if it could be called ſuch, when they were ſhut up from all communication with others, and limited to a ſmall diſtance from their houſe), was John de Waldon, the ſon of him who had been honoured with the viſion of Amphibalus; and a brother and monk. The allowance for the maintenance of this houſe was a certain quantity of winter-corn, and of malt, per week; with cloaths, and a ſmall portion of money, from the Steward of the monaſtery. Amphibalus had ſignified in the viſion, that this cell ſhould be built in the place where his body had reſted, when Symond removed the ſame from Redburn, in 1178. And this induced Warren to honour it by this beneficent act of humanity to the wretched ſufferers of that incurable diſeaſe, the leproſy. But, that Amphibalus might not complain, the abbot cauſed the holy relics of that man, and his companions, to be re-

(a) This place alſo received its name, not only from its ſituation, but in imitation of a place ſo called near Rouen (*St. Mary de Prez*), and where the empreſs Maud was buried in 1167. *Hoveden* 289. So natural was it for Normans to tranſfer names thence to new places here, on which they founded new ſettlements.

moved

moved with great ſolemnity, on the 8th of the calends of July 1186, from the place where Symond had depoſited them, and to be incloſed in a new ſhrine richly adorned with gold and ſilver. Symond had placed theſe relics on the right ſide of the great altar, in one coffin; but now Warren gave to each of them a ſeparate incloſure, placing the ſhrine of Amphibalus cloſe to the wall, on the right hand of the great altar and next to the upper pier, near the rood-loft(a) on which are repreſented, in rude carving, the ſufferings of Amphibalus. He placed the relics of his three companions in other coffins; and near the ſame he placed the relics of the ſix other co-martyrs, which had been found with him, and all in ſeparate and diſtinct boxes, or coffins. Warren the 20th abbot.

The king, Henry II. came down to the abbey with a large train of attendants, for entertainment, and this ſeems to have happened early in the time of Warren, and to have been the conſequence of the intereſt he had with the court. The king deſired to ſee the monks and body aſſembled together; and accordingly they met, and took their reſpective places in the chapter-houſe. When the king entered, he ſeated himſelf in the chair of the abbot, in the midſt of the room, with the abbot on his right hand, and the biſhop of Lincoln on his left; he then bowed to one ſide and the other, very graciouſly, in way of ſalutation, intreating them to 'pray with inceſſant prayers, for the 'ſafety of himſelf, and queen, and children, and alſo for the ſtate of 'the realm.' To this the whole convent moſt devoutly conſented, acknowledging that they were bound to perform this duty by every tie of gratitude. Then Walter of Conſtance, the biſhop of Lincoln, roſe up, and, addreſſing himſelf to the king, ſaid, that he begged leave 'to prefer a complaint to his Majeſty; which was, that he was greatly 'injured, and the church of Lincoln ſhamefully mutilated, by cutting 'off from it ſo noble a member as this monaſtery. With your per-'miſſion, I muſt move a queſtion againſt this abbot. Whatever my 'predeceſſor did, who was ſimple and eaſy, he was circumvented in 'the ſame: the world well knows, that this church is ſubject to the 'church of Lincoln; and, whatever hath been done in error, it is 'fit and expedient that the ſame be recalled.' The abbot Warren, hearing this, laid his bare hand on the knee of the king, without riſing, and ſaid, 'Your majeſty is the pledge of my peace, the witneſs 'and mediator of the compromiſe, which was begun and confirmed 'between us.' The king aroſe in ſome warmth, and exclaimed,

(a) It ſeems as if this rood-loft had been built at this time.

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'By the eyes of God! I was preſent at the agreement. What is it, 'my lord of Lincoln, that you would attempt? do you think theſe 'things were done in ſecret? I myſelf, and the moſt choſen men of 'the realm were preſent: and what was then done is ratified by 'writings the moſt inconteſtible, and confirmed by the teſtimony of 'the nobles. The determination ſtands good, and whoever ſets him-'ſelf to combat this abbot and monaſtery combats me. What ſeek 'you? to touch the pupil of mine eye?' On which the biſhop found himſelf thunderſtruck, and uttered not a word more. Nor was any queſtion on that ſubject ever moved again: and, from that day to this, Lincoln hath never made any claims; but, at the diſſolution, when the power of the abbot was abrogated and annulled, all the places, or churches, under his juriſdiction and conſtituting the arch-deaconry of this church, were, together with all the churches in the liberty of St. Alban, annexed to London dioceſe.

I relate this event, in order to ſhew, on what footing theſe great churchmen ſtood with their ſovereign in thoſe days; and as a proof of the eſteem the king entertained for this abbot and his monaſtery. The king had come down to be entertained; and it was the cuſtom of the ſovereigns, both before and after him, to go down at the great feſtivals to ſome abbey, and there keep their holidays: but he was well acquainted with abbot Warren (a), and would not ſuffer any ob-ſtruction or diminution of honour to his hoſt. And the conſequence of this little broil was, that Walter was the next year made arch-biſhop of Rouen; and Warren ſet on foot many innovations, changes, and amendments, in the government of the monaſtery; one of which was, the founding the hoſpital of St. Mary de Pratis, as above-mentioned, and aſſigning thereto ſome of the ancient revenue, which, the diſcon-tented ſaid, was almoſt ſacrilege; for, it was converting the ſacred re-venue to lay-uſes, and rendering that common, which had been hal-lowed and given in alms. Another injunction was, that, whereas every brother, or monk, had at their death been buried in the plaineſt and leaſt expenſive manner, being only laid bare in the earth, for the future they ſhould be interred in coffins made of ſtone. This was con-ſidered as done out of pique to William Martel, the ſacriſt, who had oppoſed the election of Warren; for, it was a part of the duty and function of the ſacriſt to provide for the funeral of every member of the convent, and this order would put him to great expence.

(a) *Erat autem regi chariſſimus, propter liberalitatem et dapſilitatem. M. Paris.*

He

He enjoined alſo, that a day of anniverſary feaſting ſhould be ſet apart, in memory of their deceaſed ſteward, Adam, who had been a faithful ſervant for many years, and had procured them the church of Suthbury. Adam, on bringing this church to the poſſeſſions of the abbey, had procured that a part of its revenue, which was more than 100l. a year, ſhould be expended in gifts and feaſting, for the ſouls of his father and mother, and for the ſouls of all the parents of all the monks, that is, as a dole, or recompence, to the receivers, who ſhould pray for the ſalvation of thoſe ſouls. The remainder of this revenue was now ordered to be expended in feeding an hundred poor perſons at the gate, on the anniverſary of Adam, with bread and ale, and an hundred more by the ſteward of the monk's kitchen; and in providing at the ſame time a ſufficient and ſplendid repaſt for the whole convent in the refectory. Warren alſo appointed an anniverſary for the ſoul of his predeceſſor Geoffrey, in which the treaſurer of the church ſhould relieve an hundred poor perſons with bread and ale, and one meſs of broth; and all others who might be preſent, ſhould have half a loaf each, a quarter of corn being baked for the purpoſe. Warren the 20th abbot.

Warren granted many indulgences to his monks, by way of mitigating the rigor of their order; for, whereas it had been a cuſtom for the monks to be blooded about four or five times a year (a), the operation to be performed after dinner in the ſummer, and the patients to abſtain from the refectory, and from converſe, and from holy worſhip; he ordained, that they ſhould undergo this operation in the morning both in the ſummer and in winter, ſhould dine in the refectory, and then go (with the other monks, to whom alſo it was a liberty now firſt granted) into the ſtrangers parlour, and there join company and converſe for one hour; in which time the ſervitors and attendants were dining.

He ordered alſo, that they ſhould all go together into the dormitory, at night, before the brethren ſhould be ſummoned by the bell

(a) This ceremony is deſcribed by Cardinal *du Freſne*, in his Account of the Order of St. Victor, in theſe words, 'five times in the year let there be a general loſing of 'blood; beyond which number, without great danger of extreme weakneſs, the li- 'berty ſhall not be granted: and ſo many times are neceſſary (to be obſerved at cer- 'tain fixed periods), that no perſons may require the ſame at an improper ſeaſon: 'the *firſt* is in September, the *ſecond* before Advent, the *third* before Lent, the *fourth* after 'Eaſter, the *fifth* after Pentecoſt. Three days ſhall be employed in the rite; after 'which they ſhall come to matins, or morning ſervice, and join the convent; and on 'the fourth they ſhall receive abſolution in a chapter.' This rite is enjoined in the rule of the order of *Sempringham*; and in the *Chronicon of Trudo*, c. 9; and in the *Uſus Ord. Ciſtercienſium*, c. 90.

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to ariſe for the midnight ſervice, *Completorium:* and that thoſe, who did riſe for that ſolemnity, ſhould meet in the ſtrangers parlour, and converſe for one hour, or ſo long as the keeper of that room ſhould give leave, before they went into the choir; but not longer, or later, than the curfew (a). He added, likewiſe, to ſome, a leave of abſence from the midnight ſervice or an indulgence of abſence the next day. The matins were a ſervice in the church at three o'clock in the morning, or in the ſummer at break of day: and it had been a conſtant cuſtom for theſe bleeding monks to abſent themſelves for the firſt night after the operation, but to attend on the ſecond. The abbot now granted them abſence on the ſecond night, with injunctions to attend the third, at all canonical hours; unleſs ſome principal feſtival, or double ſervice, ſhould intervene on the ſecond.

This practice of bleeding the monks did not become neceſſary through high living, or to prevent a plethora and carry off any intemperance; for, they lived chiefly on roots and bread, and but rarely on fiſh and fowl: they, however, drank plentifully of ale and malt-liquor. But, in the phyſical ſyſtem of thoſe days, bleeding was deemed a remedy for all diſorders, and eſpecially for a low and weak conſtitution: and beſide, they placed ſo much religious merit in a pale aſpect and a mortified habit of body, that they thought a florid complexion, and healthy looks, quite inconſiſtent with religion and grace; and ſuch appearance created a ſuſpicion of great ſin and criminality in the bearer.

It was the duty of the ſacriſt to regulate and direct all matters relative to the faſts, and the obſervance thereof; and he was now ordered to allow moderate refreſhment to ſuch as could not wait till the late hour the body ſat down to dinner on faſt-days; but to manage in ſuch a manner, that the whole ſhould aſſemble at the great maſs. In Lent, the daily practice was, that no man taſted a morſel until after the great maſs, which began at three o'clock; and then he might take a little food, and aſſemble with the convent, at ſix, to the veſpers. But, as it had ever been complained, that they had but one hour (for, the great maſs laſted two hours) for relieving their faſt, and for neceſſary eaſe and refreſhment, the abbot allowed that ſome ſhould ſtay longer at their repaſt, provided that others attended veſpers; and that, if the convent abſtained from fiſh, which they did often on faſt-days, a man ſhould be abſolved from the injunction of abſtinence, and be allowed to eat what he could get. When any perſon had taken his

(a) *Pyritegium.*

repaſt,

repaſt, he ſhould quit the refectory inſtantly, and betake himſelf to his ſolitary duties, while the body was dining; and that, if any monk abode or ſtaid in the refectory until the ſound of the bell was heard, (which was probably a ſummons to the ſervants, &c.), that monk ſhould not be permitted to enter the parlour; but go into the church, and remain there ſolitary and ſilent. Warren the 20th abbot.

It was contrary to the rule and law of their inſtitution to eat fleſh meat, except in the infirmary; but, becauſe there were ſome who concealed their weak and low condition, although they looked extremely pale and waſted, and wiſhed to keep out of the infirmary, to them the abbot gave leave to eat meat, but it muſt be in the gate-houſe, and probably with the porter. And, even in the infirmary, no one touched meat, unleſs in the extremity of his diſeaſe, (which, as it aroſe from very low diet, here met its ſuitable remedy), or when, if recovering, the maſter of the infirmary, authorized for ſpeaking the truth, affirmed that meat was neceſſary. He directed every one to enter the infirmary, as ſoon as he complained of ſickneſs; and the offerings made at the altar of St. Peter(a), at the north end of the town, were ſet apart for the purpoſe of finding medicines, advice, &c.; ſo that no one, who ſhould undertake that duty, might hereafter plead an impoſſibility or defect of means: and this appointment of the offerings continued till the time of *John of Hertford*, the 23d abbot, who, in 1253, endowed a vicarage in this church, and alſo in that of Saint Michael of Kingſbury; when the offerings and certain portions of the tithe were allotted to the maintenance of the vicar, and no recompence made to the monaſtic body.

He permitted any of the monks, who ſeemed to be declining in their health, to go and recreate themſelves at Redburn; leſt a continual round of duty and confinement in the cloiſter, without any variation, might breed utter and irrecoverable ſickneſs: but they were obliged to this condition, that, if fleſh-meat was proper and neceſſary, they ſhould eat ſuch as their ſervants might provide for themſelves, and they (the ſervants) ſhould eat the conventual dinner. He allowed the monks, on faſt-days, to ſleep after dinner, if any thought proper; whereas, the cuſtom had been, to lie down to reſt at noon. But it is neceſſary alſo to mention, that it was a cuſtom with Warren, to ſend

(a) Abbot Geoffrey had appointed St. Peter's, and all its appurtenances, to the perpetual uſe of the infirmary and refectory; with annual denunciations, &c. &c. ſee page 55: But, from this freſh grant of Warren's, it would appear, that, after a lapſe of 50 years, the threats were forgotten, and the *Infirmary's* portion otherwiſe applied.

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away to Tinmouth, or ſome diſtant cell, any monk whom he diſliked; under pretence of its being neceſſary for his health, or for his farther progreſs in the ways of righteouſneſs and ſalvation.

He remitted much of their duty in the choir, by ſhortening many parts of the ſervice, and eſpecially that ſervice on private days, from All Saints to Eaſter, in which they were accuſtomed to ſing *thirty* pſalms: this ſervice was ſo tireſome to ſome, that they babbled it over as quick as poſſible, and others were ready, in the mean time, to nod: he therefore divided it into two ſervices, with an interval; and, inſtead of ſome other ſervice, or ſet of prayers, uſed before, he ſubſtituted the ſeven penitential pſalms.

He made ſome alterations in their dreſs; injoining, that inſtead of high-ſhoes, faſtened with a thong, they ſhould wear boots, and thoſe made of the leather called Baſan, or in preſent vulgar ſpeech, *Baſils*, that is, calf-ſkin, tanned; whereas, their former ſhoes were made of bullock's hide, and tanned at more expence: the reaſon of this change was, that they might be more ready and expeditious in coming to the ſervice in the morning, and might not entangle themſelves with their neighbour in walking; and, that they might appear with clean hands: theſe boots ſtill retained the ancient roundneſs and wide form of the ſhoes. He ordered them, alſo, to wear their under garments in ſuch a manner, that they might have their arms more at liberty, and no longer be confined by ſleeves. He directed that no ſervitor, or attendant in the refectory, ſhould wait without a good frock; for, before, they were ſo ill-cloathed, that their appearance approached very near to nakedneſs: and, obſerving that the noviciates wore only a frock with a hood ſewed to it, he ordered, that, as ſoon as the young monk received the tonſure, he ſhould put on the whole dreſs and habit of a *profeſſed*. He ordained alſo, that no ſecular, except a biſhop, ſhould ever dine with the monks.

He gave to his church a certain habit of a purple colour, and of great value, being adorned with rows of very coſtly pearl, and painted, or embroidered, with the figures of birds looking behind them; and ordained, that on his anniverſary, or day of his death, the officiating prieſt ſhould be habited in this garment, and offer up a ſalutary victim (I ſuppoſe in prayer) for his ſoul. When he perceived his end approaching, he bequeathed to his ſucceſſor one hundred marks for rebuilding the weſt front of his church.

It was in this abbot's time, that King Richard *(Cœur de Lion)* was taken priſoner, on his return from the Holy Land; and he had ſent an order to his Council, to demand, in his name, from all the monaſteries,

naſteries, biſhops, and clergy of England, all their ſilver cups, in order to make a ſum for his ranſom: the abbot then ſent to the king two hundred marks of ſilver; being unwilling to impoveriſh his abbey, or mutilate the ſplendor of its appearance. Warren the 20th abbot.

Warren ruled the abbey near 12 years; but had always ſhewn himſelf an imperious, ſelf-willed, man, full of his own conceits, and never liſtening to any advice or admonition of others, however friendly: and, by the help of his brother Matthew, the prior, who was of a very ſuſpicious character, he offended many of the beſt nobility and great perſonages, who had concerns with the abbey, and purſued them with a moſt unrelenting hatred. This conduct rendered his monaſtery ſo thin, that he had noviciates of *five* years old; and the few that remained in the convent never durſt contradict him. He was much blamed for founding the church and hoſpital of St. Mary de Pratis, as doing an injury to the revenue of his abbey: and the indulgences, which he gave his monks, were ſaid to be with a view of keeping them in good temper and compliance. But he was famous for doing irreparable miſchief in the woods of the abbey; and every Sunday he kept a kind of exchequer, or revenue office, to which reſorted the foreſters and others, who ſold or bought the wood, in order to ſettle their accompts, &c. And yet, from this ſupply, he never added to the ornaments of the church, or to the buildings of the monaſtery; nor, indeed, did he keep up or repair thoſe of the farms and manors: but, with great aſſiduity, and many liberal donations, did he ſtudy to recommend himſelf to king Richard and queen Eleanor; as if that had conſtituted the ſum of religious duty and of good fame. Whomſoever he found ſpeaking of him with obloquy or reprehending his exceſſes, theſe perſons were ſoon hurried away to ſome diſtant cell, where many ſuffered a kind of exile, and, enduring great bitterneſs of mind, finiſhed a wretched life, with dreadful imprecations on Warren; and chiefly, becauſe they found themſelves conſtrained to break thoſe vows of obedience, and act contrary to thoſe promiſes and profeſſions, which they had made on admiſſion. Warren died in 1195.

The indulgences, if they may be ſo called, which this abbot ſhewed to his monks, give full proof, in how abject a ſubjection to the ſuperior they lived, and alſo, what an auſtere and irkſome life they were forced to lead: the ſervice of the choir employed them eight hours in the twenty-four, namely, two hours at ſix in the morning or at day-

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day-break, two more at noon, two at ſix in the evening, and two more at midnight. They had, indeed, eight hours for reſt, but that was much broken, and interrupted by frequent vigils in the night-ſeaſon; and the remaining eight, which we may ſuppoſe ſpent in recreation, or in pleaſant company and agreeable diſcourſe, ſeem to have been quite void of all theſe pleaſures: if they ſpent theſe hours in ſolitude, it is probable they were given to reſt or indolence; or, if they choſe to refreſh themſelves in the open air, it is probable that this could not be done without leave; and then, it was enjoined every man, who ſought for air and exerciſe, to employ himſelf in the garden with the ſpade or the hoe. Every thing like innocent mirth or amuſement was excluded theſe walls, in which a repetition of prayers and perpetual ſinging of pſalms were deemed devotion and worſhip, and were holden equivalent to ſound faith and to pure morals.

The diet of the monks was another auſterity, that, in theſe days, would not be ſubmitted to by the moſt indigent. Faſting twice a week is reckoned a hardſhip now, by even thoſe who are ever full, and fare ſumptuouſly every day; but it was a ſevere trial and mortification to men, who fared very ſcantily at all times, and may be ſaid never to have a belly-full of good ſubſtantial food; for, the little fleſh they had was generally turned into broth, and the fiſh allowed was but in ſmall quantities: eggs boiled hard, and a portion of roots and herbs, with bread and ale, conſtituted the generality of their meals. And here it is to be obſerved, that the roots and herbs were but of the moſt ordinary kind, ſince, in the days I ſpeak of, very few of the preſent eſculent plants were known in England. They ſeem, indeed, on ſome occaſions, to have had a portion of wine(a), and were, at times, indulged in the fleſh of birds and the feathered tribe, which ſeem, in thoſe days, to have been more plenty than beef and mutton, and to have made a conſiderable part of the feaſts, even in later times.

The dreſs, or attire, of the men had as little in it to excite pride, as their diet could gluttony; or, rather, was as well calculated to mortify and humble them: a coarſe long gown of black, with ſome ordinary under-garments, and beneath all a hair ſhirt (b), is a dreſs, that,

(a) Probably of their own making.

(b) This is underſtood to be the garment worn, among the Jews, by the penitent and the mournful; and is the ſame as the Septuagint tranſlators term Σακκος, and St. John in the 6th chapter of the Apocalypſe; and which the Latin interpreters have rendered *Cilicium*; being made of the hair, or wool, ſhorn from the goats, and woven in Cilicia, where this invention took its riſe, and continued long in practice, as is affirmed by

that, beſide being ever painful and working like a thorn in the fleſh, was a conſtant incumbrance to the legs and arms, in every motion and geſture: a bald head, and with no covering, in the ſevereſt cold, but a dirty cowl, or hood, hanging on the ſhoulders, is ſomething very humiliating to all perſons, who are ſenſible how much the manly character is raiſed by the air and ornament of the head. Warren the 20th abbot.

Their life was paſſed without much inſtruction, either in public or in private; for, the ſermons were not, as now, leſſons of faith or good morals, but panegyrics on ſome ſaint, with an account of the ſtrange miracles, performed at the tomb of ſome pious departed mortal: and books were ſo ſcarce, and ſo few perſons capable of reading them, that no inſtruction could eaſily be had in private. The ſole buſineſs of theſe monks was, to chaunt and exhibit the *public* worſhip of God in pomp and ſplendor; and their *private* adoration of him was in ſelf-denial and abaſement.

On a view of their life, what perſons, it may be ſaid, could be induced to embrace it? and here, though I will allow, that parents might often breed up their children with a view to it, and that many reaſons of prudence and policy prompted the younger branches of families to enter, yet I may ſafely venture to ſay, that far the greater number took on them this kind of life when they were capable of judging, and that they did it through choice, and after much ſerious conſideration: it may then be anſwered to this queſtioniſt, "Alas! "thou ſavoureſt more of the things that belong unto men, than "of thoſe that belong unto God." For, theſe men did it out of principle, and in conformity to the notions and doctrines of the times, with great ſincerity of mind, and the moſt pure ſentiments of piety. All their books and doctors of theology taught, that men came into the world with a monſtrous burden of ſin: it

by Varro *de Re Ruſticâ, in fine.* Sometimes it was made of camel's hair; but always of the coarſeſt ſort, and woven with a very hard coarſe thread: And this was the raiment of John the Baptiſt, as being moſt ſuitable to his penitential character and miſſion. The Engliſh tranſlators term it *ſackcloth*, as if it was made of hemp; but it is probable this name was affixed to the garment from its reſembling a ſack, and being, like that, narrow and ſtraight.

Virgil alludes to this in the 3*d Georgic*, thus,

Cinyphii tondent hirci, ſetaſque comantes,
Uſum in caſtrorum, miſeris velamina nautis.

And Alcimus Avitus *de Juſtitio, cap.* 4.

Mollibus abjectis, Cilicum dant tegmina ſetæ.

And Paulinus Nolanus *in Obit. Celſi, v.* 451.

Si modò lugentem gravis hirto tegmine ſaccus
Caprigenûm ſetis dum teget, et ſtimulet.

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matters not how this guilt was contracted; they found themſelves laden, and, therefore, were not only prudent in forbearing to add to the burden, but were prompted to gain a diſcharge from this paternal debt by any means they could deviſe. The monaſtic life offered the faireſt promiſe of remedy. They thought it enough to expiate and wear away the old debt; but had no notion of ſetting out as innocent perſons, and making farther progreſs in holineſs and virtue: to get rid of the original burden was all their care; and this inſtitution offered the beſt means, as being full of harſh and rigid duties, and removed far from all new temptations: the continual offering up a ſacrifice, whether of the real or ſuppoſed body of the Redeemer, together with frequent and fervent prayer, they thought would derive a merit upon them. And to do their duty in that ſtate of life, wherein they ſhould *place themſelves* (a), thus by choice, they thought moſt pleaſing to God.

To ſuch a faith as this, what could better accord and ſuit, than a ſtate of life, wherein their duties were very few: for, by this life, they cut off many of the commandments; they rejected all the duties of a father and all thoſe alſo of a ſon, and they no longer owed juſtice or love to a neighbour, when they quitted ſociety; then too, they renounced all conjugal ties, and the beſt endearments of blood and affection: and, by vowing perpetual chaſtity, poverty, and faſting, they very nearly expunged all the duties due to a man's ſelf (even ſobriety and temperance) and comprehended the whole duty of this new life in piety and religious worſhip.

Indeed, the moſt pious perſons of thoſe times conſidered the monaſtic life as the moſt perfect pattern of holy living, and ſuch as could not be attained in the world, or be taught by the ſecular clergy: and this induced liberal gifts and benefactions to the monaſteries, and was the cauſe of frequent bickering and rivalſhip between the regulars and the ſeculars. Theſe foundations had ſuch reputation for ſanctity, that they became the parents of moſt pariſh-churches; the lord of a manor generally ſending to a monaſtery for ſome prieſt to occupy the church he had built, and therein perform the holy offices among his tenants. Nay, moſt of the cathedral churches were founded with a body of this ſort, and the biſhop was ſurrounded with a cloiſter of monks. They had a pre-eminence for fame, and gained an aſcendency throughout the kingdom: they were the ſeminaries of inſtruc-

(a) The reformers, afterwards, taught people to do their duty in that ſtate of life, unto which it *ſhall pleaſe God* to call them.

tion,

tion, and doubtleſs well calculated to ſpread religion over the land, to found churches, and eſtabliſh pariſhes; and to perform thoſe great works, which none but *corporate bodies*, in whom reſide *power*, *numbers*, and *duration*, can accompliſh. Warren the 20th abbot.

They were, indeed, the parents of many pariſh-churches; but this was not all, they were the great inſtruments, in the hand of the popes, not only for governing the papal ſubjects, but for managing and ruling even the kings of the earth: they were the ſworn ſubjects of the pope, and but in a ſecond place the ſubjects of their civil prince: accordingly, every kingdom experienced a rival juriſdiction, wherein a continual ſtruggle was kept up, by the ſovereigns and their barons, on one ſide, againſt the pope and clergy on the other. In this twelfth century, which is reckoned the ſummit of papal power, it is remarkable how inſtrumental the monks were, to ſtir up, at the command of the pope, all the nations of Europe, to go upon that mad project of reſcuing the Holy Land; but which wars appear, on a nearer view, to have been the contrivance of the popes, to ward off ſome great blow that threatened themſelves. And it is remarkable, likewiſe, that when, in this ſame century, the Albigenſes and Waldenſes appeared, conteſting the uſurpations of Rome and diſproving its doctrines, the popes could not vanquiſh thoſe new foes by argument or learning; nor combat them with any other weapon than by giving all poſſible encouragement to the monaſtic bodies then exiſting, and by creating new orders of monks; as, for inſtance, the Dominicans and Franciſcans, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more at large in the ſequel of this work.

CHAPTER III.

John I. the 21ſt abbot.

ON the death of Warren, the monks choſe *John*, the firſt of that name, to be abbot; he was called *John of the Cell*, from having been born at Merkgate Cell, not far from Studham, and therefore ſometimes called *John of Studham*. He was a man of extraordinary piety, and a rigid obſerver of the monaſtic rules; and for that reaſon choſen, in order to revive the diſcipline of the cloiſter, and recover credit to the abbey, which had fallen into neglect, by the remiſſneſs of the late abbot. This John, in his younger days, had ſtudied at Paris; and came home with ſuch reputation, that, in grammar he was reckoned a very Priſcian, in poetry a perfect Ovid, and in phyſic was eſteemed equal to Galen. Having taken the habit of a religious, he was advanced to the place of prior of Wallingford (a), and thence was elected to govern this abbey. He committed the care of the cloiſter, and of the internal government, to Raymond the prior, a man of good counſel, and eſteemed prudent and religious, and to the ſteward, or *cellerarius*, named Roger Parker; and thus, by delivering over to others the cares of the houſe, he reſerved himſelf for the more ſerious duties of devotion and contemplation.

Now, with the aſſiſtance of theſe two, he undertook the repair, or rebuilding, of the weſt front of the church; for which he had received, of the late abbot, one hundred marks. But, before I relate the progreſs of this work, or the difficulties and troubles that involved both John and his coadjutors, it is proper to ſay ſomething relative to the

(b) A cell belonging to the abbey, and ſituated in Berkſhire.

ſtructure,

ſtructure, and to aſcertain the time, or times, of its being built and completed: and this is neceſſary, becauſe there appear ſo many different ſtyles of architecture, that the ſeveral parts have been aſcribed to different ages, in which a different ſtyle, or faſhion of building, prevailed; for, ſome connoiſſeurs have thought they could dicover, in the choir and tranſepts, the rudeneſs and ſimplicity of the ancient Saxon, prior to the Conqueſt; and, in the moſt improved part, all the elegance and rich variety of Henry VI. or VII.'s time; with the gradual changes and improvements of the intervening periods. John I. the 21ſt abbot.

But, as it is certain that abbot Paul, in the time of the conqueror and Rufus, began and carried on a great part of the building; ſo it is no leſs certain, from this legacy of Warren, that the whole of the weſt end had been completed, and did now, in the front, want great reparations. Abbot Paul was appointed in 1077, and ruled ſixteen years; and now, in 1195, a great decay has happened: hence it is probable that this ruinated part had not ſtood 100 years. And, beſide, it may be remembered that abbot Richard, the ſucceſſor of Paul, built the ſcreen and chapel, in honour of Cuthbert, and cauſed the dedication of the church to be ſolemnized, with great feſtivity, on Chriſtmas-day, in the year 1115: whoever obſerves nicely the poſition of that ſcreen, now ſtanding, muſt acknowlege, that it was built after the arches and piers on either ſide of it, and therefore thoſe arches and piers muſt have been built before 1115: and, when the weſt front was in a decayed ſtate in 1195, it muſt follow, that both ſides below that ſcreen had been built and completed, not only before 1195, but before 1115. But farther, I have already ſaid, on the expreſs teſtimony of *M. Paris*, that the church was begun, and great part of it built by abbot Paul, within the firſt eleven years of his rule; and that the ſame was dedicated by his ſucceſſor in 1115: now, if the church had not been ENTIRELY rebuilt, dedication would not have been neceſſary; and, if it had not been COMPLETE, that ſolemnity would not have taken place. So that no doubt can remain, but that the whole ſtructure, of its preſent ſize, form, and dimenſions, was erected by Paul and Richard, between 1077 and 1115.

Whence then, it may be ſaid, comes ſuch variety in the ſtyle and faſhion of the architecture? It aroſe from two cauſes: partly from the different taſte and fancy of the various ſets of builders and workmen, but chiefly from the nature of the materials. It is well known, that bands and companies of builders were united by conſent, and undertook great works, and enjoyed certain privileges and immunities; as they were thought the only perſons qualified, for their ſkill, their

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numbers, and union, to put the ſame in execution (a). Now, as ſeveral ſets of thoſe men were employed at the ſame time, each ſet engaged, as the cuſtom was, to perform ſuch a part, for ſuch a price: but they could work only in the ſtyle and manner they had been accuſtomed to; and therefore ſome of the ſets, unſkilled, perhaps, in the nicer operations of ſtone, would readily undertake to execute the work, with the ſimple materials, that had been long preparing for the purpoſe, and were now collected in great quantities; while others, of more ſkill and judgement, might ſtand aloof, until the Roman tile was nearly exhauſted, or, till they had enforced the propriety of uſing more tractable materials, both to embelliſh the church and diſplay their taſte. In proof of this, let us take a view of the ſtructure itſelf: juſt below the ſcreen, on the ſouth ſide, are four or five arches and piers, of the moſt beautiful ſtyle in the whole building; and directly oppoſite theſe, on the north ſide, five of the moſt rude and ordinary: the laſt are formed entirely of the Roman tile, the firſt of ſtone: this makes it evident, that, though the work was executed at or about the ſame time, yet it was neither by the ſame men, nor after the ſame plan; nor was the ſame ſort of materials uſed, at leaſt in the external. But, as a mark of the antiquity of the former beautiful part, there may be ſeen, at the ſpring of the arches, the head of Lanfranc, of Offa and his queen, and of Edward the Confeſſor, the venerable founders and benefactors; and over their heads are the arms of England (the 4 lions rampant), which were the arms of the ſaid Edward, then the arms of Mercia (3 crowns), the arms of the abbey (a croſs like St. Andrew's), the arms of France, and the arms of Weſtminſter (3 birds); all cut in the Totternhoe ſtone, and very entire at this day.

As to the very rude part of the building, viz. the four piers and arches that ſupport the tower, the whole of the choir, the two tranſepts, and the five arches above-mentioned; the rudeneſs argues nothing for its antiquity or its being a mark of originality; for, it aroſe chiefly,

(a) When the Cruſaders built churches in Paleſtine, which was done under the direction and ſkill of ſuch bands from Europe, it was common to bind the Saracen captives, taken in battle, to thoſe builders, and make them perform all the moſt laborious ſervices; and this fact is expreſsly aſcertained by *M. Paris*, who ſays, in the year 1184 "that the king of Portugal gave, for ſlaves, the captives and priſoners, to "ſerve the builders in the repair of the churches." Hence perhaps, from the many Saracens employed in the ſervile part, this ſtyle of building may have been called, *the Saracenic Architecture*, and the name brought into England at the return of the Cruſaders. From theſe bands, likewiſe, we may perhaps date the origin of the *Free Maſons*, who were eſteemed the better builders; in oppoſition to that ignorant and ſervile tribe, who wrought without fancy, taſte, or judgement.

as I have already ſaid, from the intractable materials then uſed, which, being the Roman tile, would not admit of being formed into beautiful columns, or ſmooth and well-turned arches, or even make a ſmooth wall: and the other builders, obſerving the uncouthneſs of theſe materials, took care, in forming their arches and columns, to make the nice and even edges with ſtone from Totternhoe, and to conceal the Roman tile in the ſolid inſide: and it may be preſumed, from the exquiſite hardneſs of theſe Roman materials, that the ſtructure will ſurpaſs, in duration, any thing that is built of ſtone or marble. John I. the 21ſt abbot.

If this be the caſe, how comes it, it may be ſaid, that the weſt front was ſo ſoon decayed? Becauſe, it is probable, it had been built, for the ſake of ornament and a more complete finiſh, of ſome different material, as of the Totternhoe or ſome other ſtone: and it is manifeſt at this day, that what part is made of that ſtone or of the Suſſex marble, is in the ſheltered part of the gate and arch-way, and that ſuch part as is expoſed to the weather is compoſed of the Roman tile: yet the firſt is moſt decayed.

Having thus ſhewn, that the rudeneſs and ſimplicity of the choir and tranſepts are owing, chiefly, to the very uncouth materials wherewith theſe parts were built, which had been collecting for a length of years, and which would allow no arch but the plain ſemi-circle, without any leſſening from its outer edge; and having ſtated, that, when theſe materials were almoſt exhauſted, the builders had recourſe to the Totternhoe ſtone, and of that conſtructed all the beautiful parts below the rude; it may be proper to add, that we may here plainly diſcern the error of thoſe critics in architecture, who aſſert, that the pointed arch aroſe firſt in the time of Henry III. and is ſeldom found in earlier conſtructions; whereas, in this ſtructure, the pointed arch is to be ſeen, in all the ſeveral ſpecimens of good and complete building: and the ſame was undoubtedly erected in the time of the Conqueror and his ſons, before 1115. Indeed, ſo complete and perfect is the ſtyle of theſe beautiful parts, that the authors may be thought to have reached the ſummit of their art: for, it is not only calculated for ſtrength and duration; but the proportion of the ſeveral parts of the arch and its columns is moſt exquiſite, and contrived with ſo much judgement, that they loſe nothing of their beauty, though placed more than forty feet above the eye of the obſerver. Theſe ſpecimens of the perfect Gothic are equal, in themſelves, to any work, in any cathedral; but yet, as they conſiſt only of four or five arches in each ſpecimen, they appear not with that commanding admiration, which reſults from a whole and complete building, erected in this ſtyle. The

cathedral

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cathedral at Peterborough is of that ſort, and uniform throughout: and ſo much reſembles ſome of theſe ſpecimens, that, as it was built later, we may almoſt ſay, the ſtyle and form was copied from this abbey church.

This ancient and religious ſtyle of building has never received its due praiſes, nor the inventors their due merits, from thoſe even who pretend to underſtand their works. Perhaps nothing has ſo much contributed to keep down their fame as calling them *Gothic*; and, becauſe invented in rude and unpoliſhed ages, this art itſelf is likewiſe thought to be a rude jumble of contrivances. But be it conſidered, that it was the invention of people, who lived ſome centuries after the Gothic name was ſunk and undiſtinguiſhed among the nations of Europe: it was invented and improved by Chriſtians, and men of pious and elevated minds. WHEN it began, or WHERE, we know not. But when men ſaw that Heathen temples, though beautiful and exquiſite in the external parts, were, within, neither beautiful nor enlightened, (for they were without windows, and full of ſmoke and filth, from lamps (a) and fires), nor fit to be applied to the worſhip of a pure and holy mind, they learnt to build for themſelves: and here it muſt be ſaid, that they ſtudied the internal from the beginning, and aimed at ſuch a ſtructure as ſhould tend to raiſe the thoughts, elevate the mind, and captivate the heart of man, by charming his ſight. Indeed, the Romiſh worſhip had every thing in it, to arreſt the *ſenſes* of its votaries, and withdraw them, as they thought, from all worldly vanities: muſic and melody for the ear, incenſe and rich perfume for the noſe, and every diſplay of painting and ſtatuary to engage the eye. But, before theſe arts prevailed or were called in, the building was contrived with every ſort of ſkill and art, to raiſe the mind to a contemplation of that God whom they worſhipped: lofty in its roof, enlightened, and chearful; ſpacious, for proceſſions and great aſſemblies of worſhippers; full of pillars, as neceſſary to ſupport a heavy roof; yet, when ſtrength was attained by their maſſy pillars and thick walls, they contrived to reduce theſe ſolid and clumſy parts with ſuch art, in ſhaping them, as to give an air of lightneſs, without diminiſhing the ſtrength.

They were confined to no rules of proportion; or, rather, had never ſtudied to confine the art within any rule: they built from fancy, guided only by a judicious taſte. In their arches and columns they have ſhewn great ingenuity, not only in placing three or four

(a) Lychnychi penſiles in delubris. Plin. Lib. 34.

rows

rows of ſuch work in height, but in making the lower row large in its parts, gradually leſſening the parts of the next, and ſo diminiſhing as they riſe; thus, they have ſhaped the columns and the arches in ſuch a manner as to make the work appear light and eaſy, without prejudice to its ſtrength: the variations in their arches are likewiſe very ingenious, as being both beautiful and ſtrong: and, indeed, that boundleſs variety which appears, not only in the neceſſary and ſubſtantial parts, but in the ornamental, is ſo chaſte, ſimple, and correct, that it ever appears with a fitneſs and propriety ſuitable to its place and its uſe. It was no ſmall advantage in theſe ſtructures, that they enabled the builders to uſe and employ all the ſmall ſtones; for, of ſuch are their works compoſed, both within and without: but this defect was ſupplied and made up by uſing an incomparably good cement.

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This kind of building was in uſe and faſhion in England, from the time the Normans firſt became connected with this country, (before the Conqueſt,) until the reign of Henry VIII. at which time it gave way, only, on the diſcovery of the Greek and Roman architecture. But, although it was in univerſal uſe, yet not a ſcrap of any deſign on paper is come down to this time, nor are the names of any of the principal builders, in that long period of five hundred years, now ſo much as known: except William of Wickham be thought the architect of Edward III. and Nicolas Cloſe, biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, the architect of Henry VI.; the firſt having conducted the building of Windſor caſtle, the laſt that of King's College Chapel. Yet their works will preſerve the fame of their art as long as any Grecian architecture ſhall be ſtanding; for, on a compariſon, the advantage and general utility muſt appear on the ſide of the former; becauſe the exquiſite art of the Grecian goes only to the perfect beauty of the column and the entablature, and the repetition of theſe in a grand portico, or a periſtyle and arcade; and there its beauty is great, and its perfection complete; owing to its very fine marble and the geometrical knowledge of the artiſts: but it is a mere external architecture; and provides not, in the leaſt degree, for the internal uſe, beauty, or convenience. This church-architecture ought to be called, *The Chriſtian Order:* for, as it has been ever uſed for places of worſhip, and was invented with that view, and is exquiſitely adapted to that purpoſe, ſo will it hereafter prevail, more or leſs, in all new churches, as being the moſt perfect work of man's art, to elevate the mind and raiſe ideas and affections ſuitable to the Chriſtian worſhip.

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But to return to abbot John. He ſet himſelf in great earneſt to repair the decayed front, and is reported to have proceeded in this manner; he cauſed the old wall to be taken down, even the hard and ſolid part of it, where the materials were of the tile and the mortar impenetrable; then he began to draw together timber, and ſtones not a few, with ſome columns and planks; after which, he aſſembled a ſet of maſons *(cæmentarii)*, the head of which was one Hugo de Goldcliff, a deceitful knave, but an excellent artiſt: Hugo was employed, and, having dug the trench and laid the foundation, he began to build; but in a very ſhort time the hundred marks were found to be expended, together with many more, and a daily charge going on; nor was the work ſo far advanced as that the wall was even with the ground. On this, the abbot began to feel weary, and, perceiving that Hugo was adding many carvings and ornaments that were very expenſive, yet very trifling, before the wall was raiſed to the height of a houſe-floor, the abbot grew quite tired and timid, and the work began to grow languid: in the following winter, the wall being uncovered, the ſtones crumbled away, the columns, with their baſes and capitals, fell to the ground, and the whole exhibited the appearance of ruin and rubbiſh: the workmen hereupon withdrew and quitted the *job*, as it is called, but were denied their wages. Perhaps, when they found the hundred marks gone and no ſpeedy ſupply, they might think they had done enough; and, by the character of Goldcliff, this was probably the true caſe.

The abbot then aſſigned the work to the care of one of the brethren, named Gilbert de Everſholt, and impoſed a tax of one ſheaf of corn, to be paid yearly, for every acre ſown of the abbey's eſtates: this tax, being begun in the third year of John's election, was continued during his whole life, which was ſeventeen more, and for ten years of his ſucceſſor's; nor did the work advance in any manner to adminiſter joy to the old abbot, but was a conſtant ſource of grief and ſorrow. He offered many preſents of gold and ſilver to any perſon who would forward the work, and cauſed this offer to be proclaimed through all the lands of the abbey, and ſome of the dioceſes; and, having ſent one Amphibalus to travel about with relics, and pretend "that he had "been raiſed from the dead by the merits of Alban and Amphibalus, "and was able to give good proof of their miracles," he collected, by this illuſion, great ſums of money; but this unfortunate work abſorbed all the ſupplies, juſt as the ſea drinks up all rivers: and, as the ſea receives thereby no ſigns of increaſe, ſo this work received no advancement. After much uſeleſs expence, and at the death of Everſholt, the

the work was given up; though entruſted to another curator, named Siſſeverne, who had the care and conduct thereof for thirty years after; and, though he received great ſupplies, yet the work did not advance two feet in height in any one year. John I. the 21ſt abbot.

At the death of Everſholt, the abbot turned his thoughts to more prudent counſels; and, finding the refectory to be decayed and ruinous, he cauſed the ſame to be pulled down and rebuilt: this was completed in a handſome manner and brought to a happy concluſion, during his life, to the no ſmall joy of himſelf, and to the better entertainment and feſtivity of the brethren. While this work was going on, he cauſed the dormitory, now old and ruinous, to be rebuilt, and alſo a dwelling adjoining, uſed and inhabited by the domeſtics. Theſe improvements he finiſhed in a complete manner, and with the entire conſent and approbation of the convent; for, in order to diſcharge the expence of theſe two ſplendid edifices (a), as they were called, the convent gave up their wine (b), by general conſent, for the ſpace of fifteen years: though the good abbot lived not to ſee the end and concluſion of the compact.

Another vexation, that cauſed great grief to John, was, a new claim ſet up to the wood of Northaw, by Robert the ſon of Walter (c); who, being an earl of large poſſeſſions, and ſurrounded with relations and dependents, was able to purſue his pretended right with great trouble and injury towards the abbot and the monaſtery. John ſupported the conteſt with ſpirit and firmneſs; being aſſiſted by the experience and wiſdom of Raymond, the prior; and Roger Parker, the ſteward of their houſehold; and by William Siſſeverne, a knight, and ſteward of the manors and eſtates; and by Lawrence de Therebrugge, a knight of great eloquence and prudence, who ſhewed that he had not the leaſt fear of the threats of Robert. The earl, after cauſing infinite miſchief and trouble to the abbot, and having procured four of his dependents to enter into a plot againſt the life of the ſaid Lawrence, at length ſubmitted; and the wood remained in the poſſeſſion of the abbey.

Soon after, the claim was revived; and Robert produced a grant under the ſeal of the conventual chapter: this alarmed and confounded the abbot, until it was diſcovered that one William Pigun (d), a falſe brother in the convent, had been gained over by Robert, to frame

(a) Nobilium Domorum.
(b) That is, by refuſing to buy any, and by ſelling what they made.
(c) *Fitzwalter*, perhaps a deſcendant of Robert de Valoinges.
(a) Since called Pigeon.

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and contrive for him this forged deed, and, in the hurry of buſineſs, during other tranſactions, to put to it the common ſeal, in a treacherous and clandeſtine manner. My author loads the memory of this Pigun with every epithet of reproach, and ſays that John ſent him to the cell at Tinmouth, there to undergo a perpetual penance, if that could efface the guilt of his crime; and that, at his death, which happened ſoon after, a voice was heard, by ſome in the dormitory, repeating theſe words, *cape*, *Satan*, *cape*, *Satan*; whence it was concluded that Satan had choſen him.

It ſeems Pigun had conceived a diſlike and hatred to John, for being refuſed by him in a requeſt to have his nephew admitted a monk, at that time a ſchool-boy in the town; and it is probable that his late exile had ſharpened his temper to a keener edge againſt the abbot. However, he died ſuddenly, it was ſaid, after a very intemperate debauch; in which, being full of wine and meat, he paſſed from ebriety to ſleep, and from ſleep to death, by a natural and common gradation.

John was now ſo infirm and languiſhing in his health, that he deputed William Siſſeverne to tranſact all buſineſs for him; which William, as ſteward, performed for a year and a day. John having ſtill great dread of the open violence or private machinations of Robert, he prudently offered terms of accommodation and peace; and Robert, ſeverely ſtruck, ſays *M. Paris*, with the ſad end of his friend Pigun, and through ſome compunctions of conſcience, fearful alſo of the vengeance which Alban might take on him or prevail upon God to inflict, and thinking that more of his enormities might come to light, liſtened to overtures. The deed was committed to the flames, and John conſented to give him the church's eſtate at Biſhopſcote, worth 10l. a year.

This inſtance is one of many, which occurred in thoſe days, wherein the tyranny and avaricious encroachments of the rich and great was frequently employing itſelf againſt ſuch as were thought unable to defend themſelves: and the meekneſs and gentleneſs of abbot John ſerved to invite ſuch kind of conteſts and uſurpations. For, the ſame Robert ſet up a claim alſo to the patronage of the cell at Binham (a), the prior of which, named Thomas, had been removed by John for his partial regards towards Robert; on which occaſion the earl claimed the right of making the prior, and pretended he had a deed from the abbey, granting him that privilege, and that, by the tenor of the ſame, no prior could be turned out without his leave: in ſupport of

(a) Now Bynham, in the county of Norfolk, and ſituate near Walſingham.

his

his claim, he beſet the cell with armed men, threatening the defenders with extreme puniſhment, if they (being thirteen brethren) would not ſurrender. The king, hearing this at court, expreſſed great diſpleaſure at the daring inſolence of Robert, and ſent an armed party to raiſe the ſiege, and retrieve the honour of the church. John I. the 21ſt. abbot.

It was now the reign of king John, and in that part of the ſame, when the pope was waging war againſt him; and Robert was ſet at the head of one of the armies, aſſuming the title of conſtable (a) of the army of God: this he did by the encouragement and advice of the pope, Innocent the third. When John ſubmitted to the pope, then Innocent raiſed a perſecution againſt Robert, and cauſed all his poſſeſſions to be confiſcated, and himſelf to be baniſhed, or compelled to wander in diſtreſs and want. At length, in the reign of Henry III. he died, but refuſed ever to quit his claim to the patronage of Binham or give up the pretended deed. However, at his death, his confident, friend, and fellow ſoldier, Adam, the ſon of William, or, as he would be called now, Adam Fitzwilliam, who had been privy to the whole tranſaction, and was ſuſpected to have forged the deed, gave it up to the abbey; declaring all the ſecrets of his patron Robert: and, in expiation of his own guilt in the affair, he preſented to the church and offered on the great altar one large ſilver cup, gilt, out of the goods of the ſaid Robert; but this cup was afterwards ſtolen.

But other and heavier afflictions awaited the patient abbot. For, during the interdict from the pope, in which all divine worſhip was ſuſpended and the celebration of holy offices prohibited, an injunction came from the king, commanding to contemn the pope's decree, and to return to the holy ſolemnities and the uſual modes of worſhip. On which he called a council of the brethren, where it was reſolved, in due form, *that it was better to obey God than man:* and he thus refuſed compliance with the king's command. On this the king took poſſeſſion of the abbey, and poſted in it an armed force, under the command of one Robert London (b), a clerk, and in great favor with

(a) This man was one of the moſt ſtrenuous aſſerters of the liberties of the ſubject, and foremoſt in demanding *Magna Charta*; his name alſo ſtands firſt in the atteſtation to that deed, as copied by *M. Paris*. Yet he could deny liberty and juſtice to his inferiors.

(b) This Robert had been ſent by the king, the year before, to the great king of Morocco, called admiral Marmeline, with an offer of the crown of England, to be held of him as a fief; and, during Robert's abode in the monaſtery, he uſed to ſhow and exhibit, with much pomp, the jewels and ſplendid preſents, which he pretended to have received from Marmeline; and of theſe, *M. Paris* ſays, he was himſelf a beholder and admirer.

John I. the 21ſt abbot.

the king: nor would the king reſtore the abbey and quit poſſeſſion, until the abbot laid down ſix hundred marks.

In the ſame year, 1214, the king, having thruſt into the ſee of Durham one Richard de Mariſco, (for he was never duly elected), ordered him to make a requiſition of the abbot of five hundred marks more. This Richard was lord chancellor, and biſhop of Durham; but, beſide ſquandering the revenues of the ſee, he was bound in duty to provide for the exigences of his maſter: and, having ſent for the abbot, he addreſſes him thus, 'My lord abbot, there is not a better 'man in England than you: to what amount are you willing to aſſiſt 'the king? We know that you have given him ſix hundred marks; 'but that was for the delivery of your abbey, which the king had a 'right to have held; and therefore you had an equivalent: but now 'let us ſee, how far your mere liberality will go, and whether it will 'not be better to give five hundred more, and receive thanks for 'them.' The abbot ſtartled at the exaction, and began to mutter. 'Oh!' ſaith Richard, 'why do you murmur? the ſentence is paſſed, 'and cannot be altered: and is it not better, and more like a good 'ſubject, to give *five* hundred and receive thanks, than to give *two* 'or *three* hundred and receive none?' No intreaties could avail to mitigate this unjuſt demand, and the abbot was compelled to pay, to the great detriment and burthen of his church.

The experience and practice of abbot John had been ſo great, that he is ſaid to have been able to repeat a whole ſervice, perhaps fifteen or twenty pſalms, without book; nay, that he could repeat them backward, and not err in any of the reſponſes: and his ſanctity was ſuch, that, if he ſang alone, the reſponſes were made by angels. Indeed, in one of the piers on the north ſide of the body, there is a large cavity, to be approached and entered from the gallery *(triforium)*, with an aperture toward the middle walk; and which ſeems calculated for no other poſſible uſe but to ſpeak through, unſeen.

There were in the time of this abbot many paintings made and hung up in the church; they were executed chiefly by ſome of the monks, among whom was John of Colcheſter, and others, named Richard, William, and Simon, by whoſe hands ſeveral of the ſaints and holy men were delineated in colours or repreſented in curious carving: all the wall ſurrounding the great altar was adorned with St. John, St. Stephen, St. Amphibalus, and St. Benedict: by the hand of Simon there was a curious picture of St. Peter and St. Michael, and another of St. Thomas. Theſe pictures were all in being, and, I

ſuppoſe,

ſuppoſe, in great eſtimation, in the time of *M. Paris*, who might be a young monk at this time (1214), and who lived himſelf to 1259. By the care and induſtry of Raymond, the prior, many noble and uſeful books were obtained, by copying, and added to the collection; and in particular a very elegant book, ſtyled *Hiſtoria Scholaſtica cum Allegoriis* (a). John I. the 21ſt abbot.

It is to be noted, that there were ſeveral altars at this time in the church, beſide what was the principal, and called *the Great Altar:* theſe were dedicated to different ſaints, and received prayers and gifts, at the pleaſure of pious perſons, who ſought relief, or made application to them, as mediators and interceſſors at the throne of Grace: one of theſe was dedicated to the Virgin Mary; and on this altar a golden cup was made an offering by Richard de Clothall, knt. a man of piety, and moſt affectionate to the abbot.

John was the author of divers good ſtatutes: the firſt of which was, that, in conſideration of their poverty and hardſhip of travel, any monk, on his journey to this abbey, might turn aſide out of the road, and be entertained, both man and horſe, at any farm or grange, which he could find, belonging to the abbey. The ſecond was, that the number of monks ſhould be one hundred; but none farther, or beyond that number, ſhould be admitted, unleſs well recommended for ſcience or rank, or by petition from ſome great man, whom they feared to offend. Another ſtatute was, that, in celebrating either private or public maſſes, the number of collects, then repeated, ſhould not exceed ſeven; becauſe ſeven were ſufficient to make prayer effectual; and, beſide, it was a number of great dignity.

This pious abbot, finding his end approaching, ſpent his latter days in frequent exhortations to the brethren, and in mortifications to himſelf: he cauſed himſelf to be placed in the middle of the chapter-houſe, on a fall-ſtool, that is, in a kneeling poſture, and his garments to be ſtripped off to the bare ſkin; in order to ſhew them, what a poor, emaciated, deformed, wretch an old man was, and to give them a leſſon of reflection, on comparing themſelves with him. He was conveyed thence to the infirmary, and placed on a ſtone there prepared and uſed for this purpoſe, where the extreme unction was adminiſtered: He declared, as if by a prophetic ſpirit, that he ſhould not ſurvive the third day; which accordingly did come to paſs: and the intervals of reſt he employed in ſerious exhortation and advice, and in diſtributing little preſents to thoſe about him; but one of the brethren, perhaps

(a) One of theſe in *Ben. Coll. Lib.* Cambridge.

thinking

John I. the 21ſt abbot.

thinking himſelf forgotten, interrupted the ſerious moments of the company, by crying out, that the abbot had once given above one hundred and fifty marks to a certain kinſman, to fit him out and pay his expence of being knighted: "True," ſays the abbot, "and I can-"not deny ſuch an act of liberality; but I procured for you the tithes "and offerings of St. Stephen's church in this town, and alſo I have "purchaſed, for one hundred and fifty marks, the lands of Hammond: "and all theſe profits have I beſtowed on your kitchen, for the aug-"mentation of your commons." "Right, O father! thou haſt done "well, and thou haſt been beneficent unto all," was the anſwer. But directly did the abbot, though on his death-bed, give orders, that his accuſer ſhould be ſent away to ſome diſtant cell (a).

However, four or five joining in diſapprobation, among whom was the keeper of the ſeal, they drew up a paper to diſannul that deed and to aboliſh the practice, and brought the form to be read and ſealed by the abbot, then dying: he heard and underſtood the ſubject; but could not ſpeak, or expreſs his diſlike otherwiſe than by turning away and ſhaking his head: the bearer of the ſeal replied, "the ſilent man "gives conſent enough;" and then gave confirmation to the tranſaction. This was the laſt time of uſing that ſeal; for, at the death of the abbot, it was broken, and, as in theſe times with the ſeals of all deceaſed prelates, ſent to the arch-biſhop. Thus ended the life and rule of abbot John the firſt, in the year 1214; the year before the barons obtained the great charter; and two years before the death of king John.

William the 22d abbot.

As ſoon as the abbacy was vacant, it was judged neceſſary to ſend two of the brethren to the king, to aſk leave to proceed to an election; and the convent made choice of Robert de Brightwell and William de Trumpington, for this embaſſy. The king was then in Poictou; but, though he gave them audience, he conſented not to the matter or ſubject of their petition; well knowing, that the longer he kept the vacancy open, the more wealth and ſubſtance he ſhould draw from the abbey's eſtates, which, at the death of an abbot, as in a biſhopric, reverted to the hands of the king and cuſtody of his lord chancellor: this was early in the ſpring, and he put them off until his return to England, in November. In the mean time a valiant knight, named William de Trumpington, made intereſt with the king in behalf

(a) What did the religion of theſe monks conſiſt in? when, amid all this ſolemn preparation for death, ſuch bitter reſentment dwelt in the abbot's breaſt, that, with his laſt breath, he could endeavour to entail miſery on a fellow-creature!

of

of William the monk, who, he ſaid, was his relation, and who, though a young man, had been ſeneſchal to Sayer, earl of Wincheſter. The monks, finding by what intereſt he was ſupported, and fearing to offend the king or earl, made choice of *William de Trumpington:* he was elected and inſtalled on the 20th of November, 1215, and was prepared to receive the benediction from Euſtace, biſhop of Ely, before the great altar, on the firſt day of Advent following. William the 22d abbot.

This abbot immediately quitted, as if with contempt, the ſociety and converſe of his former friends and aſſociates of the cloiſter; and, mixing with ſeculars and laymen, followed their ways and manner, both in his diet and his converſation: this was ſo new and unexpected by his electors, that they took the liberty to remonſtrate and argue with him; theſe were, Raymond the prior, Walter de Rheims, Alexander de Langley, Alexander Appleton, Fabian the ſuperior, Aylmer, Hubert Ridell, and John Scott; who all ſpoke of the election with ſome ſelf-condemnation, as if they deſerved this diſgrace, for regarding the king more than the law, in the form of the election. In a chapter, held ſoon after, the monks proceeded to give him ſevere reprehenſion for his libertine conduct and carriage; claiming, at the ſame time, the privilege and freedom of the body, contained in the late charter: "Truly," ſays William, "I did make that charter, or "deed, and by my diligence procured it; but I knew not then what "I was doing: now I well know what I was ignorant of then." "True my Lord," ſaith Aylmer, "Now you know that you are "abbot; which you did not then." A few days before this, a monk was ordered to be ſent off to ſome diſtant cell, though without the conſent of the convent: the poor wretch, in ſpite of all his tears and moſt humble intreaties, was forced to comply; and he died there, ſoon after, in great anguiſh of mind. Within a ſhort ſpace another was ſent away and never heard of again.

By the procurement of the abbot, the pope's legate, named Nicolas, came to the abbey, and, having convened the body, deſired to inſpect a certain charter, granted by the late abbot: it was put into his hand, and, when he had peruſed it, he ſaid, "My brethren, are ye mad! "what! do you mean to renounce the obedience which ye have vowed "unto God with a ſolemn oath?" and inſtantly tore the charter into pieces; and, breaking the ſeal in like manner, he threw it before them. On ſight of which, the pride of the moſt lofty was humbled, and the wit and irony of the moſt ingenious put to ſilence, and, the chapter being diſſolved, they departed full of amazement and

 confuſion;

William the 22d abbot.

confuſion; the legate directing, that, if any murmur ſhould ariſe, he might be ſent for.

In a few days the prior Raymond, a man of great character, for wiſdom, fidelity, and diligence, was removed from that office, and ſent away to the cell at Tinmouth, much againſt his will and to the great grief of the old man, who was thus not only baniſhed from his friends, but robbed and ſpoiled of all his books and ſtripped of every thing that might be the conſolation of his old age.

William, in order to root up all ſeeds of complaint and diſcontent, thought proper to remove others of his brethren and ſend them to ſome of the diſtant cells: theſe were William Carne, John Seldford, Aylmer, and Walter Standon. As for Alexander de Langley, he ſent him, at the requeſt of the Counteſs of Arundel who was patroneſs of Wymundam (a), to be the prior of that church and cell; but the poor man ſoon after became ſo ill, by an alienation of mind and loſs of his reaſon, as to be incapable of his charge: he was accordingly ſent back again, and his place ſupplied by Ralph de Whitby. This Ralph was originally of Stanham, or Stoneham, and became a monk of Whitby, where he was choſen prior; but, after ſuffering divers troubles and perſecutions, he left that monaſtery, and prayed to be admitted at St. Alban's: and, having governed the cell of Whitby with great prudence and circumſpection, was now thought a proper perſon to rule that of Wymundham. Raymond's place of prior was filled by Walter of Rheims, a monk of good learning and zealous for the honour and reputation of the order.

This was the year 1215, ſo famous for the conteſt of the barons (among whom alſo were many of the biſhops and abbots), who obtained of king John *the Great Charter* of their liberties. But I find not that our abbot took any part in thoſe tranſactions: indeed, he had been ſo lately advanced, and owed his preferment ſo much to the king, through the recommendation of his kinſman, that William could not make a declared oppoſition to the king. And, though ſeveral biſhops and abbots joined the barons and with them aſſembled at Stamford, then at London, and afterwards at Staines, yet it is probable that he ſtaid quiet at home and ſettled his own little domeſtic kingdom.

The great tranſaction of Runemede was in June 1215. But the pope excommunicated the barons and Langton the archbiſhop, and

(a) This place is the ſame as Wyndham, and is ſituate in the county of Norfolk. The patronage of this cell, contended with ſome warmth between a former earl and abbot Robert, (p. 70.) ſeems now to have been compromiſed.

declared

declared the articles of *Magna Charta* no longer binding on the king. John then breathed nothing but war; and, providing his caſtles with men and ſtores, he ſet forth, in the winter following, to raiſe forces, and in the middle of December came to this abbey with a numerous train of adherents and ſoldiers. Here, in the chapter-houſe, he held a grand conſultation on the future plan of renewing and carrying on the war; and here it was determined, that he ſhould raiſe two armies: the one to curb and reſtrain the Londoners; the other to march northwards, and fight the barons troops and the mercenaries under Lewis the Dauphin of France, who had invaded England and joined the rebellious barons againſt their tyrannical ſovereign. John then paſſed on to Dunſtable and Northampton: and, in the courſe of this campaign, he took up his abode, for ſome time, at the caſtle of Langar, in the county of Nottingham.

William the 2nd abbot.

During this conteſt, Lewis the Dauphin thought proper to make a viſit to abbot William: and, after the firſt ſalutations, the prince propoſed, that, as he was in poſſeſſion of great part of the kingdom, he, the abbot, ſhould alſo do homage to him and conſent to acknowledge him for his ſovereign. This the abbot refuſed, unleſs he could be abſolved from his allegiance to his former and lawful prince; and, though the Dauphin uſed many threats, yet ſtill William was firm and uncomplying: at laſt, the prince threatened to burn down the abbey and the whole town. Here Sayer, the former friend of William, interpoſed and mollified the rage of this bluſtering prince, and, by William's preſenting him with eighty marks, ſaved both abbey and town; for, the prince departed with the preſent, and ſome diſappointment.

It was during the fury of this civil war, that one Falco, a great partizan of the times, came to this town, and committed horrid outrages, his followers having ſlain one of the abbot's ſervants in the very church; and, after robbing the townſmen, they ſeized one, and in a violent manner, roaſted him alive. This fierce invader, before he would depart, exacted one hundred marks from the abbot. But he met with his juſt deſerts, ſome years after, at Bedford, where his company and followers were moſt of them hanged, and himſelf driven out a vagabond and beggar for life (a).

At the end of the year 1215, and in November, the pope's ſummons to a general council was complied with, and, among the prelates of England, went our abbot, taking with him Alexander Appleton

(a) *M. Paris*, anno 1225.

 and

William the 22d abbot.

and Roger Porretan, brethren of great fame for learning and experience; and accompanied, on his journey, by the abbot of Weſtminſter. The chief buſineſs of the council was to urge on, with more ſpeed and ſucceſs, the holy war: but many ſubjects of a domeſtic nature, for the better rule of the church (a), were diſcuſſed. And one day, while the pope and council were all preſent, our young abbot riſes, and, the ſubject of debate being the maſs and ſome circumſtances thereof, begs leave to put a queſtion; which was, he ſaid, to be informed, "whether it was lawful for thoſe abbots, whoſe "churches were poſſeſſed of the body of ſome ſaint, to mention his "name alſo, in conjunction with the other interceſſors and advo-"cates at the throne of God?" to which the pope, with ſome circumſpection, anſwered, "that it was proper and agreeable to right, that "the ſaint, his name, and his interceſſion and intereſt, ſhould, in its "proper place, be demanded, in the ſolemnity of the maſs." On the ſolution of which queſtion, many thanks were beſtowed on abbot William, by all thoſe who were poſſeſſed of the body of any dead ſaint; in particular by the abbots of St. Edmund's and of Durham.

The pope, when the council broke up, inquired who that ingenious abbot was, who had put the queſtion; and, being told he was the abbot of St. Alban's in England, his holineſs paid him many compliments for the weighty matter of the queſtion and the prudence of his addreſs: on which Roger Porretan adviſed William to reſign his abbey, as being ſure of receiving higher promotion from the Pope. "No," ſays William, "I learn wiſdom from the experience of others: you "did ſo, with regard to your abbey of Bath, but never got any thing "at all after." The pope ſent for William to a private audience, and William, with exceeding joy, obeyed: "What?" ſaith his holineſs, "are not you the abbot of St. Alban's, which hath obtained "from us ſuch great privileges and benefactions? I cannot ſuffer a "man of ſuch eminence to depart, without a more eſpecial compli-"ment being paid to me;" and he refuſed to let William ſet forth from Rome without laying down at the feet of his holineſs one hundred marks.

(a) The XIth canon enjoins, that, in every cathedral church, there ſhall be kept a grammar-maſter to teach, *gratis*, the clergy of that church, and other poor ſcholars; and, in the metropolitan church, beſide the grammar-maſter, a divine, to teach the prieſts and other eccleſiaſtics the holy ſcriptures, and what relates to the cure of ſouls. The XVIIth is againſt the effeminacy of ſome clerks, who ſpent part of the night in feaſting or in prophane company, who ſlept till day-light, and who, in ſaying their [illegible]ins, left out one half of the office.

Soon

Soon after his return, Alexander Appleton died: and Alexander de Langley, having recovered his health, was ſubſtituted in his place and made keeper of the abbey ſeal: he was a man of learning, and, being very expert in writing and in rhetoric, was capable of writing an elegant epiſtle to the pope, if need be. But, in a ſhort time, his underſtanding failing him once more, and growing quite frantic, he was ordered back to the cloiſter, and well lowered with bleeding; but this was no remedy: and, aſſuming the airs of a great man, and in his extreme pride deriding the abbot, he was ordered to undergo a very ſevere flagellation, and to be ſent in irons to the cell at Binham; where he was kept, in ſolitude and in fetters, to the day of his death, and interred with his chains on (a). William the 22d abbot.

About this time, Thomas, biſhop of Norwich, held an ordination in the church of St. Alban, at the great altar, on the 18th of December: this was done at the requeſt of the abbot; and the biſhop dedicated, or conſecrated, as it is now called, a cemetary, or burial ground, for the church of St. Alban, in which many of the faithful had been buried during the interdict (b): he dedicated, alſo, a burial place for the church of St. Peter, and one for the cell of St. Mary de Pree, and an altar in the great church to the honour and worſhip of St. Leonard. All this was done about Chriſtmas, 1216, and juſt after the death of king John.

(a) From the inhuman treatment of this unfortunate man, it appears pretty evident that *charity and brotherly love* were not the leading characteriſtics of the monkiſh religion.

(b) It is probable that theſe churches had not any *burial grounds*, or *conſecrated places*, adjoining, before this time; for it was not until the days of Gregory II. early in the eighth century, that church-yards had a beginning; the dead being uſually buried near the highways, as the Roman laws directed, and which practice was followed by the Chriſtian congregations, or elſe in places, remote from the walls of the city or town, ſet apart for that purpoſe. But, in the time of the aforeſaid Gregory, the prieſts and monks began to offer prayers for the deceaſed, and received gifts and offerings from the relations for the performance of thoſe duties; on which they requeſted the pope, that the dead might be buried near the places of the monks abode, or in the very churches or monaſteries: in order that the relations, coming to the worſhip and ſolemnities uſed in thoſe places, might ſee their graves, remember them, and be moved to join in prayer and proceſſions near their remains. Cuthbert, the arch-biſhop of Canterbury, in 750, brought over this practice into England, and hence is dated the *origin of church-yards* in this iſland uſed as burial grounds: then it grew into a cuſtom to bury in the church; ſo much, that it gave occaſion to a canon, made ſomewhat before the time of Edward the Confeſſor, *de non ſepeliendo in eccleſiis:* then in was practiſed in the nave, or body, only of the church, and afterwards under arches by the ſide of the walls. Lanfranc, arch-biſhop of Canterbury, ſeems to have been the firſt who brought up the uſe of vaults in chancels and under the very altars, when he rebuilt the church of Canterbury, about the year 1075. *Ken. Par. Ant.* 592.

Soon

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Soon after the acceſſion of Henry III. the kingdom returned to a ſtate of peace and quiet; and William then reſolved to make a viſitation of the cells. But he firſt ordained, that the abbot, whenever he travelled, ſhould be attended by ſix knights or ſquires, to bear arms and be a body guard; and this was to be a ſtanding rule whenever the abbot ſhould viſit Tinmouth, eſpecially: he appointed, that they ſhould be enfeofed with certain lands, out of the eſtates of the abbey, which had been held aforetime by certain ſquires: he directed that their expences, both in going and returning, ſhould be born by the monaſtery, and that they ſhould find their own horſes; but, in caſe any horſe died on the journey, his maſter ſhould be indemnified to the full value, which was limited at ten ſhillings: it was alſo appointed, that each horſe ſhould be of decent appearance, and ſtrong enough to carry the cloaths and garments of one monk behind his rider.

This may appear nothing more than having ſix ſervants, mounted and armed, to attend his lordſhip; but, in thoſe days, theſe knights or ſquires were not attendants on any other occaſion than to defend their lord in times of danger: they enjoyed their lands on this condition. And this was one of the chief marks, wherein great churchmen imitated the lords and barons of the realm: it carried with it a lordly conſequence: and, being done at the expence of the body, reflected an honour on St. Alban and his church, much more than if they had been the private ſervants of the abbot. This military kind of attendance was practiſed by ſome of the biſhops; and at length, in a very oſtentatious degree, by Cardinal Wolſey, when, in the day of his diſgrace, he marched from London to York with 160 horſe: a piece of grandeur which induced his maſter, Henry VIII. to leave all future biſhops without any means for ſuch pomp and vanity.

The abbot ſet forward on his journey with his retinue of ſix knights, and, having taken Belvoir in his way, it was whiſpered that the prior, Roger de Wendover, committed waſte and ſpoil of the goods, &c. in prodigal living: the abbot admoniſhed him, the prior promiſed an alteration in that matter, and William proceeded on his journey. When he approached to Tinmouth, he was met by an immenſe crowd of people, headed by the prior accompanied by the gentry and principal perſons of the country; inſomuch that the company appeared like an army; many were ſuffered to come into the cell, to congratulate the abbot; and immenſe feaſting followed: and, after a few days, in which the abbot received the homage of all ſuch as owed duty to him, and regulated and directed all matters of any moment, he appointed a day of departure; at which time the prior, by name

Ralph Gobion, fell at the abbot's feet and begged to be diſmiſſed, crying out, in the words of Simeon, *Now, O Lord! thou letteſt thy ſervant depart in peace*, &c. pleading, at the ſame time, his great age, many infirmities, and long ſervices: to which the abbot anſwered only, raiſing him with his hands, "brother, ſupport your burden a while longer, until "I can provide for the conſequences of your reſignation." This incident is of no moment. except as it ſhews the ſervile obedience which monks conſented to and bound on themſelves with an oath when they entered the order. And, if the obedience and compliance was ſo ſtrict in the orders of regular clergy, where their functions and duties were but of little moment, let me aſk, if that obedience ought not to be more ſtrict in the ſeculars of theſe days, whoſe functions and duties are of a more ſerious nature and import?

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When the abbot came to Wymundham, the prior there, named Ralph de Whitby, was accuſed of waſting the goods, &c. and of inriching the cell of Whitby, whence he had come at the expence of this cell, and that he courted the favour of the earl of Arundel, in a manner that ſhewed he loved him more than God, or the abbot, or any one of the brethren: the abbot enjoined an amendment, and, with ſome admonition to prior Ralph, on the ſubject of exceſs and imprudent management, he departed. He then came to Hatfield, that is, Hatfield Peverel, in Eſſex: and here a very great enormity was alleged againſt the prior, to which the abbot promiſed that a ſpeedy correction ſhould be had; but refuſed to examine into the charge upon the ſpot. Theſe are trifling events, and, as the charge in each place was much the ſame, it is probable that they proceeded from ſome of the monks, who bore a grudge againſt their priors; as they would have done, had they been gratified in all their wiſhes and inclinations: and it is likely that, by *waſte and extravagance*, the monks meant, that the prior lived in plenty and comfort, and better than themſelves.

The abbot returned home, and at the ſame inſtant arrives Ralph Gobion, the prior of Tinmouth, with a grievous complaint, what trouble and vexation he ſuffered from one Simon of Tinmouth, who demanded of him two monks corrodies, that is, maintenance for two monks; which Simon claimed by perpetual right, as the gift of ſome abbot of this church to the church of Tinmouth: Simon brought with him, for he came alſo, a huge fighting fellow, named William Pigun, as a champion: for, though it had been ſettled in a court of law in favour of Ralph, yet, by the judicial practice of the times, if the party, who loſt his ſuit, choſe to try it again, and by battle, the ſame was allowed; and this new trial was called,

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called, *diſrationare et per duellum dirimere*; as if it were the ſame thing to diſprove by reaſon and to fight by deputies. However, it was neceſſary to anſwer this new appeal of Simon, and a champion was provided on the part of the prior. The conteſt ended in favour of Simon and his champion, and Ralph was bound to yield up the two corrodies. But, on this unfortunate conflict, he refuſed to return any more to his cell at Tinmouth, and begging again his diſmiſſion of the abbot, it was granted; and the abbot entertained him thence forward as his privy counſellor and table companion.

Soon after, the abbot recalled the prior of Wymundham, Ralph de Whitby, who was found quite unable to reform his own exceſſes, and leſs able to govern others: he came to St. Alban's, and, in a very decent manner, but in few words, returned thanks to the abbot and brethren for the many favours and honours conferred on him: he then went to the hermitage, aſſigned to his uſe by the cell of Whitby, which he found well provided and furniſhed; and here, having lived a few years longer in the ſtricteſt courſe of piety, he departed this life. In like manner was the prior of Hatfield recalled, named Alexander de Burg, a man of duplicity and very unſteady conduct; and, for his incorrigible exceſſes, he was ſtripped of all his former pre-eminence, and degraded to the cloiſter and common condition of the monks.

The priorate of Belvoir was conferred on Martyn de Borſham, ſteward (a) of the houſehold of this abbey: and of Wymundham the priorate was conferred on William de Feſchamp, a man who poſſeſſed leſs diſcretion than became his poſt; and, having fallen under the diſpleaſure and reprehenſion of the Earl of Arundel, patron of that houſe, he was removed: his place was ſupplied by Thomas Mead, who had travelled into the Holy Land with the late earl of Arundel; and, the earl dying there, this Thomas had carefully brought back the dead body and given it honourable interment at this cell. In the room of Alexander, prior of Hatfield Peverel, another perſon was placed, named Richard de Brantfield, one of the neceſſary attendants of the abbot. And the place of Ralph Gobion, the prior of Tinmouth, was ſupplied by one Germanus, a man of northern extraction.

In the year 1219, a very long and expenſive ſuit was finiſhed, by the mediation of Richard, biſhop of Saliſbury, and the two abbots of Weſtminſter and Waltham, who were appointed for this purpoſe by letters from the pope. The inſtitution or endowment of vicarages

(a) Cellerarius.

was

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was almoſt a new thing: and the abbey having the church of Luton, with all its tithes, lands, or glebes, and obventions and offerings, had inſtituted a vicar; but had not aſcertained his rights, or clearly fixed the revenue neceſſary and proper for his maintenance; nor would the abbey allow any authority of the dioceſan over the vicar. This controverſy aroſe from the novelty of vicarages and the deſire of keeping what they uſed to receive, as their own; being accuſtomed, probably, to ſend a prieſt thither occaſionally. But now the ſaid judges determined, that the vicar ſhould be preſented by the abbey to the biſhop of Lincoln, to be approved by him and be inſtituted; that his maintenance ſhould ariſe from ſome fixed property, namely, all the ſmall tithes and obventions; that he ſhould be furniſhed with a ſuitable manſion and glebe, and be entitled to all the obventions paid or given at the chapels belonging to the ſaid church of Luton, and pay all pariſh-dues, and procurations, and ſynodals: and that the biſhop of Lincoln and his ſucceſſors ſhould have full juriſdiction in the ſaid church.

They ordained alſo, that, in all other churches, which the abbey had been accuſtomed to appropriate to its own uſes, but to which it had now begun to aſſign vicars, the rights and authority of the dioceſan ſhould be the ſame as they had been in the ſaid churches, before this diſpute had ariſen. Which, in fact, was making no determination in the caſe of the other churches, and left the claims of the biſhop and the uſual rights of the abbey on the ſame footing as before. But theſe judges hoped and thought, that the determination they had made, in the caſe of Luton, would be a pattern for all future proceedings of the like kind: and indeed it became neceſſary to appoint by law (which began in the councils and conſtitutions of the arch-biſhops, and received its final completion in Parliament) what ſhould be the legal method of inſtituting and endowing a vicarage. This buſineſs began by petition from the patron to the biſhop, was followed with the biſhop's inſtrument and endowment, ſetting forth the articles of tithes, &c. for the vicar, and, that being preſented to the king or his chancellor, a writ from him gave confirmation to the whole: and it was not, until all theſe ſteps had been taken, that the vicar could be deemed an eccleſiaſtic perſon, and become a member of the eccleſiaſtic body, with ſpecial rights and privileges.

With regard to the cells alſo, which had uſually claimed an exemption from the biſhop and acknowledged no ſuperior, beſide their abbot, it was ordained, by theſe judges, that, whenever any prior ſhould be appointed by the abbot, the ſame ſhould be preſented to the biſhop in whoſe dioceſe the cell was ſituate, and receive from his hands the

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ſpiritual adminiſtration, and be ſubject to all the functions of the pariſh-church, and payment of tenths and the like duties, in regard to which he was bound to acknowledge the biſhop as his lawful dioceſan. This was now ordained, but became a general obſervance afterwards, wherever a cell was united, like a manſe and glebe, to a pariſh-church: but, if it had no connection with a pariſh-church, it owed no ſuch obedience, and was ſubject purely to the abbey.

Abbot William, having put all things abroad and without his walls in good order, turned his thoughts to domeſtic improvements: and the firſt thing of this ſort was to new-furniſh the dormitory: here he cauſed all the bedſteads to be made of oak, which is called a very decent and elegant improvement, but leaves us in the dark as to the former ſtate of this manſion of ſleep. The two wings of the church, forming the tranſept, being much decayed both in the timber and the ſtone work, and letting in the rain and bad weather, he cauſed to be repaired with good oak well united and faſtened together, and the walls to be ſtrengthened with battlements and turrets (a) at the corners: the tower alſo, which threatened ruin, and had, from its form, a very unſeemly appearance, he cauſed to be raiſed higher and to be well conſtructed of the beſt materials; and all theſe works to be covered with lead.

Theſe great repairs were effected, under the abbot's direction, by the diligence and ſkill of Richard de Thydenhanger, who was treaſurer to the abbey; after whoſe death, which was much lamented, the abbot, by the perſuaſion of Matthew Cambridge, keeper of the ſeal, and of the abbot's privy council, was induced to make farther additions to the tower; and he added thoſe rectilinear projections, like pilaſters, on each ſide of the tower, which ſerve to vary the flat ſurface: theſe were built from the foundation up to the battlements, and were ſaid to give wonderful ſtrength to the walls and beauty to its appearance. The weſtern front alſo, which had been a tedious job, ſometimes advancing and ſometimes decaying and falling, the abbot determined to undertake: he did ſo; and in a ſhort time completed it in its preſent form; finiſhing the ſame with its roof and arches, and exquiſite glaſs windows, and with a good covering of lead, adjoining to the old roof. All the decayed or ruinous parts of the walls he cauſed to be repaired, many of the windows in the long wall he completed with ſtone uprights and glaſs, and he made the two great windows of

(a) Still in good condition.

the

the wings (a) to be ſuitable, in faſhion, and form, and lighting, to the reſt about the church; in ſuch a manner, ſaith my author, that, by the advantage of this new light, the church ſeemed, as it were, rebuilt. William the 22d abbot.

Walter de Colcheſter, now ſacriſt, and an excellent painter and ſculptor, conſtructed a pulpit (b) in the middle of the church, with a great croſs ſuſpended in it, with figures of Mary, and John, and other ſuitable carvings. And William removed the ſhrine of St. Amphibalus, in which were contained the remains of him and his companions, from the place where the ſame had ſtood, namely, cloſe along by the ſide of the great altar, on the north and near St. Alban's ſhrine, to a place in the middle of the church, incloſed with an iron grating, where had been fixed a decent altar with a painting and other ſuitable ornaments. This altar he cauſed to be dedicated anew to the *Holy Croſs*; for, that had been its former title, and to Amphibalus and his companions, whoſe remains reſted in this ſhrine.

There is nothing that ſo much ſhews the ignorance of the Romiſh church in theſe ages as the uſe of altars, which have no neceſſary place in pure Chriſtian worſhip. If the church adopted them from the Jewiſh worſhip, why did they not copy the whole ceremony of their ſervice, and ſlay and burn thereon certain parts of the victim? If they took the practice from Heathen worſhip, they ſeem to imitate the Heathen throughout, making mediators and interceſſors of every pious departed man, juſt as the Heathen made divers deities or local Gods; and in both caſes invoking their aid and intereſt in Heaven: whereas, it is not more repugnant to reaſon to make other divinities than it is to ſcripture to make other mediators and interceſſors. If they ſay, the devout worſhipper at the altar offers up his praiſes to God, and makes a ſacrifice of his own ſins and frailties, that is true; but an *altar* is not neceſſary for this proper duty and ſervice. The truth is, that, when the Romiſh church took up the doctrine of ſacrifices, and adopted into their worſhip an imitation and perpetual rehearſal of the ſacrifice of Chriſt, they made an altar a neceſſary part of ſuch repreſentation: and, indeed, an altar is the only ſenſible part of ſuch ſacrifice, or ſervice, the reſt being quite imaginary and not bearing the leaſt reſemblance to the ſolemnity of a ſacrifice; though, at the ſame time, they wiſh to communicate ſpiritual health and

(a) That in the ſouth wing was blown into the church, in 1703, in the famous high wind.

(b) Marks of this are ſeen, at this day, on one of the piers on the north ſide juſt above Cuthbert's ſcreen; the work being cut away to admit a ſtair-caſe.

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ſtrrength, and derive all Chriſtian aid from uſing it. But to return to William, and his altars, and ornaments, and relics.

The ſolemnity of dedicating the altar to St. Amphibalus, and likewiſe of conſecrating the great croſs ſuſpended in the pulpit above-mentioned, with the images of Mary and John, was performed by the biſhop of Ardfert in Ireland, who ſtopped on his journey and repoſed here for ſome conſiderable time. The two gilt ſhrines, in which had been depoſited the remains of Amphibalus and his companions before Warren moved them to more ſumptuous ſhrines, he ſent to the church at Redburn, in honour and reverence to that place, where theſe martyrs had undergone ſo glorious a trial; and he appointed that a perpetual guard ſhould be kept, day and night, over theſe ſhrines, by one monk, to be relieved by another. 'And,' ſays my author, 'it is plain that God approved this tranſaction, by the many miracles 'which were performed at this place:' but he mentions not any of the particulars.

Among the many laudable deeds of this abbot, it is recorded, as one, that he furniſhed the church with a moſt ineſtimable relic; which was the rib of Wulſtan, formerly biſhop of Worceſter, and a ſtrenuous defender of the church, in the time of William the Conqueror. The preſent biſhop, named Sylveſter, intended to make a ſolemn tranſlation, or, in modern phraſe, to remove the body of the deceaſed Wulſtan to a more ſplendid tomb which he had provided for him: to this ſolemnity Sylveſter invited our abbot with ſundry others of high rank. But how William obtained this rib is not ſaid: it could ſcarcely be by gift; for, in that caſe, every perſon would expect the like boon, or compliment: and, had that been done, there could not have been one bone left for the ſecond interment. However, this rib was reckoned a great acquiſition; and the abbot cauſed an altar to be conſtructed in honour of Wulſtan, near the altar of St. Oſwin, toward the eaſt, and the rib, incloſed in ſome work of gold, to be depoſited on the ſame.

He cauſed many additional ornaments to be made about the great altar; and on the beam, which ſupports the rood loft, he cauſed ſome carvings to be made, repreſenting the hiſtory of St. Alban and his martyrdom: 'a very exquiſite work,' ſaith *M. Paris*, 'and per-'formed by that incomparable carver, Walter de Colcheſter.' And, in farther honour of the martyr, he ordered ſix large wax candles to be lighted in every feſtival, or ſervice, wherein the monks attended in copes; the expence of which was directed to be defrayed by one mark, to be paid by the priory of Binham, in lieu of a certain quantity of herrings thence ſent every year to the abbey.

Walter de Ramſey alſo provided, at his expence, two large wax lights, to burn during the ſervice ſung to the honour of the Virgin Mary, in addition to four others which had uſually been provided and lighted for her before; two of which, thoſe ſtanding toward the eaſt, had been provided as the gift of Adam, the former ſteward: and afterward, a lady, named Alicia, the wife of Sir Henry Cock, left as a legacy to that altar one garment, called a *chaſuble*, for the uſe of the officiating prieſt, of ſcarlet cloth adorned with a rich gold fringe. William ordained that a conſtant watch, or guard, of one monk at a time, ſhould be placed over this altar to the Virgin: it ſtood in the ſouth wing, and the watch took his ſtation near the altar of St. Blaze, in ſome of the receſſes of the wall in the gallery, *(triſorium,)* or in a ſmall cloſet now remaining, with an iron grate in front, which had been built in imitation of the little chamber in the wall, as mentioned in ſcripture, 2d Kings IV. 10; and from which, being directly oppoſite the Virgin's altar, he might have a conſtant view of the altar and its contents, aided at night by wax lights burning thereon. And, whereas it was the cuſtom, in all the great churches, to ſing maſs, that is, to perform a ſervice in honour of the Virgin, every day; and in this church but once a week, viz. on the Sunday; he appointed this to be done here alſo every day, and to be performed by a company of ſix monks at a time, to be ſucceeded by ſix more; the names and order being written and hung up, for the purpoſe of giving public notice: and this ſervice was to be performed by ſinging, to muſical notes, the compoſition made for the office. William the 22d abbot.

It is here proper to remark, that great part of the ſervice conſiſted in ſinging; and, whenever any prayer intervened, the prieſt ſtopped and ſaid, *Let us pray*; which, being copied from the maſs-book into our liturgy, ſounds oddly, till we underſtand that it means a tranſition from ſinging.

William cauſed a very loud ſounding bell to be caſt, and, when conſecrated by the ſaid biſhop of Ardfert, to be hung up; this was to be ſounded three times every day, to call the ſix prieſts and the watch monks to their duty, and to ſummon all others of the faithful, who were devoted to the Virgin, and wiſhed to adminiſter to her honour and procure proſperity to the church or themſelves: He farther cauſed a very curious image of Mary to be carved by Walter de Colcheſter, and to be conſecrated by the ſaid biſhop; this curious *Mariola*, as it was called, was to be placed over the altar where maſs was to be ſung every day to her honour; and, juſt before her, was placed a wax light bound round and adorned with flowers,

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flowers, to be lighted up, day and night, in the principal feaſts and proceſſions made in commemoration of her. He cauſed alſo the cieling of the ſouth wing, wherein ſtood the Virgin's altar, to be covered with boarding ſomewhat wrought and carved, and the walls of that wing to be cleaned and whitened; and, as he had placed the old and mean image of Mary in another place, ſo he thought proper to remove a great beam, which was over the great altar, to the ſouth wing, and ſet it up near the noble Mary. This was calculated to do honour to the Virgin and to render ornament to the church; for, there was carved on it a ſeries, or row, of twelve patriarchs and twelve apoſtles, and in the middle was figured *God the Father* (a), with the ſynagogue and the church (b). The old croſs, and the former Mary, he placed in the north wing, to the edification of the laity and all beholders.

Cuthbert's chapel had been built about 130 years, having been erected by abbot Richard; but it was, at this time, ſo decayed and ruinous, that William thought it neceſſary to rebuild it: he therefore conſtructed it anew of hewn ſtone, and furniſhed it with glaſs windows and all things ſuitable; and it was raiſed high enough to admit of a chamber over it, which being capable of holding twelve beds, ſupplied the want of room in the dormitory: for, ever ſince John had increaſed the number to one hundred, it was found that the dormitory could not contain them. In this chapel he conſtructed an altar (c), and cauſed the ſaid biſhop to conſecrate the ſame and the chapel, dedicating the latter to St. Cuthbert, and John the Baptiſt, and St. Agnes, a martyred virgin. The ſaid biſhop, alſo, proclaimed an indulgence of twenty days, to every perſon who would pay his worſhip at the ſaid altar, on the faſt of either ſaint or the anniverſary of the Dedication.

It is to be remarked, that this biſhop exercifed his function in many parts of this dioceſe, and particularly in dedications, and failed not to grant indulgences to the faithful, in a manner ſuitable to his office and dignity. He was employed alſo, at the requeſt of our abbot, to conſecrate many churches and chapels in this dioceſe; and particularly, the church at Redburn, to the worſhip of Amphibalus and his companions. This was done with great ſolemnity, the abbot appearing dreſſed in his full pontific habit, and the biſhop granting to Gilbert Siſſeverne, the prior of Redburn, an indulgence of forty days.

(a) Majeſtas.
(b) This curious ſculpture hath long ago been deſtroyed.
(c) Its place and ſituation may ſtill be diſcerned.

An *indulgence* ſounds, in our ears, as if it ſignified a leave of full gratification, and permiſſion to tranſgreſs; but it is a Latin word, and ſignifies an indulgence to the wiſhes of the penitent to be releaſed from the pains of hell: theſe indulgences were granted to the living as well as to the dead, and they proceeded upon this fundamental doctrine, that mankind was already under a ſtate of condemnation, burthened with original ſin and guilt, and obnoxious to pains and torments both here and hereafter; and therefore any remiſſion that could be obtained was a deſirable object. Now the promiſe of ſuch remiſſion and the pretenſions of poſſeſſing this power were a ſource of great emolument and profit; but by indulgence was meant, a mitigation or releaſe from the pains and penalties of Hell, the power of which the church of Rome had claimed as her right. This impious and abſurd doctrine was made up of St. Auſtin's notion of original ſin, and the Pagan notions of the future ſtate; both of which are inconſiſtent with the true and genuine doctrines of Chriſt and his apoſtles: but as the Papal Chriſtians took many parts of their *worſhip* from that of the Pagans, ſo did they likewiſe many of their *doctrines* of the future ſtate: and upon thoſe Pagan notions hath Rome built her doctrines of purgatory (a), invocation of ſaints, and of divers mediators, &c.

William the 22d abbot.

As a farther improvement to the ſpiritual matters, he obtained a holy croſs and other valuable relics: this croſs had been brought by one Lawrence from the Holy Land, where he had dwelt as a monk, in the monaſtery of Jehoſaphat, near to Jeruſalem; and he brought alſo authentic teſtimonies, from ſeveral perſons of rank there, in proof of the ſanctity of this croſs and of its antiquity; for, he pretended it was the real croſs upon which Chriſt had ſuffered, above 1200 years before. This croſs Lawrence depoſited, with the proofs and other valuables, in this abbey; promiſing, that if he failed in his

(a) Theſe purgatorial ſufferings, according to the popular creed of Pagan Greece and Rome, are beautifully deſcribed by Virgil in his Æneid, Lib. VI. v. 735, et ſequen.

Quin, et ſupremo cum lumine vita reliquit,
Non tamen omne malum miſeris, nec funditus omnes
Corporeæ excedunt peſtes: penituſque neceſſe eſt
Multa diu concreta modis inoleſcere miris.
Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt. Aliæ panduntur inanes
Suſpenſæ ad ventos: aliis ſub gurgite vaſto
Infectum eluitur ſcelus; aut exuritur igni.
Quiſque ſuos patimur Manes: *exinde per amplum*
Mittimur Elyſium, &c. &c.

William the 22d abbot.

buſineſs, and which was to procure the manor and church of Brightwell, he would leave this invaluable croſs as a teſtimony of his gratitude to this abbey for the *Vaticum*, &c. which they would afford him on his return: the monk was diſappointed and did return; leaving this preſent. A modern eye will eaſily diſcern, in this tranſaction, a trick and fraud; but muſt allow there was ſkill and management on both ſides.

Together with this croſs Lawrence had brought a human arm, pretending and proving, that it was an arm of St. Jerom, who lived and died near Bethlem, in the fifth century; but Jerom was a ſacred name in the Romiſh church, and better known than any other of the fathers: and this arm our abbot cauſed to be incloſed in ſome coſtly work of gold, ſet with jewels and ſtones of value, and it was borne in the proceſſions, on all great feſtivals: there were other relics likewiſe, being part of Jerom's clothing and his ſtaff. He received alſo two fingers of St. Margaret brought from the Holy Land by a traveller (a). William procured alſo another croſs, which had long been concealed at London, had paſſed from father to ſon, without any creature of the family declaring its value, (and that, too, in times when ſuch relics were ineſtimable) and was now pretended to have been the actual croſs uſed at the torture and death of Alban: though he was always ſaid to have been beheaded. The abbot now compoſed a ſpecial ſervice in praiſe of Alban, to be ſung every day, and the ſummons to this ſolemnity was given and known by the ringing of two bells at once. It began with praying the ſaint to recommend them to God, &c. and ended with a chorus, addreſſed to Alban, of *Praiſe, honour, glory, be to thee for ever*. He compoſed alſo a ſervice in praiſe of all theſe relics and their owners, naming them ſingly, but always beginning with the croſs: and this was ſung with great ſolemnity.

And here we cannot contemplate the nature of theſe ſervices without perceiving, that they were calculated to aſtoniſh and ſurprize an ignorant audience, but not to inſtruct or reform, being always in a language unknown to the common people, and to many of the monks, and conveying no moral precept. The worſhip, in every part, was addreſſed to the eyes and ears of the beholders, but not to the heart: and they became believers from admiration and wonder, and were charmed, or ſeduced, into obedience, not gained by arguments of truth.

(a) *M. Paris*, ad ann. 1223.

William

William purchaſed a houſe in London, for the ſafe and honourable abode of himſelf and ſucceſſors, or of any of his monks who might have buſineſs in London: it was like a palace for ſize, and there belonged to it a chapel, a good kitchen, a garden, an orchard, a well, a ſtable, and divers grand apartments, beſide a court; and, by building other dwellings round the court and forward to the ſtreet, he raiſed a good rent, and appointed a perſon to have the inſpection and care of the whole: this houſe coſt one hundred marks, and the improvements fifty more. He purchaſed alſo, for fifty marks, a houſe at Yarmouth to lay up in ſtore, at the proper ſeaſon, ſalted fiſh and eſpecially herrings; to the unſpeakable benefit and comfort of this abbey. William the 22d abbot.

But, beſide all theſe improvements and conveniences abroad, he ſtudied the ſame with no leſs attention at home: and, for this purpoſe, he added ſeveral cloiſters, or covered ways, about the monaſtery, for the better communication between one place and another: he made one cloiſter from the chapter-houſe to St. Cuthbert's chapel (that is, along the weſt and out ſide of the preſent ſouth wing,) to keep dry all paſſengers; becauſe this way was more frequented than formerly, by reaſon of the chamber made over that chapel: he built another with three ſides, viz. from the door of the kitchen to the entrance of the monks' cloiſter, and then to the door of the ſtrangers parlour, and the third ſide was from the monks' cloiſter to the way leading to the ſartory (a); and theſe ſides were fenced with grating and lattice-work, in order to prevent any perſon from going into the middle plot, which contained a very nice little ſhrubbery: the other cloiſter was conſtructed round a ſquare court, and had four ſides, and they led to the infirmary; the care of this cloiſter was given to the maſter of the infirmary. They were all built of ſound oak timber, and covered with ſhingles of the ſame.

This abbot made great addition to the library by the acquiſition of many books; among which was one, of a very handſome appearance, called the Scholaſtic Hiſtory, procured, as mentioned before, by the diligence and expence of Raymond the prior. He gave to the church of St. Amphibalus, at Redburn, a very noble pſalter bound and enriched in a coſtly manner; together with a very handſome ordinal, which was a ſort of rubric, or directory, neceſſary to inſtruct the prieſts and monks in the form and manner of the ſervices, and generally depoſited in ſome conſpicuous part of the church, for the uſe of all who wanted information: a large book of this ſort lay in the abbey-church.

(a) An office where the monks cloaths, &c. were repaired.

William the 72d abbot.

He gave alſo to the church at Wymundham another pſalter of greater value and adorned with exquiſite devices. He directed that at the end of the Lord's prayer, which was repeated every hour and by every perſon in private, they ſhould add theſe ſhort devout ejaculations, Κύριε, ἐλέησον, *Lord, have mercy upon us*, but thrice: whereas, before, perſons uſed them much oftener. He directed, farther, that the ſhoes and ſhort boots of the monks ſhould no longer be made of the moſt ordinary leather, but of ſuch as ſhould have been tanned and properly prepared by the art of the currier.

This monk was able to keep all the eſtates of the church during the late war, though he was grievouſly robbed at different times, as, in one ſingle year, to the loſs of one thouſand marks, by that moſt tyrannical of the ſons of men, king John. Their eſtate at Berkhampſtead was pillaged of money and goods to the value of 100l. There was a preſent, by extortion, made to Lewis, the Dauphin, while at Dover, of 100l.; and another preſent to Sayer, earl of Winton, his kinſman, and the barons when in arms at London, of 50 marks: the eſtate at Rickmereſworth and that at Watford were pillaged; the firſt of 60 marks, and the latter of 100l. and a good palfrey worth 10 marks. The treaſurer (a), or collector of the abbey's revenues, was likewiſe a great ſufferer; and the other officers alſo ſuſtained loſſes; ſo that, in the whole, it was computed that the monaſtery and its ſervants did not loſe leſs than 2,500l. In ſhort, all their eſtates in this country were robbed; but none were confiſcated or torn from them. And yet, notwithſtanding theſe loſſes, ſuch was the good management of William, that, excluſive of building, and repairs, and ornaments for the church, wherein he expended large ſums, he purchaſed and procured much land, and encreaſed the yearly rents and income of the abbey. And, if any perſon deſires to know the particulars, my author refers us to the oak-cabinet which lies in the great cheſt that holds their papers, and in that are contained all their muniments, or deeds, and the ſeveral titles of them written on the inſide of the lid.

(a) When king John came to Redburn, the treaſurer loſt 3 good horſes and 2 aſſes, and a good new cart ſhod with iron; worth in all 50s.; beſide other loſſes, to the amount of 60s. more: and, when Falco came to Langley and ſet fire to the town, there were three houſes burnt down and thirty-five hogs deſtroyed, worth in value at leaſt 10l.: He loſt alſo, by the ſame rapacious plunderer, five good horſes, worth 6l. and more; and a good plow, worth 10s.: and, when the marſhal of the French troops came, he was robbed of 24 horſes, and, in oxen, hogs, and fowls, to the value of 40 marks. And at Winſlow he loſt ſeven horſes, and, in cows, ſheep, geeſe, eggs, and poultry, to the value of 10 marks. So that the whole loſſes of this officer came to at leaſt 58l.

William

William performed a very kind act towards a vicar in the north of England, which was never mentioned without great commendation and praiſe. This vicar, by name Hugo, and an Italian, had got poſſeſſion of the living of Hertburn, in Durham, by intruſion and authority from Rome, without any conſent or leave of its rightful patron, the abbey of St. Alban. At length comes this Hugo, after a long journey, to the abbot, and makes a free and voluntary confeſſion of his uſurpation, and, having had enjoyment thereof for many years, begs leave to thank him and to make reſignation of the ſame. The abbot anſwered, "I accept your reſignation, Hugo, and "indeed I have never found ſuch faith in any Tranſalpine." Hugo now retired with an eaſy conſcience. In half an hour the abbot called him and ſaid, "Now, Hugo, I will give you the living out of "charity, and in a *legal* way; that you may *always* enjoy peace of "mind, and have a *perpetual* eaſe of conſcience." William the 22d abbot.

It had been an unſettled point, for ſome years, what canonical obedience was due from priors of cells, who had alſo pariſh-churches. For, as priors, they were ſubject intirely to their abbot; and therefore they wiſhed to withdraw themſelves totally from every other juriſdiction. But this was ſettled, by a compoſition between the biſhop of Norwich, and the priors of Binham and Wymundham who had hitherto acknowledged no authority over them or their churches, beſide that of the abbot, without conſidering that the office and duty of rector was antecedent to that of prior. And now it was decreed, by a commiſſion from the pope to the dean of London, the archdeacon of Middleſex, and the maſter, or dean of the arches, as follows: that the ſaid priors ſhould attend the viſitations of the biſhop and his ſucceſſors, and take their ſeats with the other priors, and, without changing their travelling dreſs, may appear in great coats and boots (a), and ſhall do and perform all canonical obedience at the biſhop's ſynodical meetings: that vicarages ſhall be created in every pariſh where there is a priory (b) in this dioceſe: that the vicars ſhall be preſented to the biſhop and admitted: and that the rights of the abbey ſhould remain ſafe and entire, with a power over the monks and of placing or diſplacing the priors. Thus were the two juriſdictions made diſtinct and ſeparate, the two cures placed in different hands, and the great tithes left with the abbey. This compoſition was decreed in the year 1228 (c).

(a) In Cappis et Calcaribus. *M. Paris.*

(b) Which were Binham, Wymundham, Snetſham, Hapſbury, and Derſingham.

(c) This beneficial rule extended no farther than through the dioceſe of Norwich; for, in 1319, Walter, biſhop of Coventry inquired, in his viſitation, by what title religious men held pariſh-churches. *Mon.* l. 117.

William the 22d abbot.

Abbey-lands owed a military ſervice to the crown, as well as lay-baronies and the lands of laymen; and the duty required of this abbey was to find the king ſix ſoldiers: the ſix knights, or horſemen, which abbot William had appointed, were for his own uſe and ſtate, and diſtinct from the ſix foot ſoldiers, incumbent on the abbey's eſtates to find, maintain, and ſupport, in defence of the realm. And it was now as formerly (when the feudal duty was extended over all lands by William the Conqueror), that ſix and ſometimes five hides (a) were bound to find one man jointly. Oxhaie containing two hides, and Crokeſly containing ſix and a half, found one man; Gorham containing four hides, and Rongton two hides, found one man; Childwic containing two hides and a half, and Merdon two and a half, and Siſſeverne and Norton two hides and one yard-land, found one man; Burſton being one hide, and Garſton half a hide, and Sarret one yard-land, they were united with other eſtates to find a man; and other lands of obſcure names found two more. But, among the names of the tenants of theſe lands, we find ſuch as are, at the preſent day, of note in this country, to wit, *Perrot*, *Baldwin*, *Wake*.

In the time of this abbot a dreadful alarm happened from a ſtorm of thunder and lightning. The latter fell on the top of the church, and, having melted the lead, ſet fire to the timber underneath; but, by good providence, there ſtood near the ſpot a tub placed there to catch the water that leaked through the roof, and this tub, happening to be full at the time, afforded means to extinguiſh the flames. This event is in itſelf ſo inconſiderable, that I ſhould not have inſerted it, had it not been with a view to confirm the preſent philoſophy of an electric fluid in thunder and lightning: for, it is moſt probable that this inflammable fluid had penetrated through the cracks, and thereby formed a train for the fire; and the lead was melted after the fire began or in the inſtant of the exploſion. However, the tub deſerved a day of thankſgiving with a proceſſion, but had it not.

This good abbot, whoſe faults or neglects are not to be mentioned, and are indeed nothing in compariſon with his benefits and laudable deeds, died on St. Matthew's day, 1235; after he had thus ruled his church, in proſperity and honour, 20 years and three months. But he was not buried until the calends of March following, and then his obſequies were performed, with all poſſible honours, by the abbot of Waltham. Directly on the death, three choſen brethren were

(a) A hide was ſuppoſed to be as much as would employ a team.

diſpatched

diſpatched to the king to obtain leave to proceed to a new election, and to be indulged with the quiet poſſeſſion of their abbey during the vacancy; granting the king the eſcheats and forfeitures, and the collating to the churches: and, on preſenting the king three hundred marks, he granted their requeſts. But, ſoon after, the church of St. Julian, or Stephen, became vacant, and the king collated to it one of the brethren, named Nicolas. The king's eſcheator, a ſtout knight who lived at Hatfield and was lord thereof, came with a great poſſe of ruſtics and dependents, with intent to take poſſeſſion of the abbey and all its lands, in the name of the king; but, on being ſhewn the king's writ for enabling the monks to hold the ſame in their own hands, his lofty looks began to ſink, and he returned with a grievous diſappointment. William the 22d abbot.

One reaſon, among others, for delaying the burial of the late abbot, was, to do the greater honour to the man whom they had dearly loved; and to allow, beſide, a due preparation for the election, and the appearing of the priors and others at a diſtance. But, in this intent of honouring their abbot, it is neceſſary to ſhew what kind of embalming they uſed towards ſuch a perſon: the cuſtom then had been, and was now practiſed on the body of William, to waſh and ſhave the deceaſed, and to remove the corpſe into the infirmary; thither were admitted only a few of the more diſcreet, and but one ſecular, who, as ſervant to the ſacriſt, was to perform the anatomic part, which conſiſted in making a long inciſion from the throat downwards, and extracting the entrails; theſe were received into a broad veſſel and ſprinkled with ſalt, and the next day depoſited in the church-yard(a), near the altar of St. Stephen, with great ſolemnity and the devotion of the ſingers. The body, being well waſhed and impregnated with vinegar, and ſprinkled plentifully with ſalt, was ſewed up: and, with no other preparation, it was kept until the burial, without being offenſive.

After three days, in which the juices and moiſture had quitted it, the body was cloathed; that is, dreſſed in the pontifical habits, with a mitre on the head, gloves and a ring on the hands, under the right arm his uſual ſtaff, the hands placed acroſs, and ſandals put on the feet: during this formality, there was a ſervice ſung, at the door of the infirmary, containing certain collects, and the ſeven penitential pſalms and other pieces formerly uſed at the death of every brother. The great bell then tolling, the body was borne into the church, being

(a) At length a ſmall tomb of marble was erected on this ſpot.

placed

William the 22d abbot.

placed on one of the covers, or lids, of ſome ſhrine, and bound down; the convent following in proceſſion, all the while, and ſinging pſalms: when the body was ſet down in the choir, the abbot's ſeal was brought forth, and, being laid on one ſide of the ſtone ſteps leading to the great altar, was broken at one ſtroke of a huge hammer; ſo that (to the regret of all poſterity, ſays *M. Paris*) the image (a) and the letters were utterly defaced and deſtroyed. Then began a ſolemn ſervice of pſalmody, which continued, with great exertions and earneſtneſs, day and night; with this intermiſſion only, that every day a ſolemn maſs was ſaid at the great altar, as was practiſed always for any deceaſed brother: at the firſt maſs the whole convent appeared in white (b), and thoſe who conſtituted the choir, or ſinging part, were apparelled in copes; and wax-lights in great numbers were burning.

Thus did they perform the exequies, or laſt offices, due to their departed abbot; and, admiſſion being given to all perſons into the choir, or preſbytery, they had leave to behold and mourn over their loſt friend. The body remained with as vivid a countenance as when alive; and moſt awful lamentations were made, not only by the monks, but by the laymen who reſorted to the ſight. Theſe were true and genuine ſorrows; for, no man was more beloved. At his return from a journey, he was received with a ſalutation of profound reverence by all the monks: and the poor he received at the gate with donations and liberalities. He was uſed to be preſent at tranſacting all buſineſs in the chapter-houſe, (which was conſidered as a kind of council-chamber) and to attend all the ſervices in the church, even thoſe for private offices to any particular ſaint, and that alſo which was ſolemnized at midnight (c): in all which, by his ready and chearful manner of ſinging, he excited others to a proper and patient diſcharge of their duty in the ſame. Though he attended the midnight ſervice, yet he never failed to aſſiſt at the matins, which was a ſervice of twelve leſſons to be read at three o'clock in the ſummer, and ſix in the winter; in which duty he always read the chapter that came to his turn and ſang the reſponſory (d). At ſinging the *Te Deum* he was always the firſt to begin and lead the band, and, though the ſingers took their turns to riſe and ſing, the abbot was always ſtanding, and thus animating the whole choir by his example. At the

(a) A ſaltire *Or*, on a field *Sable*.
(b) *In Albis*; that is, probably, in *Surplices*.
(c) Called *Completorium*, from finiſhing the day.
(d) Short ſentences of ejaculation following each chapter.

maſs

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maſs ſung in honour of the Holy Virgin he was ever preſent in the midſt of the choir, habited in his mitre: and, on the principal feaſts, he always celebrated the maſs at the great altar. At the double feaſts, that is, when two feſtivals came together, he attended all the time in his mitre; on common days, he appeared ſtanding in his ſtall, guiding the choir and ſinging with great ſpirit; and, whenever the convent appeared either in white or in copes, (which was on particular days,) he failed not to ſing the reſponſes in the maſs, at the nod of the chantor. It was the cuſtom to bring the ſick and infirm into the midſt of the choir, there to receive extreme unction; and this the abbot was always attending in his ſeat, which was near the middle of the choir. He never received the profeſſions of noviciates at any other place than at the great altar, which was a juſt and proper rule, uſed here ever ſince the foundation of the monaſtery.

He, on all occaſions, carried himſelf to the potentates and prelates of the realm with moſt profound reſpect and reverence, and with a mien that gained their eſteem and love. His ſkill and ability in temporal matters I have before ſhewn, together with his diligence in the care of the monaſtic body and the advancement of their revenues and intereſts. The grief for this loſs was truly ſincere; and, beſide a maſs celebrated every day for the peace of his ſoul, the convent thought they could not do him the laſt honours in a proper manner, unleſs they requeſted a man of ſingular holineſs, and of full affection toward the deceaſed, to bury him. For which purpoſe they requeſted Henry, the abbot of Waltham, to perform this laſt office: and William, in the midſt of univerſal ſorrow and tears, was depoſited in the center of the chapter-houſe, adorned in all his pontific habits.

It had been cuſtomary, at the death of every abbot, to appoint an anniverſary to his memory, and to grant a corrody, or daily maintenance, to one monk then newly admitted, for the purpoſe of celebrating maſs and praying daily for his ſoul. This was now providing and ſettling, when Richard, a monk, and keeper of the church and hoſpital of St. Mary de Prez, came forward and demanded, for the uſe of the leprous women under his care, ſeven corrodies: for, he alleged that, 'by the tenor of the charter which founded 'and endowed this hoſpital of St. Mary, at leaſt one new corrody 'ſhould be granted at the death of every abbot, until the number 'amounted to thirteen (which was the number of women confined); 'and that not one had been granted ever ſince the foundation.' This claim

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claim was conſidered and allowed, and it made no ſmall addition to the table of theſe wretched objects.

And here, becauſe we are come to the period, in which the church and the monaſteries had arrived at their higheſt degree of power and influence, in conſequence of their having attained the ſummit of their wealth and affluence, we will pauſe a while, and take a view of the domeſtic œconomy of this abbey, and of the ſervice and devotion which employed them in the church: and then ſhew in what relation they ſtood to the king, to the pope, to the biſhops, and to other abbeys.

It is to be remembered that the body conſiſted at this time, and had conſiſted, from the time of William's predeceſſor, abbot John, of 100 monks. Theſe were all in the ſame degree of rank and precedence, except what aroſe from the time of admiſſion, and except that the rulers and officers (a) of the houſe bore ſome title and pre-eminence: as, next to the abbot, the *prior*; then the *houſe-ſteward*, or *cellerarius*; the *ſacriſt*, who had the care of the veſtments, and provided all neceſſaries for the church; and the *infirmarius*, who had the care of the ſick: there were other inferior officers who had certain occaſional duties put upon them, but theſe duties were not conſtant and regular.

The abbot lived in good apartments, alone, except that he had his *Bajuli* (b), or intimate and confidential friends (who ſerved him in the capacity of privy counſellors, and were generally brought with him or choſen out of the Body); but he always dined in the great hall, or refectory, ſitting alone at a table placed at the top of the room (c); the prior and ſacriſt were ſeated at the head of a long table on the right hand of the abbot, and the ſteward and infirmarius took their places at the head of another long table on his left hand; which two tables accommodated all the brethren. It appears not whether they were waited on by any brethren of an inferior degree, or by the noviciates, or by ordinary lay-retainers: and probably by neither; as their food was ſlender, conſiſting of eggs boiled hard, dried or ſalted fiſh, or roaſted fowl, with ſome farinaceous compound: this being placed, with bread and beer, requ ired noſuch change or attendants as the fancied wants of modern

(a) Obedientiarii.

(b) We may here diſcern the *affected humility* of the monks in their uſe of this word, by which the *favourites* and *counſellors* of the abbot were fond of being diſtinguiſhed, although it is known to ſignify, in its uſual acceptation, the *meaneſt* and *moſt ſervile attendant*.

(c) This table was called *Dais*, from Δαὶς, Epulum.

days have invented and found needful. A profound ſilence was ever obſerved at meals, as alſo in the church, in the dormitory, and in the cloiſter; and therefore it was a gratification to be allowed to converſe in the parlour, when abbot Warren gave that liberty. William the 22d abbot.

It appears not that they had any ſeparate rooms, to which they might retire to read or purſue any particular amuſement or employment: and, indeed, ſo much was their attendance required in the choir that little time could be ſpared for any other buſineſs. We find alſo no ſchool to have been kept up in this abbey, for the inſtruction of youth, or even for training the young monks, until the time of John Wheathampſtead. The copying-room employed only two or three, and thoſe ſeldom were monks: and ſo void of inſtruction were theſe men, after they had profeſſed and taken the vows, that many of them did not underſtand the language which they ſang; and it was generally conſidered as a proper qualification for ordaining a deacon or prieſt, (of which holy order here were always ten or twelve, employed in ſaying maſs, and reading the prayers, and to ſucceed to the churches in the gift of the abbey,) if the perſon could read Latin with propriety, and be expert and ready at finding and obſerving the office and ſervice for the day. Though the ſervice was frequent, yet it was ſo infinite and manifold, beyond the duties of our preſent churches, that they ſeem ever to have had ſuch a regulator thereof as is now called a *Dean*; and this office was either ſupplied by one of that name, or by the prieſt in waiting. And the ſervice conſiſted ſo much in ſinging, and returned ſo often in the twenty-four hours, that the ordinary monks were no better than choriſters and ſinging men; and the ſanctity of their character muſt have ariſen from the place and duty performed, rather than from any attainments in moral holineſs and improvements in ſolid virtue.

The care that lay on the abbot was no ſmall matter, to govern this family, which, with its neceſſary retainers and ſervants, could not be fewer than 130; beſide the three hoſpitals near the abbey, containing about 50 perſons, and the diſtant cells, which were eight in number (a), and maintained at leaſt 100 more. Not to mention the frequent moleſtation, and injury, and violent aſſaults, committed by the potent laymen againſt the perſons or the lands and property of

(a) Theſe were *Merkgate-ſtreet* and *Hertford*, both in this county (Herts); *Hatfield-Peverel*, in Eſſex; *Binham* and *Wyndham*, in Norfolk; *Belvoir*, in Leiceſterſhire; *Tinmouth*, in Northumberland; and *Wallingford*, in Berkſhire. *Beaulieu*, in Bedfordſhire, was not long under the government of this abbey, as will appear in the next chapter.

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the abbey: for, the abbot was defeated in every conteſt, unleſs he could make a friend of the king or his chief juſticiary. Such was the adminiſtration of juſtice in thoſe days.

With regard to the ſervice of the church, I have ſhewn how much of the monks' time was employed it it: inſomuch, that the authors of ſo long and tedious a ſervice ſeem to have thought, that monks were arrived at ſuch a pitch of heavenly perfection as to be no longer liable to the earthly infirmities of hunger, and thirſt, and bodily fatigue; without conſidering, that the mind will be unable to raiſe itſelf to contemplation or devotion whenever the body is ill at eaſe. But ſuch was the idea then prevailing, that the whole duty of man was to mortify and purge out the old leven, without attending to the methods of being inſtructed in new virtues and advanced to higher attainments of holineſs. This will appear alſo in the nature of the ſervice, and in the practice of this and moſt other churches. It is well known that there was no uniformity of worſhip, and no general book of common prayer, prior to the Reformation; but it had been the uſage with all biſhops, and abbots, and ſuch as preſided over a great conventual body, to form and to uſe whatever liturgy they pleaſed: agreeing only in this, that the canon of the maſs, as being of the eſſence of Chriſtian worſhip, was univerſally uſed in the ſame manner. And whatever was uſed in the cathedral church was adopted through the dioceſe; and in all the pariſh-churches the like liturgy was obſerved as far as one perſon could perform it, and that was in general on the Sundays only: and the practice of the abbey-church was obſerved by all the churches belonging to it, if the mother-church and its branches had ever obtained an exemption. But William the Conqueror had brought into England, and placed in the ſee of Saliſbury, one Oſmond, a man of great learning, and bred up in Normandy; and he compoſed a liturgy, for the uſe of his own cathedral, which came into general uſe, and continued in great eſteem until the Reformation. The ſervice directed by this ordinal, or miſſal, was in this form and manner. Every Sunday, the firſt buſineſs of the prieſt was to prepare the holy water, which was received in a veſſel at the entrance into the choir; and, after repeating ſome ſhort prayers to obtain a bleſſing, or virtue of ſalubrity, on the water, the prieſt caſt into it a quantity of ſalt, praying for farther and more effectual preſervation to reſide in the ſame. The prayers then began with ſentences of ſcripture, alluding to the Advent, the Nativity, the Epiphany, and the other great feaſts: prayers followed, with two or three collects; and portions of Scripture, called the Epiſtle and Goſpel. And this ſpecial ſervice

ſervice for each Sunday was much lengthened by ſinging certain pſalms or hymns, and by reading four or five chapters of the Word of God. But this ſinging and reading was arbitrary, and appointed at the will of the biſhop or abbot, and made no part of the direction in the Rubric. There were alſo ſaints days without number, and for every one there was provided a ſpecial office, in Oſmond's Miſſal: and this office and the ſtated ſervice of the day were both performed, and it was called a double feſtival, and had ſometimes nine leſſons and generally ſix to be read. The maſs, or giving the Lord's Supper, was performed almoſt every day, and was a very ſolemn ſervice: though it was attended with ſo many geſticulations and motions of the prieſt, as, with perſons who did not underſtand it, would be thought theatrical. Yet this was the only ſervice, wherein the Apoſtles Creed is profeſſed or any open confeſſion made of ſin and imperfection. William the 22d abbot.

In this papal worſhip we may behold a great reſemblance to that of pagan Rome: both had altars and ſacrifices; and, in the former, holy and pious men took the place of heroes and legiſlators: both were performed in the Latin tongue; though the papal worſhip was planted in countries where the Latin was a dead language, utterly unknown to the worſhipper, and often even to the performer. Hence it is plain, that inſtruction was not the aim of the biſhops and rulers of the papal church: and, though the office of matrimony was always performed, in the *betrothing* part, in the Engliſh tongue, yet they taught not the way of ſalvation in the ſame manner. We may well imagine how tireſome and diſguſting it was, to ſuch as did not underſtand the language, either to perform the ſervice or to hear it: but, to thoſe who did underſtand it, how little could it inſtruct and edify! and how little would it communicate of true comfort and ſatisfaction, when the ſenſes only were entertained and charmed, and the mind left void of help! It was a kind of ſervice that ſeemed to have ariſen, or to have been well calculated, for more perfect beings; as reſembling that heavenly harmony which ſhall occupy the bleſſed; but it was wholly unfit for edification, or to communicate the conſolations of religion to frail ignorant mortals. And, though the reſemblance of it in great churches is now exceeding proper and ſuitable to the elevated dignity of the place, yet the reformers wiſely excluded it from pariſh-churches, where inſtruction and the firſt ſeeds of religion were to be ſown: theſe reformers provided for the wants of the people, not for the grandeur of a few. Though many of the collects, epiſtles, and goſpels, are copied in our liturgy from the ancient ſervice; yet the latter had no prayer, or petition, ſo well

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adapted, ſo properly addreſſed, ſo intereſting to the worſhipper, and ſo inſtructive, as our litany.

Abbeys and monaſteries, cathedral-churches and biſhops' ſees, were always founded by the king's charter, whoever were the authors and contributors thereunto. They may be alike conſidered as corporations for the better furtherance of piety and religion, and, being intended to have ſucceſſion and perpetuity, they were eſtabliſhed with all the ſtrength and firmneſs which the law of the land could give: endowments alſo were ratified by the like authority; and, in the Saxon times, the great nobles and officers of ſtate conſented and ſubſcribed to the ſame, two forms whereof I have exhibited in the Appendix, (a). Elections of abbots, and alſo of biſhops, were originally confined to the brethren and conventual body. But, when theſe heads and ſuperiors became rich by endowments, and held lands of the crown, and were placed in council on the footing of peers and nobles, then the kings became intereſted in the fee, and would not grant the temporalities without approving the tenant. The next ſtep, both with the Saxon kings and thoſe of the Norman race, was to grant leave to elect, and to recommend: and it ſtood on this footing (though not without interruption from the popes) until, in the reign of Henry II. the pope aſſumed the whole power to himſelf: and, though the ſucceeding kings ſtruggled againſt this uſurpation, yet the pope's authority and power generally prevailed, until the time of Henry VIII. when the legiſlature reſumed this power, and placed it, beyond all controverſy, in the regal head of the church. But, whoever appointed, the confirmation always came from Rome: and, as biſhops and abbots were but different branches of the ſame holy church, the pope made equal claims to the right and privilege, as head and ruler of that church, to terminate and ſettle all diſputes in the election of theſe ſubordinate rulers; and generally made them pay a good price to obtain a quiet poſſeſſion.

Although the Chriſtian religion had been received by the Britons, and was eſtabliſhed through the land; yet we find very few traces, either of biſhoprics or of abbeys, in their times. The oldeſt ſeat of Chriſtianity ſeems to be Glaſtonbury; Banchor in Flintſhire was next in fame as well as age; then probably Wincheſter, where a cathedral was founded and dedicated to Amphibalus, about 309; Caerleon alſo and St. David's were of that time: and all theſe were the great ſeminaries of the church, before the coming of the Saxons; but it is difficult to diſtinguiſh how far they were monaſtic inſtitutions or ſecular. Lucius, a king of the weſtern part of Britain, and, from his

(a) N° I.

name,

name, one ſhould be apt to ſuppoſe of Roman extraction, was a great inſtrument of converting his ſubjects to Chriſt; and the biſhop of Rome had ſent him two biſhops, Faganus and Damianus, for the eſtabliſhment of the goſpel. This was about 189, and it is remarkable that this place, Wincheſter, ſuffered extremely in the Dioclefian perſecution; though no name of great note for its piety has reached us: but, when the church was rebuilt, it was dedicated by Conſtans, the biſhop, about the year 309, to St. Amphibalus, who had ſuffered in the late perſecution: ſo that the fame of Amphibalus was ſpread abroad ſoon after his death, but that of Alban had no regard paid to it, nor any dedication made to it, until Germanus took up the name, in a pious intention, 200 years after Alban's death. William the 22d abbot.

But the great eſtabliſhments of cathedrals and of monaſteries were reſerved for the Saxon converts: and it is ſurprizing to behold, on examination, how many of the great endowments of both were made by Auſtin, and his followers and converts. In the ſeventh century, were founded the ſees of Canterbury, Rocheſter, London, York, Hereford, Lincoln, Litchfield, Norwich, Worceſter, and Durham. In that ſame century, many great monaſteries were likewiſe founded, and, indeed, in every century down to the end of Henry the Vth's reign; the number of which, of 200l. a year and upwards, was near two hundred at the diſſolution; and the ſmall ones, together with priories, chantries, and other monkiſh eſtabliſhments, amounted to eight hundred and more. If it be aſked, why there were ſo few of the former *(ſees)* and ſo many of the latter? ſeveral reaſons might be given; but this alone may ſuffice: that the former were eſtabliſhed as the ſeminaries for the church, and to breed up ſecular clergy for the ſervice of the country; whereas the latter were promoted by a ſelfiſh ſpirit, and intended to pray for the ſoul of the founder, and be entruſted with his intereſt between his death and the day of judgement: and on this principle new benefactors daily appeared, new gifts and offerings were made, and new ſpiritual cares were undertaken.

It may be obſerved that moſt, if not all, the foundations prior to the Conqueſt are of the Benedictine order. The reaſon is, becauſe the other orders, as the Ciſtertians, Præmonſtratenſians, Cluniacs, Auguſtine Canons, Carthuſians, and Gilbertines, were introduced by the Conqueror and the following kings and great men, from their principal abbeys in France, and were, in fact, only different modifications of the order of Benedict, and took their name from the reformer or from the place of their abode abroad. Each of theſe orders, as they preſumed to call themſelves, though they were but as diſſenters

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from Benedict, was under the rule and direction of a principal, called the *Provincial*, who uſed to convene the heads of his reſpective order, inquire into the ſtate and management thereof, and enact rules for their better government. But as all the monaſtic bodies conſidered the pope as their *temporal* as well as *ſpiritual* head, ſo he claimed the right of regulating and directing their chapters, or general conventions, and of confirming the ſtatutes therein made. Thus we ſhall ſee the Benedictines aſſembled by the legate Otho for amending their ſtatutes, in the year 1238(a), and again in 1249: and it will beſt appear what kind of a life theſe men led, and what abuſes and neglects had crept in, from peruſing the new ſtatutes and ordinances then given them, and confirmed by the pope: theſe I have exhibited in the Appendix(b), and may have occaſion to mention them again under their proper dates.

Although the monks and the ſecular clergy were branches of the ſame church, yet there was continual enmity between them: one envying and maligning the other, on a ſuppoſition that the adverſary enjoyed more advantages. The ſeculars poſſeſſed a freedom, in their parochial cures, which the monks had not: and the latter, from carrying away the tithes and owning lands and manors, were ſuppoſed, by the former, to be rich and opulent, full and eaſy.

(a) At the provincial chapter of Benedictines, in 1338, there were ſummoned to it 40 abbots and 21 priors: only 4 exempt. And 25 Benedictine abbots ſat in Parliament, being uſually ſummoned as holding baronies. (*Dug. Mon.* II. 178)

(b) N° II. and N° III.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ſame day on which William was buried, the convent diſpatched three of the moſt diſcreet brethren to the king, to intreat leave to proceed to a new election, that the houſehold of the Lord (a) might not be damaged by a long vacancy. In the mean time, the convent were employed in ſeeking the ſpiritual aid of the bleſſed martyr, by making, every day, ſolemn proceſſions about his ſhrine with their feet bare, ſinging the ſeven penitential pſalms, and in proſtration repeating, with the moſt earneſt devotion, certain collects proper for the occaſion. The three monks ſent to the king having obtained his leave, in conſequence of a handſome letter written to him and another to his chancellor, the convent appointed the morrow of the Annunciation for the day of election, and, by letter, ſummoned the priors to attend, they being principal members of the body. Accordingly, being all aſſembled on that day, they could not proceed to ſo arduous a buſineſs, by reaſon of the ſanctity of the day (b) and the neceſſary duty therein; therefore, it was agreed to adjourn the buſineſs till Monday, and, on Monday, it was agreed to defer it, by reaſon of its requiring farther deliberation, until Wedneſday: at laſt, on that day, the priors and convent being aſſembled in the chapter-houſe, they made choice of JOHN OF HERTFORD, prior of the cell at that place, a regular monk, and a man of great piety. He was preſented to the king on Palm-Sunday, together with a letter of re-

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(a) Grex Domini. (b) Being Sunday.

com-

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commendation; and the king, out of love to the abbey and having a good character of John, gave him a moſt gracious reception.

The form and manner of electing an abbot was this; and practiſed in the caſe of John. Thoſe prieſts whoſe duty and office it was to receive confeſſions (being three or four in number) made choice of twelve of the moſt upright and faithful men in the whole convent; and theſe twelve had the ſole power of the election, taking whom they or the majority of them pleaſed, out of their own number, or from any other rank belonging to the monaſtic body.

At the laſt Lateran Council, held in the year 1215, a canon was made, ſubjecting all abbeys and monaſtic bodies, which had gained exemption from epiſcopal juriſdiction, to that of the pope: and our abbey came under that name and deſcription: and thereupon the king wrote to the pope a handſome letter, ſupplicating his confirmation of this election. Three diſcreet monks, namely, Reginald of Booking, Nicolas of St. Alban, and Geoffrey of Langley, were deputed to Rome to preſent this letter. And, when they came to the pope's court, which was then held at Peruſium, they found it neceſſary to lay a ſum of money at the pope's feet, which, being immediately accepted, was ordered by his holineſs to be depoſited in his treaſury; but neither the treaſurer nor his maſter condeſcended to offer theſe meſſengers the ſmalleſt entertainment or repaſt: they found it neceſſary, alſo, to make liberal preſents to the janitors and attendants about the court, and even to thoſe friends of the king, to whom he had recommended them and ſent letters, &c. which they ever conſidered as of little value (a) unleſs accompanied with preſents. But, the meſſengers having obtained a confirmation and received a large portion of apoſtolic benediction, they returned, much diſguſted with the practice of that court.

The pope's confirmation was made by a reſcript to the biſhops of London and Ely, directing them to examine into the merits of the elected and the form of the election; and, on diſcovering no fault or illegality therein, to give John admiſſion and adminiſter to him an oath of ſubjection: accordingly, on the morrow of the Nativity of the bleſſed Virgin, namely, the 9th of September, the biſhops, finding no exceptions to be made, repaired to this abbey, and the new abbot read aloud, in the preſence of the biſhops, and in the audience of the convent and of the clergy and people aſſembled, the following oath and engagement: 'I, John, abbot of the monaſtery

(a) Steriles et infructuoſas.

'of

'of St. Alban, will, from this hour, be faithful and obedient unto 'St. Peter and the holy apoſtolic church of Rome, and to my Lord 'the pope, and his ſucceſſors canonically admitted. I will not be 'of counſel, either by conſent or deed, to take away their life or de- 'prive them of limb or liberty: but the counſel which they ſhall en- 'truſt to me, either by themſelves, by others, or by letters, I will 'make known to no perſon, wilfully to their detriment. The pa- 'pacy of Rome and the ſovereignty of St. Peter I will aid and 'aſſiſt to keep and defend, without prejudice to my order, againſt all 'men. The legate of the apoſtolic ſee, in coming and returning, I 'will treat with honour, and, in all his neceſſities, relieve and aſſiſt. 'When ſummoned to a ſynod, or council, I will come, unleſs hin- 'dered by ſome lawful impediment. The threſholds of the apoſtles 'I will viſit every third year, either in perſon or by my meſſenger; un- 'leſs abſolved by apoſtolic licence. Moreover, the poſſeſſions of my 'monaſtery I will neither ſell, nor give, nor pledge, nor infeof 'anew, to any perſon, without conſulting the pontif of Rome. So 'help me God, and theſe holy goſpels.'

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One of the firſt occaſions, wherein we diſcern our new abbot in his ſplendor, was, in the year 1236, at the coronation of Henry III. who, having juſt married Eleanor, the daughter of Raymond earl of Provence, thought proper to be crowned together with his queen. And here the ſolemnity was performed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſiſted by the biſhop of London; the other biſhops being placed according to their rank, and, next to them, the mitred abbots, the firſt of whom was John of St. Albans: for, as Alban was the firſt martyr of England, ſo this abbot had poſſeſſed the firſt place in rank and dignity, until deprived of the ſame by the abbot of Weſtminſter; the time and cauſe of which ſhall be related.

John was no ſooner inveſted in his new dignity than he thought himſelf ſubjected to the yoke and tyranny of the Romiſh Pontif. He did not clearly underſtand what was meant by his viſiting, in perſon or by deputy, the apoſtolic threſholds every third year; and, even in the firſt years of his office, he was troubled with many exactions and new demands, but eſpecially by the novel and unheard-of oppreſſions of the Romiſh court: and he ſuffered the more vexation, becauſe he found that this noble church, which had ever been ingenuous and free-born, could have no enjoyment of its liberties and privileges; and it was reckoned a preſage of evil times and ſad diſaſters, becauſe, within the firſt three years of John's rule, the church had been twice ſet on fire by lightning. There was fixed on the tower an

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Agnus Dei (a), being the impreſſion of the popes ſeal affixed to his reſcripts and orders; and this had uſually been thought, by the people and monks, to have virtue and power in it to guard the church from all calamities ariſing from the elements, but now they conſidered it as portending nothing but evil and miſchief.

Soon after his acceſſion, he preſented to the church one crimſon cope, for the uſe of the choir, ornamented with handſome gold fringe; and he gave, for the uſe of the refectory, one ſilver cup, gilt, of great value both for the workmanſhip as well as for the materials.

He built a magnificent apartment for the uſe of ſtrangers, ſuch as might be denominated a royal palace (ſaith my author). It conſiſted of one very ſuperb room, painted; and of ſeveral chambers and ſmall apartments, with a ſtack of chimneys; and, before it, were a court and lower hall. The court was ſpacious and noble, and had in its entrance a porch, or gateway (b); the chambers were very handſome, with chimneys and cloſets, for the honourable reception of gueſts. A large hall had ſtood in this place, but it was much decayed in the walls and the roof, was very dark and unſeemly, and had been covered and mended with ſhingles; whereas the new building was covered handſomely with lead. The large room and chamber adjoining were painted, and in a delightful manner ornamented (c) by the hand of maſter Richard, a very ſkilful monk of this abbey. John built alſo, oppoſite the great gate, a very long houſe, or dwelling, of ſtone, covered with tiles, and with three chimneys: the ſight and view of this building, being in the firſt approach to the monaſtery (d), added much to the beauty of the whole ſtructure. This houſe contained two floors, the upper of which was aſſigned to the uſe of the upper ſervants of the abbot, and the lower was uſed for a larder and ſtore-room. In the time of John, Stanmer, which had been one of the earlieſt poſſeſſions of the abbey but loſt by the ſloth of ſome of his predeceſſors, was recovered: and here John built a manor-houſe and alſo a very excellent windmil.

John ſuffered many oppreſſions from the great men of the realm; and was engaged in a very expenſive and vexatious conteſt with Ralph de Chanduit; and in another with Geoffrey de Childwic on the right of Free

(a) This lamb is painted in all the compartments, or diviſions, of the cieling over the choir and preſent conſiſtory.
(b) Horiolum.
(c) Delitioſè redimita.
(d) On the eaſt ſide and fronting Sopwell-lane.

Warren;

Warren; but he had a judgement given in his favour, by the judges (a) at Hertford, though not without an expence of 1000 marks and upwards. And the perſecution from Geoffrey he took ill, the more, becauſe this man was a tenant of the abbey and a neighbour, and ought to have been its defender and protector; being the ſon of Roger de Childwic, who held three hides and a half of land, and was bound to find a ſoldier for the king, on the part of the abbot. This Geoffrey had married the ſiſter of John Manſel, who was one of the King's privy counſellors, and in great repute and authority at court; and, by virtue of his intereſt, Geoffrey preſumed to commit many outrages and illegalities: for, if he met at any time the abbot's ſervants hunting, he would rob them of their nets, dogs, bows, and arrows; beating and abuſing them, though they were hunting in the king's highways or in the abbot's lordſhips, or warren, where he could have no right. Becauſe, it is to be underſtood, that the law had ever conſidered the game and all *feræ naturâ* as belonging to the king: and the right of keeping and preſerving the ſame in parks or warrens, and the right to kill, were derived from the king; and was a right always given with manors and large extenſive fees, by a writ called the *Writ of Free Warren*: and thus was a right belonging to the tenant *in capite*, and to none under him.

John II. the 23d abbot.

The influence of Manſel was ſo great, that no juſtice, or remedy, againſt ſuch aſſaults could be had at Law: ſo that abbot John thought proper to ſend William, his ſteward, up to court with the complaint; where, in the preſence of the king and of the baronage, (which was probably the aſſembly of the barons,) he openly declared the grievance and injuſtice which his abbey ſuffered: but the king's juſtices, who were preſent, whiſpered in his ear, that there were then two great rulers at court, namely earl Richard and John Manſel, againſt whom they dared not utter a word.

In thoſe days, it is to be underſtood, the king heard complaints and decided at a word, and performed many of thoſe duties and judicial offices which have ſince devolved on his judges, ſpecially appointed. The king then acted in his proper dignity, as the fountain of juſtice and of mercy: whereas, now, he is approached, too often, as the fountain of honour only, if not of power. Nevertheleſs, though a crowned head may be liable to many errors in his deciſions, and many impoſitions, yet it always reflects a luſtre on the character and office of Majeſty, when it ſhews itſelf acceſſible to the complaints and grievances of the ſubject.

(a) Juſticiarii.

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It happened, one day, that this Geoffrey, being in the road from Bedford, met a ſervant of my lord abbot, coming from the arch-deacon of Bedford with a preſent of veniſon for the abbot; on which Geoffrey accoſts him with very reproachful language, and much heat and paſſion; accuſing him of having ſtolen the veniſon out of the king's foreſt. This the ſervant took exceedingly ill, having been himſelf one of the king's domeſtics as a marſhal, or harbinger, to go before his majeſty to clear the way. Whether this marſhal made any reſiſtance in his own defence, or not, doth not appear; but, in the event, he was thrown from his horſe, and the veniſon together with the horſe taken away by Geoffrey and his attendants. On this the abbot ſpeedily proceeded to excommunication. This ſentence was denounced on him by the abbot and whole convent, and proclaimed by the clergy belonging to the churches and lands of St. Alban, and likewiſe by the arch-deacon of Bedford, and by all the clergy in his juriſdiction.

Contemptible as this ſentence may appear to many in theſe days, and although it is diſarmed of much of its terrors now, yet ſtill it puts a man under ſo many legal diſabilities, that it is, at this time, a very ſerious denunciation. It is analogous to outlawry. And, as the latter deprives a man of the protection, and benefit, and uſe, of the law, ſo the former deprives him of the privileges and uſes of religion; he being excluded from the public worſhip of God, and the company and ſociety of the faithful. This ſentence cannot now be pronounced againſt any perſon, but thoſe who are proved delinquents in ſpiritual courts and in matters of mere ſpiritual nature, and for contempt to the orders and authority of thoſe courts. But, in the days of Henry III. when the power of the clergy was high, it might be, that the abbots poſſeſſed this power of excommunication; though they had got themſelves exempt from the juriſdiction of thoſe in whom this power certainly did reſide: I mean the biſhops and arch-deacons.

It ſeems to have been a very haſty and raſh proceeding, and argues great paſſion and animoſity, for the loſs of a horſe and ſome veniſon: and it may be ſaid, that it was a civil offence and breach of the peace, and a felonious taking the goods and chattels of the abbot, and therefore cognizable before the civil magiſtrate and puniſhable by common-law proceſs: but the channels of law were ſtopped by the influence of Manſel, and, Juſtice not finding a free courſe, theſe injured parties proceeded in their own way. If, at that time, the abbots did not lawfully poſſeſs this power, the preſent ſentence was begun and proceeded on by the arch-deacon robbed, and from him was

was taken up by the abbot and copied in his dominions. And, to intimidate Geoffrey the more, a ſecond denunciation of this ſentence was made, and with greater ſolemnity, being accompanied with a grand proceſſion, the great bell tolling, the candles all flaming, the ſhrine deckt out in all its ſplendor, and the abbot and monks attired in their gaudieſt habits. After this, Geoffrey, who had ſcorned the cenſures of the church, was attacked by the king's writ. But the abbot was mollified by the intreaties of the king and great men about court, who all appeared, as interceſſors, on behalf of Geoffrey. This had been done by the craft and addreſs of Manſel: and the abbot, finding upon conſultation that he was liable to a charge of irregularity in his proceeding, conſented to drop the appeal to the king in perſon; and thus Geoffrey eſcaped. John I'. the 23d abbot.

Afterwards, by the procurement of this ſame Manſel, Geoffrey obtained a writ of free warren over all the lands which he held of the abbey, though in direct contradiction to ancient deeds and long eſtabliſhed uſage, and contrary to the very charter granted by the preſent king, and for which the abbey had given a great ſum of money. The abbot, however, and his people continued to exerciſe their right of free warren over the lands which were included in Geoffrey's new grant, although the ſame were ſurrounded, and, as it were, incloſed, by the lands of the abbey. But a complaint of this was moved before the King, and, by the artifice of William, biſhop of Saliſbury, the abbot was intangled in law and lay at the king's mercy: for, by the ſuggeſtion of the ſaid William, the king anſwered, that if, by his charter, he had granted the manor of another to any of his nobles or great men, though manifeſtly againſt law, it could not be allowed, 'that the rightful lord ſhould re-enter his lordſhip, until 'the ſame was diſcuſſed at law and decided in court. In truth, that 'he ought to appear before the king and declare his right, in order 'that he might re-enter his manor with the more ſecurity.'

This ſentence was deemed full of injuſtice: for, were this to be accounted law, it might be lawful for the king to enter the manor of any other perſon by violence, and, if that other could not beat off the invader with greater violence, he would be wretchedly diſpoſſeſſed of his eſtate. All this was the contrivance of Geoffrey de Childwic, ſupported by the countenance and advice of Manſel, then counſellor to the king. But, in the year 1240, the abbot obtained of the king a writ to ſummon Geoffrey and his aſſociates before the king's juſtices, to anſwer for this offence; the form of the writ appears in the Appendix (a): it came to trial at Cambridge, before a jury of

(a) N° IV.

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John II. the 23d abbot.

ten yeomen of common rank and twelve knights girt with ſwords, who concurred in giving a verdict againſt Geoffrey and his companions; and he was ſentenced by the court to pay forty marks damages. This Geoffrey alſo gave the abbot incredible trouble about the eſtate of Newberry; for, though the abbot had bought it of the true lord and owner, in order to redeem him and his title-deeds from the hands of the Jews, yet Geoffrey ſo embarraſſed the abbot in law that the convent were forced to demiſe the land over to Geoffrey, keeping and reſerving only for themſelves the old rent. Beſide this, he obliged the convent to furniſh a corrody to a young man of his appointment, before he would make any conceſſions to the church: which was like to prove a laſting detriment to the abbey.

Ralph Chanduit, another great man of this country, was very earneſt in perſecuting and troubling the abbot and monks: and, among many other enormities which he committed, (and which I here omit, ſays *M. Paris,)* one day in his field-ſports, and near the walls of the monaſtery, in a place called then Derefold, he fell upon one of the abbot's principal attendants and companions, named Dunham, and beat him very ſeverely: for this he was called to anſwer in Weſtminſter-Hall, where, being aſked by one, what was the quarrel between him and the abbey; *Oh!* ſays he in deriſion, *the monks have only excommunicated me, becauſe my ſaddle will ſcarcely hold me, when on horſeback.* But, ſoon after, he fell grievous ſick, and, being near his end, he moſt devoutly entreated the monks to forgive him and to procure for him the pardon and aid of St. Alban; truly ſenſible of his fault, he promiſed to make retribution, and his executor, who was the prior of Miſſenden, ſaw this performed.

It has been already mentioned that the ſuit about free warren coſt John 1000 marks; and, by theſe additional troubles, charges, and contumelies, he incurred a farther expence to the like amount; ſo that, upon the whole, he ſuffered a loſs of no leſs than 2000 marks (a): but he added to the reputation of his virtues, by ſhewing that he bore theſe loſſes with great patience and good temper.

The church of Hertburn, in Durham, had been, for many years before, conferred on this abbey by Walter the biſhop of Durham; and this, together with the church of Eglinham, given alſo by an-

(a) It is probable that great part of this ſum was beſtowed in *preſents* to the courtiers and judges. This corrupt practice was introduced by the Normans, among whom there was no approaching the great, to ſolicit a favour or even to demand a right, without a preſent. It is known to prevail through the nations of the eaſt at this day.

other

other biſhop of Durham, was now offered to be rented, excluſive of the vicarages, for 240 marks of yearly rent, by the prior of Tinmouth. The great tithes of the church of Norton, in this county, were conferred on the abbey, and reſigned by the rector, named Lawrence, in his life-time, for the ſpecial purpoſe of mending and improving the malt-liquor of the monks, and for the better entertainment of ſtrangers. The church of Heckſtan, or Hexton, which had formerly been given, the abbot now appropriated for the ſpecial uſe of celebrating the anniverſary of abbot William and himſelf; and to be adminiſtered by the ſacriſt: and he aſſigned the church of St. Michael, in this town, for the uſe of the veſtry and garments, under the care of the ſacriſt; for which holy wardrobe very ſlender proviſion had hitherto been made. John II. the 23d abbot.

This ſame John repaired all the mills belonging to the abbey; which, having been let on covenant to be repaired by the tenants, were, by their neglect, gone to decay: theſe, together with the houſes adjoining, he repaired with good oak timber. And becauſe the water-mill, which was ſituate near the malt-houſe (a), was rendered uſeleſs and incapable of grinding a ſufficient quantity for the houſe, by reaſon of the river being grown up with reeds and almoſt dry in ſummer, inſomuch that they were obliged to ſend ſeven miles to have their corn ground, he thereupon erected a very good mill to be worked by horſes, adjoining to the ſaid malt-houſe. And all theſe repairs coſt 100l. and upwards.

But the badneſs of the malt liquor, or, in juſter phraſe, the weakneſs of their ale (b), was ſtill a detriment to them and alſo a reproach: and John, with great condeſcenſion and humanity, ordered an addition to their yearly conſumption of one thouſand quarters of malt (c), made of barley and oats mixed (d).

The pope had ſent a legate, a few years ago, to reſide in England, for the purpoſe, as was ſaid, of reforming the monaſtic orders and regulating the church, but, in reality, to exact money of all the religious of all orders, under a pretence of ſending relief and ſuccour to the Chriſtian princes, who were ſtill fighting in the Holy Land. Otho, which was the legate's name, convened the abbots of the Benedictine Order, in 1238, to the church of St. Martin's *(Le Grand)*

(a) Braſoria.
(b) Cereviſia ſupra modum debilis extitit. *M. Paris.*
(c) Breſia, or, Braſia.
(d) By another account, it appears that this was an augmentation made to the bread as well as beer, and did amount to the annual value of 463 marks, or 308l. 13s. 4d.

in

John II. the 2 d abbot.

in London, and there gave them ſuch rules and regulations as he thought neceſſary to bring back the monks to their ancient rule and diſcipline (a). And the ſame Otho was likewiſe in England in 1249, and aſſembled the abbots of this order again, at Oſney (b) near Oxford; but thither came only eight abbots. On which he appointed another convention, at the church of St. Mary Overies in Southwark, an Auguſtine abbey founded in 1106. Here the legate renewed and confirmed the former ſtatutes, and added ſome others: which, or the principal of them I have exhibited in the Appendix, N° III. (as already mentioned) and in their original language; for the ſubject would appear mean and low, if tranſlated.

In 1242, the conventual church at Waltham, a Benedictine abbey founded by Harold in 1060, having been now rebuilt, was dedicated. This church is a very fine model of Saxon architecture; ſimple, grand, and uniform, with ſemicircular arches: and indeed, it is ſo excellent a pattern of the original Saxon before it received its variations, and additions, and ornaments, which came into general uſe in this reign, that it might well be thought much older, did not this paſſage in *M. Paris* ſet us right in the date of its conſtruction. But, in this reign, were numberleſs churches built; for, that of Saint Paul had been dedicated, juſt before Waltham, and in the preſence of the ſame honourable perſonages; that of Weſtminſter, if not rebuilt, did at this time receive great additions and enlargements (c); and, in 1240, the abbey-church at Abingdon was dedicated, and that at Wells; and the churches alſo at Perſhore and Eveſham, and at Tewkſbury, Aulceſter, Winchcomb, and Gloceſter, in that county, were built about this time; and many more in the kingdom. And that a ſpirit of building new churches and rebuilding others was very prevalent towards the middle of this century, appears evident from this circumſtance, that cardinal Otho, who held a council at London, in 1237, made and ordained a decree; 'That all cathedral, 'conventual, and parochial, churches, which are completely built, 'ſhall be conſecrated within two years, by the dioceſan.' And then it prohibits 'all abbots and curates from pulling down old conſe-'crated churches, under pretence of making them finer, without con-'ſent of the biſhop; whoſe duty it ſhall be, to conſent or not, as he

(a) See Appendix, N° II.

(b) A monaſtery of Auguſtines.

(c) Ampliatur, dirutis antiquis cum turri muris partis orientalis, præcepit novos decentiores conſtrui, ſubtilibus artificibus convocatis, et occidentali coaptari. *M. Paris.*

'ſhall

'ſhall ſee fit; and, if he conſents, that he ſhall cauſe the new one to 'be finiſhed forthwith (a).' John II. the 23d abbot.

King Henry III. came to this abbey twice in the year 1244, and ſtaid three days each time. The firſt viſit was in the ſpring: and, during his ſtay, his pleaſure was much abated by the vexatious rumours which were brought to him, relating to the inſolent incurſions of the Welch, and to the treatment of his new-appointed biſhop of Chicheſter, who was put by and another thruſt in his place without the king's conſent, this was done by Martin, the pope's agent and clerk, and not without ſuſpicion of having taken money for the advancement of this new man. The king's ſecond viſit (b) was at the feaſt of St. Thomas, juſt before Chriſtmas: and, during his devotion at the great altar, he made an offering of a very rich pall, or cloak, and three bracelets of gold to be affixed to the ſhrine, to the honour of the ſaint, and to the remembrance of himſelf: for, he had before, at different times, made offerings of ſeven more of theſe rich bracelets, or ornaments for the arm, which were worn by men of high rank and degree.

During this year alſo, the earl of Flanders who was uncle to the queen, and his brother Boniface juſt now choſen archbiſhop of Canterbury, made a viſit to this abbey. They were the ſons of Peter earl of Savoy: the count came over, under pretence of aiding and aſſiſting king Henry againſt the king of Scotland and his invaders, and brought him an armament of ſixty ſoldiers only, but above an hundred ſervants and retainers, whom, in truth, he meant to ſerve and provide for: the latter, named Boniface, ſignalized himſelf, afterward, by the moſt rigorous viſitation of his province that could be made, injoining puniſhments and cenſures on his clergy, on purpoſe to receive money for commutation: and his exactions and enormities were ſuch, that the clergy, by general conſent, aſſembled at Dunſtaple, in 1250, and collected four thouſand marks to pay the charge of an appeal they intended to make to the pope, againſt the impoſitions and extorſions of the archbiſhop. His viſit to the abbey, at this time, was probably for entertainment; but he had a palace at Hayes in Middleſex, about ſeven miles, ſays my author,

(a) *Spelm. Councils, an.* 1237. In this Council alſo was confirmed an order of the council of Paris, forbidding the reading of the works of Ariſtotle, newly brought from Conſtantinople, and tranſlated into Latin. The books were ordered to be burnt, and the readers to be excommunicated. *Dup.* 13 *Cen.*

(b) Gratiâ hoſpitandi. *M. Paris*, p. 574.

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from St. Alban's; and at this he abode, in 1250, during his viſitation of theſe parts.

Next year, 1245, the pope was reſiding at Lyons, and there holding a general Council: to this was our abbot ſummoned, but, being advanced in years and unable to travel, he procured an excuſe; though not without ſending two diſcreet brethren as proctors.

One of the moſt memorable events of abbot John's time was the compromiſe, or agreement, which was made in 1247, between the Biſhop and chapter of Durham on the one part, and our abbot with the prior and convent of Tinmouth on the other. For, the prior had refuſed obedience to the biſhop, and pleaded a general exemption from his juriſdiction, by virtue of that immunity by which the parent-abbey was freed from any ſubjection, or obedience, to the biſhop of Lincoln.

This priory had been founded by Robert de Mowbray, the ſtout and warlike earl of Northumberland, who, in a certain hoſtile invaſion made by the Scots under Malcolm their king, in the conflict and defence of his country ſlew the ſaid Malcolm, and gave him honourable interment in the church of Tinmouth which the earl had newly built. He afterwards loſt his eye-ſight: and, chooſing to retire from the world and quit its buſineſs as well as its vanities, he deſired to be admitted a monk in the abbey of St. Alban; he accordingly aſſumed the habit and life of a monk, and abode here many years, and, at his death, was interred with ſuitable pomp, in a place not far diſtant from the chapter-houſe, on the very ſpot where abbot Symond afterward built the chapel of St. Symeon; the body lying in the midſt thereof, or ſomewhat nearer to the altar. This happened in the time of abbot Paul. But the earl cauſed the pariſh-church of Tinmouth to be erected into a priory, and ſent a number of monks from St. Alban's abbey (a) to conſtitute a convent. In like manner, during Paul's time, the cell at Hertford had been founded and endowed by a great man, named Robert de Limiſi, that at Belvoir by another potent chief, named Robert de Tothenei, and that at Wymundham by William de Albany (b), butler, or cup-bearer, to King Henry I.; and the cells at Binham and Wallingford had been conſtituted by Paul himſelf, and annexed to the pariſh-churches.

(a) Tanquam ab electiſſimâ domo inter omnia cœnobia Angliæ. *M. Paris.*

(b) William's ſon became earl of Arundel: and, beſide other deſcendents, the laſt of all in the male line, named Hugo de Albineto, a very young man, was buried at this cell in 1243; and, at his death, the inheritance was divided among four ſiſters.

But to return: the prior of Tinmouth having rejected the authority of the biſhop, the pope, on application of the biſhop, iſſued a commiſſion of inquiry with orders to adjudge; and, the caſe being heard by the archdeacon of Stow and the chancellor of Lincoln, it was by them determined, that the weſt end of the church, where the people aſſembled for divine worſhip, and the prior alſo when there officiating, ſhould belong unto and be ſubject to epiſcopal viſitation; but, when as prior at the other end of the church and at the head of the convent, he ſhould then be exempt: that the priors ſhould be placed there by the abbey, and be removeable by that authority; but ſhould be preſented to the biſhop for inſtitution to the vicarage, and ſhould ſwear canonical obedience: and that the rights of the abbey ſhould remain unimpaired and inviolate. So that the exemption, which had been granted to the parent, was allowed to belong alſo to the daughters and offspring: though, without ſuch original grant of exemption, the abbeys and priories were ſubject to their dioceſan, were viſited and reformed by him, and reckoned a branch of the epiſcopal charge: the pariſh-churches alſo, ſubordinate to the abbeys and priories, were ſubject to their reſpective biſhops, if they had no monaſtic inſtitution affixed to them. John II. the 23d abbot.

Beſide the ſeveral orders already mentioned as being eſtabliſhed in England, and the two military orders, (the knights templars and hoſpitallers,) there ſtarted up, in this reign, two other religious orders, taking their riſe about 1219, and ſurprizing all the world by their wonderful increaſe and advancement. Theſe were THE FRIER-PREACHERS and THE FRIER-MINORS: or, as they were more uſually called abroad, the DOMINICANS and FRANCISCANS. They had been raiſed by the encouragement and ſuggeſtion of the pope and court of Rome, in order to oppoſe the Albigenſes and Waldenſes who then combated, with great courage and much learning, the doctrines, the power, and the extorſions, of the pope. For this purpoſe they were directed to ſupply all the defects of the other orders: inſtead of leading a ſilent and holy life in the cloiſter, they were to preach and travel about, warning the people againſt the peſtilence of thoſe heretics, and they were to exhibit the perfect life in a courſe of poverty and patience, to work whenever they could, and, when otherwiſe, to ſupport themſelves by begging. Hence they were called *Mendicants:* and, though always begging, they were ſeen, about 1243, to be poſſeſſed of the moſt ample buildings, and dwelling in princely houſes (a), and ſurpaſſing

(a) Hubert de Burgh ſettled *the preachers* at Whitehall.

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all other orders in their wealth and full eſtabliſhment (a). For, with all theſe profeſſions of beggary, they found means to be admitted into all families, contrary to the monaſtic practice, and aſſiduouſly attended the death-bed of the rich and great; thus excluding the ſecular prieſt and the authority of the biſhop, and extorting confeſſion and urging the ſick to make their will, with a certain recommendation of their own order, in preference to any other. Inſomuch, that none of the faithful thought themſelves in the way of ſalvation, unleſs they were ruled by the counſels of theſe frier preachers and minors.

They got admittance in the council of the kings and great men, and became earneſt ſolicitors for new privileges: and their extreme ſucceſs and ſudden riſe ſoon made them the objects of hatred and envy with all the other orders, and no leſs contention and animoſity prevailed againſt theſe friers than againſt the ſeculars. They now began to be great maſters of theology, and to diſpute and hold exerciſes in the ſchools with a ſkill and ability before never ſeen, and with a degree of ſubtlety and depth that was neither becoming the ſubject (b) nor expedient for proving the truth. They were, in ſhort, the authors of that ſcholaſtic jargon, which, as a new ſcience, then peſtered the ſchools, and which was ſo managed as to confound and perplex an adverſary, whenever it failed to convince him. The frier-preachers had monaſteries and abbeys all over England, being brought in about the year 1221, and placed firſt at Oxford; but, at the diſſolution, they had forty-three houſes in the kingdom. The minors, ſo called from their affected humility, came hither in 1224, and had their firſt houſe at Canterbury and the next at London; and, at the diſſolution, they poſſeſſed no leſs than fifty-five houſes, in this kingdom, under ſeven principal rulers and guardians reſiding in the chief cities.

(a) Prædicatio per Prælatos, maxime vero per *Fratres Prædicatores* et *Minores* fiebat: et data fuit poteſtas cruce ſignandi & votum, datâ pecuniâ, relaxandi: ſeſe multi, quorum non erat numerus, cruce ſignaverunt. Sed cito in tantam nobilitatem, ne dicam arrogantiam, elevabantur Prædicatores et Minores, qui ſpontaneam paupertatem cum humilitate elegerunt, ut recipi curarent in cœnobiis et civitatibus, in proceſſione ſolenni, in vexillis, cereis accenſis, et in diſpoſitione veſtimentis feſtivis indutorum. Et conceſſa eſt eis venia multorum dierum ſuis conferre auditoribus: ſignatoſque hodie, cras, datâ pecuniâ, a crucis voto abſolverunt. Parvoque tempore, facta eſt tanta commutatio, tam multiformis pecuniæ exactio, nec ſciri poterat in quam abyſſum tanta pecunia eſſet demerſa.

(b) Qui non verentes tangere montes, nitebantur Dei ſecreta inveſtigabilia temere perſcrutari. Deo plus placet firmæ fidei ſimplicitas ſobria, quam nimis tranſcendens in Theologiâ ſubtilitas: et cum tutius ſit, ſimpliciter a Patribus tradita accipere et credere, quam probata experiri. *M. Paris*, an. 1243.

Theſe

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Theſe orders were not only well directed and inſtructed in executing the pope's commands, but they really did ſupply the imperfections of all the other orders. For, as teaching and inſtructing prevailed much among the heretics, it was a prudent injunction to cauſe theſe orders to make that their chief duty and care; and, by their aſſiduity therein, they cruſhed or cried down all their adverſaries. Indeed, a new dawn of learning and ingenuity ſeemed now to be riſing up, and ſome coeval circumſtances, new but important, gave aid and encouragement to theſe men. The canon-law had been the principal ſubject of ſtudy for two or three centuries; but, about this time, the civil law was coming into repute and uſe, by the diſcovery of the Pandects, at Amalfi, in 1130; and the works of Ariſtotle, which had not been known in Europe except among the Moors and Arabian ſcholars, were now brought out and recommended by all public teachers: the laſt were probably brought from Greece by the Cruſaders: but, as ſoon as known in England, they were tranſlated and read, and became the ſtandard of all philoſophy. Theſe two orders embraced this new learning, and, with wonderful diligence and ſtudy, recommended it by public lectures, &c. About this time alſo, colleges began to be founded in our univerſities; and the moſt learned men for two or three centuries were of theſe friers, as Bacon who died in 1292, Kilwardby, Groſtead, and others.

Though the important events in religion, in learning, and in civil polity, which theſe orders either produced or were intimately concerned in, (for they meddled with every thing) would amply juſtify this ſeeming digreſſion, yet the immediate reaſon of mentioning them here is this: they were not only the preaching defenders of the papal faith, and employed to infuſe an univerſal prejudice againſt the heretics, who had appeared in the ſouth of France and in the mountains of the Alps, but their buſineſs alſo was to exact money and goods for the pope. And ſome of them, coming to St. Alban's in 1246, demanded admittance and the liberty to receive the monks to confeſſion: the principal of the company demanded alſo a privilege to preach, and, requiring ſilence for that purpoſe, the archdeacon ſtopped him and ſaid; *Gently, brother, and forbear a little, until I ſhall have ſhewn your wiſdom what my opinion is. We plain men, who have been accuſtomed to ancient and approved uſages, are filled with wonder and aſtoniſhment at theſe innovations. You not only affect to be frier-preachers, but frier-confeſſors alſo: nay, you would* extort *a confeſſion. But let me ſhew you what the decree is, on that head, made and ratified by one of the greateſt councils ever known* (namely, of Lateran, in 1215); *and which has been held ſacred and inviolable throughout Chriſtendom.* And, opening the book, he read thus: 'And

'let

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'let every perſon of either ſex make faithful confeſſion of their tranſ-
'greſſions, alone, and once in the year only. And, if any perſon
'ſhall chooſe to confeſs to a ſtrange prieſt, let him firſt demand and
'obtain leave of his own proper prieſt; ſince, otherwiſe, the ſtrange
'prieſt can neither bind nor abſolve him. But let that prieſt be diſ-
'creet and cautious, that he may pour wine and oil into the wounds
'of the guilty, and ſo wary, that he do not, by any means betray
'or diſcover an offender; becauſe, whoever ſhall preſume to diſcover
'any thing confeſſed or ſpoken in the penitential trial, we not
'only decree that prieſt to be depoſed from his ſacerdotal office,
"but to be thruſt into ſome cloſe monaſtery, there to undergo per-
"petual penance.'

The year after in the beginning of lent, came a certain frier-minor, named John, to the abbey: he had been employed on this buſineſs all over England, and now he introduced himſelf here with a demand of forty marks, by apoſtolic authority, to be paid at London at the feaſt of the decollation of John the baptiſt; and he produced new mandates from the apoſtolic ſee for this purpoſe: for, the abbot, having had the like demand made upon him laſt year, had appealed to the pope and cardinals on a grievance ſo inſupportable. The minorite then ſummoned the abbot to appear, on the third day after, at London, or appoint a ſufficient proctor, well inſtructed on his behalf and prepared to make full ſatisfaction to our lord the pope, in the ſubſidy now demanded. On the day, the abbot ſent his proctor, namely, his archdeacon: and the firſt thing he did was to demand a ſight of the new mandate, or commiſſion; which having, with ſome difficulty, obtained, he found it to run in this form: 'Innocent,
'biſhop, &c. to our beloved ſon John, the abbot of St. Alban's in the
'dioceſe of Lincoln, health and apoſtolic benediction. The daily
'preſſure of that ſecular perſecution, wherewith we are ſurrounded,
'compels us, by its vehemence and danger, to make head againſt it
'in defence of the apoſtolic ſee, and, of neceſſity, to have recourſe
'to the aid of its ſubjects. Wherefore, agreeably to the counſel of
'our brethren, we exhort and attentively admoniſh you, and by the
'ſacred writings we charge you, that, ſo far as our beloved brother
'John, provincial guardian of his order and our meſſenger, being the
'bearer of theſe, ſhall propoſe or requeſt, on our part, a ſubſidy for
'our holy ſee, you would give full credit to his words; and that
'you carefully obſerve, that the church, by ſupporting this oppoſi-
'tion, is effectually maintaining the general intereſt of the church
'and of all church-men; and that you will freely and liberally ſtudy

'to

'to fulfil your duty herein, in ſuch a manner as will be moſt accept- John II. the 23d abbot.
'able to us and our brethren; and that your actions, as the beſt
'evidence of the truth, may appear as the tokens of your devout af-
'fections. Given at Lyons, IV. Id. Oct. in the fourth year of our
'pontificate.'

It is to be underſtood, that the popedom had been at war with the emperor for ſeveral years. The Emperor, named Frederic, did not take ſo intereſted a part in the Holy War as many other of the European princes, and, finding the popes encroaching on his ſovereign privileges in Italy, he had maintained a vexatious war on the apoſtolic ſee: and, by the ſecular perſecution which the pope here complains of, he means this imperial war. Indeed, every war was an occaſion, with his holineſs, to demand money; for, while he fought only as a ſovereign prince of Italy, he yet conſidered himſelf as the head of a ſpiritual kingdom: and, though poſſeſſing the *whole* of the *other* world, he was not above contending for a *ſmall portion* of *this* world. The Holy War had been a plauſible ground for exactions and extortions, for near two hundred years; yet another urgent occaſion or plauſible opportunity was not to be miſſed: and, for this purpoſe, the pope had ſent four cardinal legates, one into Germany, a ſecond through Italy, a third into Spain, and a fourth into Norway, to ſolicit aid; beſide ſome ſham legates into other places: and, that he might not ſeem to infringe the royal privileges in England, he employed here the frier preachers and minors: they were preſſed into his ſervice much againſt their will, and eſteemed it a ſcandal and detriment to the honour of their order to be made tax-gatherers and criers (a). It is farther to be remembered, that in 1239 the legate Otho had been at our abbey, and, in great ſolemnity, had excommunicated the Emperor, by virtue of an authentic then ſent by the pope; but, for which act, the abbot and monks ſent a letter of excuſe privately to the emperor, alleging that the fact was not done with their approbation or conſent.

The archdeacon having read the mandate above written, frier John enjoined him and his attendants to be and appear before him at the ſame place, eight days hence, then and there to ſatisfy him in three hundred marks of ſilver; otherwiſe the mandate of our lord the pope would be executed with excommunications and interdictions. The archdeacon anſwered, that the abbot was employed in ſending ſome ſpecial meſſengers to the pope's preſence, in order to lay his

(a) Teloniarios et Bedellos. *M. Paris*, an. 1247.

grievances

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grievances before him, and to make ſatisfaction in proportion to the abilities of the church and its dependences, but with no view of receding from the appeals preferred before.

Soon after, to depreſs and afflict the Engliſh church more and more, John produces a new authentic, or power, with enlargements of his authority, in this form, 'Innocent, biſhop, &c. having under-'ſtood by the intimations which thou haſt written, we charge thee, 'by the authority of theſe preſents, that if the major part of the Eng-'liſh prelates ſhould make anſwer, on thy demand of the ſubſidy re-'queſted by us, that they are exempt or foreign, thou doſt demand a '*greater* ſum from them, and compel them, by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, 'to withdraw their appeals: *any privilege or indulgence notwithſtanding*, 'and although we mention not thoſe privileges. Given at Lyons, 'XVI. Cal. Aug. 1247.'

Such demands, made ſo frequently and enforced with ſo much artifice and violence, againſt which neither the privileges of holy men nor the grants or indulgences of former popes could defend them, ſpread an univerſal alarm. A fear inſtantly aroſe, leſt princes or great men among the laity, who had by themſelves or their anceſtors founded, endowed, and enriched, many churches out of their poſſeſſions, and had mutilated their eſtates in ſo doing, and had framed written grants of the ſame, ſhould revoke thoſe grants and reſume the eſtates; having the pope for an example and the tenor of ſuch and ſuch a charter *notwithſtanding* (a): eſpecially when, contrary to the intention of the founders, theſe poſſeſſions were devoured by the pope or by ſuch Italians and ſtrangers as he ſent over to fatten on the ſweets of England. And, whenever the exactions of the pope were complained of, which was done in every public council or meeting in the kingdom, it was obſerved that the Italians enjoyed preferments to the amount of fifty thouſand marks of annual value, and yet, by reaſon of their abſence and negligence, their houſes and buildings were falling to ruin.

The abbot and his monks, ſeeing themſelves encloſed on all ſides by danger, determined to ſend two proctors to quicken the appeal with the pope, and deſtined for this negotiation a monk, named John Bull, and maſter Adam Bearn, a laic; but John the minorite, pretending he ſhould ſoon quit England and return to the pope, ſent another mandate to the abbot, in this form, 'To the moſt venerable John, by

(a) This clauſe of *non obſtante* is the greateſt uſurpation ever deviſed, and ſubjects all law and all former aſſurances to the preſent will of the pope.

'the

'the Grace of God lord abbot of St. Alban, frier John, our lord the pope's meſſenger in England, health in the lord. Although we have written to you many times before, we have determined to write ſtill once more, having received a ſtrong mandate on this head; intreating you and admoniſhing, and, by virtue of our obedience to the pope, giving you to underſtand, that, all obſtruction being removed, you be and appear, on the Thurſday before the feaſt of St. Thomas, at Bereford, the dwelling-place of the frier-minors, there to make full ſatisfaction unto the church in the ſubſidy. By doing ſo, you will not oblige us (which God forbid!) to proceed according to the tenor of a former mandate; nor will it be proper to diſmiſs you, becauſe we have received a ſpecial mandate thereupon. Fare ye well. But, what ye ſhall think proper to do in conſequence of this, we will, that you write unto us by the bearer of theſe.' John II. the 23d abbot.

The abbot puſhed on the appeal, chooſing rather to abide the deciſion of the pope, who was reckoned the moſt excellent of men, than of one, who, under the covering of ſo much humility and poverty, harboured ſuch aſperity and cruelty. The meſſengers to the Romiſh tribunal were ordered to be there by the fifteenth day after the feaſt of St. Michael. John doubled his threats: the arch-deacon and ſome others were ſent to him, to moderate his rigor; he anſwered, that the ſtricteſt juſtice, which his authority would allow him to ſhew, he would fully employ and exerciſe; and for this reaſon, becauſe, when he was at St. Alban's a few years before, the monks had not ſhewn him ſo much reverence as was due to a papal meſſenger, much leſs to a legate; yea, that although he had been entertained in a civil and courtly manner with regard to his table (a), yet ſome of the monks had preſumed to reprove him, as if he had changed his habit and run away from ſome other order. At length the deputies from the abbot, with bended knees and moſt ſuppliant words, intreated ſome reſpite and a kind of truce until ſome intelligence ſhould arrive from their proctors at the pope's court. This they obtained; but, in the expediting of their buſineſs, frier John promiſed them no kind of aid or favour, and it was diſcovered, that he had written to the pope, inflaming his mind, and alleging that the abbot of St. Alban's was the only abbot of all England who kicked, with moſt perverſeneſs, againſt the pope's mandates and edicts. The deputies at Rome, on this, found great obſtacles thrown in their way, and ſuch difficulties created as made their longer ſtay neceſſary: At length, by means of preſents,

(a) In eſculentis et poculentis. *M. Paris.*

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and bribes, and conduct-money, properly applied, they made an end of their buſineſs, and compounded with his holineſs for two hundred marks. But thus, by the venality of the papal court and the neceſſary charges, three hundred marks were ſwallowed up in that inſatiable whirlpool.

The whole ſum raiſed in this manner, and remitted through the hands of the biſhops of Winton and of Norwich, during this year only, amounted to eleven thouſand marks; and no mitigation or favour was now ſhewn to the abbot, although he had, in the year before, remitted to the pope four-ſcore marks.

There is nothing ſo remarkable, through this long reign of fifty-ſix years, as the vanity and levity of the royal character, and the crafty uſes made thereof by the avaricious and griping hands of the popes. And, if the people then could have felt their ſtrength, or could have found any principles of true liberty, they never would have borne the unjuſt extortions that were practiſed, by turns, by both the royal power and the church; for, they had the policy to act in concert, and, whenever either wanted money, a kind of conſent was aſked of the other: and, though the king ſeemed to take part with the great lords, and to favour all their complaints of grievance from the church of Rome, and to join in all their remonſtrances to the pope; yet the latter ever found a way to divide the union, and, by drawing off the king, to leave the barons and the laity at the papal mercy. At this time it cannot be ſaid, that the conſtitution of the kingdom had in it any free parts; it had indeed two independent powers, which frequently jarred, and were generally oppreſſive; but it was without a third, to balance the weight of either that might preponderate with exceſs: and theſe two were *the royal authority* and *the papal power*; which laſt, being planted in every pariſh and every corner of the kingdom, ſupported the intereſt of the Romiſh church in a more effectual and more active manner than all the king's miniſters, officers, and placemen, could uſe in ſupport of the regal authority. Parliament as yet conſiſted of only the greater barons, whoſe number probably did not exceed fifty; and as many of the leſſer barons (a) as the king choſe to ſummon; and of eighteen biſhops, and twenty-eight abbots and priors. How weak then muſt have been the civil intereſt compared with the eccleſiaſtical, even ſuppoſing the king to be friendly, at all times, to his barons and people, and to the ſecular intereſts!

(a) That is, ſuch as held of the great barons.

In

In the theory of the conſtitution, the king was but the firſt baron of the kingdom, and placed at the head of the reſt, as the chief of a confederacy, or combined intereſt, and intended as their leader in war and their legiſlator, in conjunction with them, in peace: but, though this parliament, or great council, could and did enact laws for the benefit of the realm, yet the ſpiritual part had ſuch an univerſal influence as to hinder the execution of the moſt ſalutary, when they choſe to oppoſe them. And there were infinitely more aſſiduity, diligence, and energy, in executing the decrees of Rome, than the laity could employ in putting in force any laws of the great council. The æra of the firſt riſe of the Commons, that is, in fact, the time when the king omitted the leſſer barons, and ſummoned to parliament two knights of a ſhire and two burgeſſes for the cities and towns, was in the 49th of this reign, or the year 1265. And this might probably ariſe from a ſalutary hint given to the king, that ſuch a ſtep would enable him, if he took part with the barons, to reſiſt with effect the papal and eccleſiaſtic influence. For, the barons, who were as much ſubjected to the grievances and impoſitions of the clergy and legates as the lower ranks, might think that, by adding to their own number, they might draw off the king from ſiding with the pope, and enable him to act with ſuch a degree of weight and influence as would conduce to his and their honour and credit. It is to be remarked, that, whenever the parliament, or great council, was convened, the pope's legate, or commiſſioner, came to London to aſſiſt, and was as powerful to bring the lords to compliance as he was to maſter the biſhops and clergy.

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The current of court favour had run, many years, towards the Poictovins and the queen's relations, and they had experienced wonderful bounty and munificence from the king; while the pope, at the ſame time, was ſending over all the neceſſitous Italians to be provided for with preferment in the church: for which abuſes in government, the king met with the moſt ſevere, but juſt, rebukes from ſome of the barons, when aſſembled and conſulting in Parliament. In conſequence of theſe complaints, the king, in 1258, iſſued an order to every county, that the people ſhould chooſe four knights, to take into conſideration ſuch grievances as the lower ranks felt from the oppreſſions of the higher; and that, having written down the ſame, they ſhould incloſe them under their ſeals, and bring the ſame to the baronage, or general council: and, in ſeven years after, theſe perſons were called up, by writ, to have a ſeat in that aſſembly; where, from being conſidered as deputies to report the ſtate to the counties, they now ac-

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quired a right to appear as the repreſentatives of them. And this augmentation of two hundred votes, if adhering with fidelity to the king and civil power, would give a new turn to the deciſions of that great body.

But this account, though attended with great probability, is not the whole truth: for, the barons had been in arms the year before; and, in 1265, happened the battle of Eveſham, wherein fell Simon Montfort; and, though a parliament was called at Winton by the advice of prince Edward, the buſineſs of it ſeems to be only to diſfranchiſe the Londoners, who had borne arms againſt the king. The war continued in 1266, though confined chiefly to the iſle of Ely, where the diſinherited and fugitives from the city had taken refuge, but were compelled to ſurrender; and, in 1267, my author expreſsly ſays, that the king cauſed the earls and barons, the archbiſhops and biſhops, the abbots, and all who owed him military ſervice, to come armed unto St. Edmundſbury, to concert meaſures againſt thoſe who, contrary to the peace of the realm, had ſeized the iſle of Ely: and, in this number convened, are thought to be comprehended the above-mentioned knights of the ſhires. It appears not who it was that ſuggeſted this expedient to the king, or whether he intended by it only to ſtrengthen his own numbers; but certain it is it tended to add ſtrength to the nobles, and laid the foundation of rendering the king and the civil power more independent of the pope and the clergy.

The king's exceſſes had indeed ſubjected him to great neceſſities, and he had thereupon taken part with that power and influence which bore a ſway in every part of the kingdom, though to his diſgrace, yet with ſome relief to his wants. For, when he called a general parliament in 1248, for the purpoſe of aſking a ſubſidy of money, he was ſharply reprehended in theſe terms; 'that he bluſhed not to demand a relief, 'when he had given a written charter to his nobles, promiſing never 'to do them ſuch injury as they had complained of; that he was 'highly blameable in his indiſcreet invitation of ſtrangers, among whom 'he waſted, profuſely and prodigally, all the riches of his kingdom; 'that he contracted in marriage the nobles of the realm with ignoble 'foreigners;' with many reproaches on the waſte and extravagance of his houſehold.

And, in 1249, when he came to this abbey, (on a kind of progreſs by way of Huntingdon, whither he called to him the abbots of Ramſey and of Peterborough, and had begged a ſum from them,) he intreated abbot John to let him have ſixty marks; *for*, he added, *it was as great charity as to give an alms at the abbey-gate:* yet, in this ſame year

year and in the laſt, he had obtained a good ſum of the abbot by his artful pretences. And, having ſucceeded thus with our abbot, he ſent Simon Paſſelaw, a clerk of his treaſury, with a circular letter, to all the abbots and priors in the counties of Eſſex and Hertford, to aſk money for the defence of his civil rights, both at home and abroad. Theſe requeſts, though ſo much like extortions, could not be refuſed by this abbey; becauſe the king honoured this place frequently with his preſence, and preſented habits and ornaments of great value, and, in 1251, he came down twice, and made an offering of three robes made intirely of ſilk, which, with others before given, amounted to thirty in number: he gave alſo at this time two necklaces of great value, directing them to be fixed to the ſhrine, as a memorial of his liberality. John II. the 23d abbot.

And, to ſhew what ſhifts the king, urged on by his neceſſities, had in contemplation, I will relate the following interview. In the year 1252, the prior, or hoſpitaller, of Jeruſalem, then dwelling in Clerkenwell, taking an opportunity of ſpeaking to the king, made complaint of ſome grievous injury he ſuffered, and cited the charters of protection which former kings, and even his majeſty, had granted; on which, the king, in great heat, and with a high tone of voice, accompanied with an oath, cries out, 'You prelates and religious, eſpecially 'the templars and hoſpitallers, have ſo many liberties and charters, that 'your ſuperfluous poſſeſſions make you proud, and your pride makes 'you mad. There wants a prudent reſumption of what hath been ſo 'imprudently granted; and there ought to be a deliberate recal of 'what hath been given without any deliberation. Doth not our 'lord the pope ſometimes, nay oftentimes, revoke his deed? doth not 'that little bar, called *non obſtante*, vitiate and annul all former grants? 'In this ſame manner will I break this and other charters, which my 'predeceſſors and myſelf have raſhly and inconſiderately granted.' To which the prior, with a high look, anſwered ſpiritedly: 'What doth 'my lord the king ſay! far be it from you, that any word ſo abſurd 'and unſeemly ſhould come out of your mouth: as long as you ob-'ſerve to do juſtice, you ſuſtain the character of a king; but, as ſoon 'as you infringe juſtice, you ceaſe to be a king.' 'What means that?' ſaid Henry, 'what! you Engliſh mean to ſerve me as you did 'my father; firſt turn me out of my throne, and then worry me to 'death?'

In 1255, he affected to make war on the king of Scotland, and, having aſſembled ſome ſoldiers, harraſſed the borders of that country; on which, the monarch of Scotland thought proper to purchaſe peace, by giving Henry a great ſum of money: yet, on his return, he ſtopped

at

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at Durham, and cauſed all the money and plate, belonging to the abbey and cathedral church, to be taken as ſpoil, and carried away for his own uſe; though he afterwards did make ſome reſtitution. In the mean time, Ruſtand, a deputy from the pope, was demanding money from all the biſhops and abbots, and ſix hundred marks from our abbot, on pretence that it was for the king's uſe; during which, letters came to the abbot from the pope, directing him to pay to certain merchants five hundred marks within one month, otherwiſe the abbey would be put under a ſentence of ſuſpenſion: and thus, if they conſented, the abbots were put under a pretended obligation, to which they had not agreed. But it is likely that the pope or king had taken up this ſum of the merchants or uſurers, and then gave the lenders ſuch a ſort of authority to indemnify themſelves, if they could. The biſhops were convened at London by general conſent, to make anſwer to Ruſtand's demand, and at firſt were ready to divide and ſeparate; but the barons encouraged them to be unanimous, and offer a ſum to the king; meaning thereby to ſave themſelves. And this artifice ſatisfied Ruſtand. In 1256, the king iſſued a proclamation, directing that all perſons, who poſſeſſed 15l. a year in land, ſhould learn the uſe of arms; otherwiſe redeem themſelves for a ſum of money. And, to mention one inſtance more of the king's diſſipation and want of faith, he promiſed the young earl of Gloceſter, who was going to betroth his majeſty's niece, the daughter of Guy earl of Angouleme, five thouſand marks; and he demanded of the abbots of St. Alban, Reading, and Waltham, that they would pay down the money: they anſwered that they were not able, nor, if they were, could they juſtify ſuch an act. Then he applied to the templars and hoſpitallers; but they refuſed: and from that time he plotted againſt them.

I have ſaid thus much of the neceſſities and the exactions of the king and the pope, in order to ſhew the prudent zeal which the barons felt, and which excited them to take up arms in defence of their rights, and to eſtabliſh a more juſt government. The good effects of which zeal and courage we ſee in the regulations and improvements that took place in the next reign, under one who had been an eye-witneſs of his father's exceſſes, and had fought in ſupport of him. The king's debts amounted at this time (1256) to 950,000 marks or 633,333l. 6s. 8d.

This year, the king and queen of Scotland came into England, to viſit the Engliſh court, the queen being the daughter of Henry and his queen. They came with about three hundred attendants on horſeback. The place of meeting was the royal manſion of Woodſtoke, which

which not being ſufficiently capacious for ſuch a retinue (for, Henry brought a thouſand perſons with him), the ground adjoining was covered with tents and pavilions. They proceeded to London by different routs, for the better convenience of entertainment and lodging. At London theſe royal perſonages were met by prince Edward, and, after much royal feſtivity, they were entertained, together with many others and the chief of the city, by John Manſel, at his houſe in Totale (ſince call *Tothill*) fields. John II. the 23d abbot.

Some other material events of John's time, which particularly concern this abbey, or which (though but remotely connected with it) ſerve to diſplay the manners and cuſtoms of that age, I will relate in the order in which they happened, without attending ſolicitouſly to the immediate connection of the detail.

In the autumn of 1247, a peſtilence, or epidemical illneſs, raged ſo much in the town, that nine or ten corpſes were interred, every day, in the church-yard of St. Peter.

In 1248, the biſhop of Bangor, with many of his clergy, took refuge in this monaſtery, finding it dangerous to ſtay in their own country of North Wales, where the diſputes of the ſons of Llewellyn had ſpread war and deſolation, to the terror of all pacific perſons (a). In this year alſo, Matthew Paris was requeſted by the decayed monaſtery of Holm, in Norway, and directed by an authentic from the pope, to go and put in order the buſineſs and rule of that abbey, which had been founded by Canute, on his return from England, and which, out of veneration to St. Alban, he had furniſhed with monks and relics from this abbey: the high character, which Matthew bore with the pope and among all the benedictines, cauſed him to be choſen for this purpoſe; and, having paſſed the ſummer in Norway, he returned ſafe.

This year, the king's brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, who had taken the vow of the croſs and had provided for his departure, came to the abbey, to requeſt their prayers and interceſſion with Heaven for his ſucceſs, and, after a few days, departed. This man bears a great

(a) The biſhop of Hereford had done the like, about twenty years before, and died in the year 1245: his name was John, but his ſurname is unknown, and he is not mentioned in Goodwin's catalogue. He ſeems to have been the biſhop that had the conteſt with Peter Egelblanke, who, being a Savoyard, was favoured by the king, and excluded John the lawful biſhop. This John, in conſideration of the reception and kindneſs ſhewn him for twenty years, left his books and ſome church-ornaments to the abbey, and alſo ſome benefices: he was interred juſt before the altar of St. Amphibalus. *M. Paris*, p. 604.

character

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character throughout hiſtory (a): and, as he was the owner of Berkhampſtead caſtle and lived there, and was a benefactor to the cell of Beaulieu then belonging to this abbey, it is not improbable but that he was well acquainted with the abbot, and that the cauſe of his viſit was in friendſhip to him as well as devotion to God. In 1250, the lady of this earl, named Cynthia, was delivered, at Berkhampſtead, of a ſon whom they named Edmund, and in honour of whom the father, in 1257, founded and endowed the monaſtery of Aſkridge, in Bucks, for thirteen friers of the *Bonhommes* (b).

The priory of Beaulieu *(de bello loco)*, at Moddry, in the pariſh of Clophill in Bedfordſhire, had been founded by king John, but left incomplete: and, in Henry's reign, this abbey repleniſhed it with monks, by removing thither thoſe of Melbrook cell in the ſame county; and it was afterwards farther endowed by the above-mentioned Richard, the king's brother, in completion of a vow which he made in extreme danger abroad. But, in the year 1250, it ceaſed to be a cell under the management of this abbey; and, in conſideration of ſome equivalent, it was conveyed over to the ſaid earl, who obtained of the king and pope a charter of incorporation under the name of an abbey, and placed therein thirteen poor brethren and twenty monks of the Ciſtertian order from Winchcomb, in the county of Gloceſter, which he had before augmented with new endowments. Richard paid this reverence to Beaulieu, through a motive of piety to his mother, whom his father, king John, had cauſed to be buried there (c).

The friet-preachers had ſettled themſelves in a large and commodious houſe in Holborn (d), then called the ſuburbs of London, and, in 1250, they held there a general chapter of their order, at which appeared about 400 abbots and principals; for, they were convened from all parts of the Chriſtian world, and ſome came from Jeruſalem. Their poverty and wants were ſo great, that the nobles, and biſhops, and ſome of the abbots, ſent them large ſupplies of proviſions: among the

(a) He was afterwards choſen king of the Romans, and died at Berkhampſtead in 1271, for grief at the death of his eldeſt ſon Henry, who was murdered in Italy. He directed, that his *body* ſhould be buried in the church of the frier-minors at Oxford, and his *heart* depoſited in the monaſtery of Hailes, in Gloceſterſhire, which he had built and endowed.

(b) On the death of Richard, this Edmund was created Earl of Cornwall by Henry III. and, in 1283, he enlarged and farther endowed the religious houſe at Aſkridge, founded by his father.

(c) *M. Paris.*

(d) Holborn was never paved till the time of Henry IV. from whom iſſued an order to that purpoſe. *Rymer's Fœd.*

reſt,

reſt, abbot John and the abbot of Waltham ſent a large portion. On the firſt day of their chapter, the king entertained them at his own charge, and, having entered their aſſembly, prayed them to remember him in their ſupplications. The next day, they were entertained at the expence of the queen; and, on the third, by the biſhop of London; and then by John Manſel. John II. the 23d abbot.

In this year, 1250, the church of Weſtley belonging to the priory of Binham being vacant, the pope ſent thither an Italian, and gave him poſſeſſion, to the great loſs and vexation of the abbot and brethren. Another vexation was, that the manor of Aldenham (which had always belonged to this abbey, and had been ſo confirmed by many kings and by Henry himſelf, and was, at this very time, *leaſed* to the abbot and convent of Weſtminſter) was now conveyed, by a new grant, to the ſaid abbot, in perpetuity, to the great loſs of our abbey: and, more than this, although Geoffrey of Childwic had been caſt in the ſuit about free warren, yet the king now granted him a charter to that effect. And Matthew Paris remonſtrating to the king boldly on theſe matters, on viſiting this place, the king anſwered, "Why? doth not the pope this very thing, ſubjoining in his letters "*notwithſtanding any privilege or former grant* (a)? however, I will "think of it.' Yet nothing more was ever heard of it, nor did the king's actions correſpond with theſe promiſes.

Robert de Gorham, who had been elected abbot in 1151, had granted certain lands, contiguous to Weſtwic, to one of his family and name. That man ſettled there and built, and the place obtained the name and appellation of, *Gorham Bury*, that is, the houſe and dwelling of Gorham: and here a good family had continued: William Gorham, the laſt who died here, left a widow, named Cecilia Sanford, ſprung from a good family, dwelling at Sandford, one mile from the town of St. Alban's. This lady, having been well educated, was choſen in her younger days to the office of preceptreſs to Joan, the ſiſter of king Henry, who became the wife and relict of William Marſhal the younger, afterwards earl of Pembroke, and was married to the earl of Leiceſter, Simon Montfort. Cecilia, together with this counteſs of Pembroke, being both widows, made a vow to continue in this widowed ſtate, and, together with the ſponſal ring, aſſumed that mournful garb, then called *Ruſſet*, from the colour and plainneſs. The counteſs, being wooed by the earl of Leiceſter, applied to the pope

(a) *Non obſtante.* This diſpenſing power was creeping into the civil tranſactions. *M. Paris*, in an. 1250.

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to be abſolved from her vow; which having obtained, ſhe left her companion alone. Cecilia continued ſingle, and, on her death-bed, the prieſt, who was Walter, abbot of St. Martin's in London, ſpying a valuable ring on her finger, ordered the attendant to draw it off, as no longer neceſſary, and indeed ſuperfluous to a dying perſon. Cecilia, though dying, recovered breath enough to ſay, '*No, good father! I will never quit this ring, either living or dead: I will carry this ring with me to the tribunal of God, as a pledge of that continence which I ſwore to my huſband, and there demand the retribution which we covenanted; for, for his ſake, I have refuſed many offers of high rank and great fortune.* Then, graſping the ring, ſhe breathed her laſt.

In the ſame year, 1251, died Paul Piper, a man who, from a ſmall beginning and humble origin, raiſed himſelf to a great office at court, called the *Regis Dapifer.* When he firſt began to taſte the ſweets of the court (a), he had only two hides of land; but in a ſhort time he had gained, by ſome means or other (b), fifty hides. He had ſhewn himſelf a great builder of manſion-houſes, and had now nearly completed a magnificent dwelling at Teddington, with all conveniences of uſe and ſplendor, ſuch as raiſed the admiration of the beholders, having employed ſo many men and artiſts, that the weekly wages came to one hundred ſhillings, and oftener to ten marks (c). He left a widow, but no child: and John de Gray, a knight well-bred and of diſtinguiſhed courage, married the widow, and came into the ſudden poſſeſſion of that place and all the fortunes of Paul Piper. The ruins of this great houſe are ſtill to be diſcerned.

This ſame year, and about the feaſt of St. Michael, notice came to the monks, by letter, that a viſitation was intended to be made by Theobald prior of Hurley in Berkſhire, and James the ſub-prior of the Auguſtines church in Canterbury, who was alſo one of the pope's chaplains. Our abbot demanded a truce, as it was then called, that is, a delay, or reſpite, until the Sunday next before the day of all ſaints, promiſing to amend all defects and correct all enormities before that time. The two viſitors appeared on the day appointed: and, the next day, the ſub-prior entered into diſcourſe with the monks, in the chapter-houſe; then he ſhewed his creden-

(a) Lambere curiam.
(b) Licenter et illicenter.
(c) Allowing money to be then twenty times more valuable than at preſent, this weekly expenditure will amount only to 133l.; a ſum not greater than is often ſeen in modern days.

tials,

tials, or commiſſion from the pope, called his authentic; and, laſtly, cauſed the ſtatutes to be read in public, which had been enacted at the laſt general provincial aſſembly, held at London, of the Benedictine abbots. And, having found nothing amiſs, although they made very ſtrict enquiry of the monks in private, after a ſtay of four days, they departed. Soon after, ſome of the monks of this abbey were directed to make the like viſitation to the abbey of St. Edmundſbury in Suffolk. And, in the end, abbot John made the like kind of ſatisfaction to the convent, in the matters promiſed by him, as his predeceſſor William had done, when he was viſited by the abbots of Boxley and of Begham. But neither of them made good their word: for, they had both promiſed ſome amendment to the monks table, in detriment to their own; and that the portions of meat, which they had denied to the ſick and changed into an allowance of wine, ſhould be reſtored. But, when the viſitation was completed, theſe amendments were no longer thought of by the abbot.

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In 1252, a dreadful ſtorm of thunder and lightning happened, at a time when the queen was regaling herſelf and children in this abbey. The lightning ſtruck the chimney of the queen's chamber, and ſhivered the ſame to pieces, and ſhook the whole houſe: it ſet fire to the laundry, and left viſible marks of its effects on the walls. Some frier-preachers, who were accuſtomed to be entertained or lodged here, in their daily travels, and would not be reſtrained longer than to receive refreſhments, did now ſet forth in the midſt of the tempeſt, and were extremely terrified before they quitted the town, thinking they ſaw, in the path before them, a flaming torch or a drawn ſword. Three large oaks, growing in the church-yard, and of ſuch circumference as three men could not graſp, were torn up by the roots: and, in Windſor Foreſt, thirty-five large oaks were overthrown or ſhivered to pieces. About this time Alan de Zouch, the king's chief juſtice of Cheſter and of the Welſh diſtrict near Cheſter, was travelling to London, and ſtopped at this abbey, for reſt and entertainment. He was bearing to the king no ſmall treaſure, which he had collected, on his account, in Wales and Cheſter: and the ſame was conveyed in carts drawn by two horſes.

In this year alſo, died John de Baſingſtokes, arch-deacon of Leiceſter, a man of great experience in common and uncommon learning, and fully accompliſhed in the Greek and Roman literature. This John had intimated to Robert (Groſthead) biſhop of Lincoln, that, when he ſtudied at Athens, the Greek doctors had ſhewn him ſomething that was quite unknown to the Latins; and that was a

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book containing the teſtaments of the twelve patriarchs, a work of great repute in the Greek libraries, though the Jews, through envy of the manifeſt prophecies therein contained concerning Chriſt, had endeavoured to hide and conceal it. On which, the biſhop ſent into Greece, and, having obtained the book, tranſlated the ſame from the Greek into the Latin tongue (a). This ſame John was the firſt man who brought into England the knowledge of the Greek numerals, and ſhewed their meaning and ſignification: in which, ſays my author, this is moſt wonderful, that a ſingle letter may be made to repreſent any number; which obtains not, adds he, either in the Latin or the Arabic tongue. This learned arch-deacon tranſlated alſo a Greek book into Latin, wherein was comprehended the whole power and myſtery of grammar; and which the Greeks called *Donatus*.

About the ſame time Richard de Wendover, a phyſician of note and eminence at London, died, and bequeathed, as a legacy to this abbey, a curious crucifix of ivory; it acquired its value from having been the property of pope Gregory, to whom the ſaid Richard adminiſtered and ſerved in the office of phyſician; and the dying pope bequeathed to his dear friend what was, and had been, moſt dear to himſelf.

In this year, alſo, the above-mentioned biſhop of Lincoln obtained a reſcript from the pope, directing him to augment the vicarages to a proper maintenance: for, the religious, who had been the authors of all vicarages, ſtill took the whole tithe to their own uſe, that is, of their monaſtery, and made no proviſion for the officiating brother: and this was the caſe, whether the gift of the vicarage was in the biſhop, or the lord of the manor, or even in themſelves. This reſcript is dated at Lyons, the eighth year of the pontificate of Innocent. After this, the biſhops obtained a power of making adequate proviſion for a brother or a ſecular prieſt, to enable him to reſide; and, by degrees, they procured, that no vicarage ſhould be inſtituted, or any church ſerved, *vice alterius*, unleſs an endowment was made, out of the tithes or of land, by the lord of the manor: and this was not done without licence from the king and the biſhop. And, at a ſynod held at London, in 1268, under Othobon the legate, it was decreed, that all the religious, whether exempt or not, who enjoyed an appropriate church, ſhould, on a vacancy, preſent a clerk to the biſhop within ſix months; and, in failure, that the biſhop ſhould appoint a vicar (b).

(a) Printed at Paris in 1549, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; thought, by Drs. Cave and Dodwell, to have been written in the firſt or ſecond century.

(b) *Col. Ecc. Hiſt. I.* 475.

The king viſited this abbey, together with his eldeſt ſon Edward, at the feaſt of St. Bartholomew: they entered the church with great ſolemnity and made offerings of rich palls, bracelets, and gold rings, and of twelve talents beſide (a); the king directing, that they might convert theſe valuable articles into money, if they pleaſed, provided the ſame was laid out in ornaments for the ſhrine. And this ſame year, on the firſt day of October, was the church of Ely dedicated, after the venerable biſhop Hugo had conſtructed, at his own charge, the preſbytery and the fine tower adjoining. John II. the 23d abbot.

On the tranſlation of the Holy Edward, now the 13th of October, the king convened all the biſhops of England to London, and there laid before them a papal mandate, ſignifying, that his holineſs had conferred on the king the tenths of all eccleſiaſtic benefices through the realm for three years, to provide the king all neceſſaries for his peregrination to the wars in the Holy Land; the tenths to be raiſed, not according to the old valuation, but by a new eſtimate, to be formed according to a ſtrict enquiry, made by the king's officers (b). This demand raiſed the admiration and ſurprize of all preſent; and the biſhop of Lincoln, Robert Groſthead, gave vent to his indignation, with a ſpirit of freedom, honeſty, love to the church, and loyalty to his prince, that would have done honour to a man in any age, when kings and popes were moſt powerful and aſſuming. It is foreign to this hiſtory to relate the progreſs of this conteſt. But the reſult was, that the biſhops, by a ſteady oppoſition, maintained their refuſal; and the king diſcovered, that the ſeaſon was too far advanced toward winter to allow his peregrination. The biſhops had told him, 'that he had taken the mark and vow of the croſs with 'no other view but, as his father had done, to extort money on pre-'tences; that, although *his ſubjects* in Gaſcony had complied, *they* 'could not, ſince it had appeared, that an act, once repeated, was 'next called a cuſtom, and would give ſanction to a third and fourth 'deed of the like kind.'

While theſe grave matters were tranſacting at London, ſcenes of a ludicrous kind were exhibited by the king's half-brothers at Hatfield and at this abbey. William de Valentia, who lived in the caſtle at Hertford, broke into the Park at Hatfield, then belonging to the biſhop of Ely; and, having diverted himſelf in the chace, he came to

(a) *M. Paris.* It is not eaſy to aſcertain the value of this ſum; but, as the word *talentum* occurs, in the writers of the middle age, to denote ſometimes *a pound* and ſometimes *a mark*, it is very probable that *Paris* here uſes it in ſome ſuch ſenſe, and not to expreſs a ſum of higher value.

(b) Satellites et extortores.

the

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the houſe, and, with his companions, broke into the cellar, and committed great riot and waſte. Another brother, named Geoffrey de Leizine, came, in a very imperious manner, to this abbey, and, together with his attendants and horſes, occupied the whole monaſtery, and, during his ſtay, utterly ſubverted the order, regularity, and ſolemnity, of the place. My author ſays, who then lived on the ſpot, that the ſtrangers ſtable, which would hold three hundred horſes without inconvenience, did not ſuffice this riotous prince's retinue.

In the year 1253, a clerk and ſpecial counſellor of the king, named Walter de Satindon, made a donation to this abbey of the church of Hartworth in Nottinghamſhire, valued at 300 marks a year; in conſideration of the great expences maintained by the abbey: and, this year, the abbey diſcharged a great debt wherein they had been bound to a Jew of London, named Elias, on behalf of Richard de Oxhaie, a knight: and it cauſed great joy to recover their bond out of the cheſt of Elias.

Boniface, the arch-biſhop, had gone to Lincoln to attend the funeral of, and pay the laſt duties to, that good biſhop, Robert Groſthead, deceaſed; and, returning, intreated the abbot to give him entertainment on his journey. He had been refuſed admiſſion at the priory of Belvoir, becauſe it claimed exemption; the petition therefore was for reſt and refreſhment, to which the archbiſhop was admitted, and was entertained; but he entered not the cloiſter, nor made the leaſt pretenſions to the authority of viſiting the abbey.

In the year 1254, while the king was in Gaſcony, the kingdom was left in the hands of the queen and earl Richard. Theſe regents ordered a fine and amercement of 100l. to be reſtored to the abbey: this fine had been impoſed, by the king's juſticiary, on the abbey and the liberty, becauſe ſome perſons of this juriſdiction did not obey a ſummons to come to Cheſhunt. For, by the charter which conſtitutes the liberty, no man was obliged to go out of the liberty for juſtice, or to appear before other juſtices than thoſe of the liberty, and who were made and appointed by the abbot. This grant of remiſſion (a) is a clear proof that the liberty did exiſt, as a diſtinct juriſdiction, in this year 1254; although *Sir Henry Chauncey* ſays, it was created by Edward IV. But the true time of its creation was in the reign of Henry I. by grant to abbot Geoffrey, as already mentioned. However, as I am now on the ſubject of this liberty, I will mention the following inſtance as a farther proof of its exiſtence at this time. In 1269, ſome perſons of Dunſtaple, who had been accuſtomed to robbery and plunder, ſtole

(a) See the Appendix, N° V.

twelve

twelve oxen from the farmers dwelling at Colney, and drove them away. The owners purſued and took one of the robbers at Redburn, and, having brought him back to this town, charged him with the crime before the bailiff of the liberty, (the ſame who is called the ſeneſchal in the grant of Henry I.) who, having read to him the king's grant and the power veſted in himſelf, cauſed him to be tried, and he was convicted and ſuffered death as a felon (a).

The biſhops at length conſented to grant the king the tenths, on conditions: one was, that the regulars, or religious, ſhould pay and contribute a tenth of their goods and movables: and another, that the money ſhould be faithfully applied to the relief of the Holy Land. The biſhop of Norwich, named Walter de Suffield, and who had long been an exactor of the taxes, &c. for the king, came now to the abbey, and convened before him the rectors and vicars of all the churches belonging to the abbey, and the wardens, or guardians, of all the churches, even of St. Julian's, of St. Mary de Pré, and of Sopwell. He required alſo all the officers of the abbey, and even the almoners, to appear before him; and charged them, on pain of another more ſtrict inquiry, to ſet a value on all the goods and movables under their reſpective care, the tenth of which he cauſed to be paid inſtantly. And, about this time, the tower of St. Peter's church was ſtruck with lightning, and the timbers ſhivered to pieces.

The king had given three of the moſt pre-eminent churches in England to his wife's relations and his own; but not one of thoſe was worthy or fit for ſuch a rank. The queen's uncle, named Boniface, had been made archbiſhop of Canterbury for ſome years, but lived chiefly abroad and engaged in the ſecular affairs of the continent. Hereford had been given, in 1239, to Peter de Egleblanke, a Savoyard and near relation to the queen. And, at Wincheſter, the king had cauſed, by compulſion, the monks who compoſed the chapter to chooſe Æthelmar, one of the king's half-brothers. This man quarrelled with his chapter; and, with a wanton ſort of folly, ſhut up ſome of them in the cathedral, and kept them without food for three days. When he releaſed them, they all left the convent and church; and the biſhop made choice of the meaneſt wretches he could find to ſupply their places. But ſome of the exiles took refuge

(a) About the ſame time, the cell at Merkgate-ſtreet, called *St. Giles de Boſco*, formerly built and endowed by abbot Geoffrey, was aſſaulted in the night by fifty robbers, and the nuns pillaged and robbed of every thing valuable; but, the alarm being given, ſome of the robbers were taken; and the country-people roſe, with great zeal and diligence, to apprehend and bring to juſtice the reſt.

in

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in the abbey at Reading, and many others in our abbey of St. Alban, and were here ſheltered and protected. Indeed, the violence, which raged in thoſe days, and which the wanton humour of the great was pleaſed to exerciſe towards their inferiors, and eſpecially towards men of a religious character, made ſuch places as abbeys a moſt comfortable refuge for the perſecuted: for, all places that could afford ſanctuary, though ſometimes abuſed, were yet neceſſary and prudent retreats, while powerful men were fierce, ſavage, and revengeful. Our abbot John had a brother Thomas, who died archdeacon of Northumberland; who, with Richard, late biſhop of Chicheſter, was eminent in rank, and they, were of the like fame and merit (a). Theſe two had been educated, with Edmund the pious archbiſhop of Canterbury, at Univerſity college in Oxford. The life of Richard was compoſed by Matthew Paris, and laid up, he ſays, in the library of the abbey; he being a man of eminent piety, and canonized, in 1247, five years after his death. Thomas was famous after his death, as was likewiſe the biſhop of Lincoln, for the miracles ſaid to be performed at their tombs; an account of which was reduced to writing, and alſo depoſited in the ſaid library (b). But both theſe books have been loſt.

In 1256, an extraordinary tempeſt, accompanied with great and uncommon rains, had ſo ſwelled the river Ouſe at Bedford, that the banks were overflowed, and many houſes, mills, and bridges, demoliſhed. Among the reſt, it is ſuppoſed that the church, in which the illuſtrious Offa had been buried, with all its contents, was waſhed away. The abbot and convent, on the day of the martyrdom, (viz. June 17, which day they had always obſerved with ſome ſolemnities, and cauſed the priors and clergy to aſſemble here for that purpoſe,) paſſed a decree, in full chapter, that, for the future, a more ſolemn ſervice, with a particular prayer for the reſt of Offa's ſoul, ſhould be celebrated. And here I muſt remark, that it is ſomewhat ſtrange, the abbots and rulers of this great and religious inſtitution could be content to ſuffer the body of the founder to reſt, for near 500 years, in a very obſcure church, liable to the fate which at length ſnatched it away. But their attention was entirely confined to Alban, whom they loaded with honours; while they forgot their benefactor and friend, the author of all their enjoyments.

In this ſame year, the pope's inſtruments and exactors made ſome demand on the abbey, and enforced that deteſtable clauſe *non obſtante*,

(a) *M. Paris*, 1253. (b) *M. Paris*, anno 1255.

in

in oppoſition to all the pleas, rights, and grants, which John could allege: on which the abbey was put under an interdict, the ſervice of the choir ceaſed, no bell was tolled, and morning and evening prayers were read in private in the chapter-houſe. This laſted fifteen days, when, probably, the abbot complied or a compromiſe took place. John II. the 23d abbot.

About the end of this year, it was found neceſſary to repair or rebuild the eaſt end of the church; (now contiguous to the paſſage;) and, in opening the ground, the workmen diſcovered a ſtone-coffin, which, by the inſcription, contained the true remains of the pious Alban. It was diſcovered between the altar of Oſwin and that of Wulſtan, where the matins were uſually ſaid, and where had ſtood an ancient painted ſhrine, and under it a marble tomb, or coffin, ſupported on marble pillars, and which place and tomb had been called the tomb of St. Alban. Here had the holy martyr been interred on the day of his death, about 970 years before: by which it is plain that the proſecution, in which he fell, was in the year 217 of the Chriſtian æra. And this diſcovery was made in the preſence of the abbot, and of the biſhop of Bangor, and of Philip de Cheſter, a principal counſellor of earl Richard: there were preſent alſo all the convent, (and of courſe the writer of this article, *Paris* himſelf,) and ſome noble perſons belonging to Lord William de Valentia, and great numbers of pious people, who heard of this extraordinary fact (a). Miracles were ſaid to be performed at the new coffin of Alban: and *Paris* relates, that a boy, on ſuch a day, was raiſed from death, and then another; and that many were cured of blindneſs, and of the palſey. But this is not the way in which the miracles of Jeſus and the apoſtles are related: nor doth there appear any reaſon, on this occaſion, for any miracle, when no perſon was incredulous or hardened in old attachments and opinions. The variety of theſe miracles may alſo be ſuſpected, becauſe a profit was derived from them, and the more votaries the more offerings; contrary to the effects and conſequences of the miracles related of Jeſus.

In 1257, in the beginning of March, the king came to the abbey, and made great offerings to the ſhrine, of a curious and ſplendid bracelet, and valuable rings, and a large ſilver cup gilt, in order to depoſit therein the duſt and aſhes of the venerable martyr; he gave alſo ſix robes of ſilk as a covering to the ſaid old monument, and to cover the tombs of two famous hermits buried here, named Sigar and Roger. The king continued here a whole week, and converſed much

(a) It is probable that this diſcovery was, in reality, only a contrivance, with a view to gain credit to the pretended miracles, which began to be reputable with the vulgar, and gainful to the monks.

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with *M. Paris*; making him his companion at table, and in the audience-chamber, and in his cloſet, or private room: and, in diſcourſe, he ſpoke much of the ſucceſs which was then like to attend his brother earl Richard, in being choſen king of the Germans, or Romans; and who were the perſons that would eſpouſe his intereſt. He would alſo run over a liſt of former crowned heads in England, who for their ſanctity had been canonized. He could name a long liſt of the baronies in England; and by his memory recite the titles of 250, which was thought to be the whole number.

During his ſtay here, there came from Oxford nine maſters (a) of arts, deputed from the univerſity, (which then conſiſted only of Univerſity college, for, Baliol was not yet founded,) with a complaint that the biſhop of Lincoln, in whoſe dioceſe Oxford was, gave great diſturbance to the ſcholars. The petition was preſented to the king in the chapel of St. Oſwin; where, Paris being preſent, he boldly beſought the king to have regard to the church, now in a tottering ſtate. 'The Univerſity of Paris,' ſaid he, 'which hath bred ſo many 'learned prelates, is now grievouſly troubled: and, if Oxford ſhould 'ſuffer the like, which is the ſecond ſchool, nay the foundation of 'the church, I fear the whole fabric will fall to ruin.' 'God for-'bid,' ſays the king, 'that it ſhould happen in my time: I will pre-'vent it.' And it is ſuppoſed he took the part of the univerſity.

The diſturbance at Paris was this: the frier-preachers, contrary to the uſage and cuſtom of the univerſity and of the city, inſiſted on reading theology; and opened ſchools for that purpoſe. The king and citizens oppoſed this innovation: but the friers, being encouraged by the pope, and always teſtifying implicit obedience to him, ſucceeded in the diſpute; and thus waged a verbal war with the poor Albigenſes. The great ſucceſs of the two orders, that had been ſet up by the pope in the beginning of the century, gave riſe to other orders; a new one appeared now in England, cloathed in ſackcloth: and *Paris* ſays, the number of orders was ſuch, and ſo great, that nothing but diſorder was ſeen (b). Henry had, ſome years before, founded the ſmall abbey of Netley, near Southampton, for Ciſtercians, and another at Titchfield, not far off, for the ſame order, or for the Premonſtratentians. The former now began to grow conſiderable; and were the firſt of all the ancient orders who diſdained that contempt into which they had fallen, and who, having obtained of the pope the privilege of opening ſchools at Paris, began to rival

(a) Novem artiſtæ.
(b) Tantus ordinum numerus, ut non niſi confuſio videretur. Ad an. 1257.

the

the new orders in their ſtudies of theology, and the exerciſes founded thereon (a). And it began likewiſe, about this time, to be a practice with Henry (which was adopted and extended by his ſucceſſor) to grant protections to ſuch monaſteries as ſeemed too much borne down by the legantine power, or to be otherwiſe oppreſſed (b). John II. the 23d abbot.

About the decline of the ſummer, the extreme wet weather cauſed a general alarm for the ſafety of the crops, both of hay and of corn: and it was feared that both, being delayed longer than uſual, would be ſpoilt: the abbot therefore, in full chapter, decreed a general faſt and humiliation through every pariſh of the archdeaconry, with prayers for the ſpecial bleſſing of fair weather; and ordained, that a ſolemn proceſſion ſhould be made, attended with the ſhrine, from the church to the little church of St. Mary de Pree. This the abbot and convent performed, with all ſuch pious perſons as would join in the ſolemnity; and all walked barefoot

Soon after, the queen came down, accompanied with the wife of prince Edward, daughter of the king of Spain, and made an offering on the altar of a rich cloth, called *Baldokin*, or tiſſue of gold.

In this year, 1258, the parliament having refuſed the king's requeſt in aſking for money, he procured a pope's meſſenger to come over, named Manſuetus, to get aid of the abbeys and churches. This man goes to the abbot of Waltham, and by intreaties and threats obtains a ſecurity for 250 marks, which the king could procure of the merchants; then came Simon Paſſelaw, a counſellor of the king, to this abbey, pretending that he had rode all night and was juſt come from Waltham, and hoped our abbot would follow ſo good an example: at this inſtant came a meſſenger from Waltham, relating what had happened there, and to put John upon his guard. Our abbot therefore reſolutely refuſed: and Simon Paſſelaw took leave; but he went to Reading and to other great abbeys, though with what ſucceſs it appears not. This was doing and tranſacting at a time, when, from the badneſs of the corn and ſcarcity alſo, a great peſtilence was raging in London among the lower ranks of people; and in this ſpring there died 15,000 of them.

Another fraud of the pope's meſſenger was diſcovered at this time, by the death of Bernard de Nympha: this man, though a clerk and dependant of earl Richard, had been employed as one of the pope's collectors and exactors. And, at his end, there was diſcovered in his

(a) Ut ſcholas exercendo in theologia, legibus, et decretis, ſtuderent liberius, ne inferiores viderentur. *M. Paris.*

(b) See Appendix, N° VI.

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cuſtody a cheſt full of Papal bulls, reſcripts, and orders, already ſealed, but quite blank.

The archbiſhop this year notified to the abbot, that he intended to come and hold an ordination in the great church. The abbot pleaded the exemption; and, eſpecially as the ſee of Lincoln was vacant, it might be conſidered that his grace was repreſenting by that act the ordinary of that dioceſe; and therefore, he hoped, his grace would hold him excuſed if he could not permit him. On which the archbiſhop held the ordination at Dunſtaple: but, in going and coming, he was received and handſomely entertained at the abbey.

Soon after, the king came down, and, during his ſtay, a more ſolemn proceſſion than ordinary was directed, within the walls of the church: the convent were habited in their beſt attire; the ſaint was borne, that is, the whole ſhrine that was moveable; and the king walked in the train. In 1229, the frier preachers, having received one ſmall houſe as a gift at Dunſtaple, took poſſeſſion, and aſſembled in great numbers: though profeſſing poverty, they manifeſted great wealth: and, though deſigned and pretending to be ever begging and wandering, they ſettled themſelves at this place in a large convenient building, now erected by them; to the great loſs and detriment of the prior and convent there, eſtabliſhed in the time of Henry I. and by that king. On a ſudden they prepared a place of worſhip, ſet up an altar, and, without waiting for any regular licence, performed divine offices. They were encouraged by cardinal Hugo, a brother at Rome, and great privileges were granted them. They continued to build, and engroſſed much of the land which before had paid rent to the priory; and uſurped all the oblations which had uſed to be made to the priory-church. But that which more immediately concerns our abbey is, that theſe frier-preachers, when they firſt ſettled at Dunſtaple, beſought the charity of the prioreſs of Markgate, who at that time was Agnes de Gubion; ſhe relieved them with a certain portion of corn, and this continued during her time. When a ſucceſſor came, the friers demanded it as a right: and, as the hiſtory mentions no contradiction, it is probable the charity was continued (a).

In the year 1259 died MATTHEW PARIS, the pride and glory of this monaſtery; ſecond to none in his days in all reputable learning; and as conſpicuous for his piety and virtuous conduct. He came early into this houſe, and might have been placed in the abbatic chair when John was elected, had he not declined the honour, through fear that it would involve him in care and trouble, and prevent him from recording and writing his great hiſtory. We are in-

(a) Cott. MSS. Claud. E. 4.

debted

debted to his induſtry for all the intelligence of facts prior to his death; as we are to his example for a knowledge of what was poſterior: for, in imitation of *Paris*, and to render his hiſtory and lives more complete, Wendover and Riſhanger continued the ſame to the death of Henry III. in 1272; and Walſingham, who lived here in the reigns of Henry IV. and V. reſumed the hiſtory of the abbots, and compoſed their lives, from John of Hertford incluſive, to the death of Thomas de la Mare(a). This hiſtory hath never been printed; nor was it ever ſeen by Chauncey, or Camden, or Dugdale, or Stevens; and probably read only by Hearne, who hath printed ſome ſlight extracts. It will therefore furniſh us with much authentic new information of this abbey, from the death of Paris (b). John II. the 23d abbot.

The abbey had not been entirely without learned men to record their tranſactions, both before and after *Paris:* for, before his time lived William, a monk, in 1170; and Walter, another monk of ſome fame, in 1181; both of whom are mentioned among the learned of the Engliſh Benedictines. And, in the beginning of Henry the Third's time, Roger de Windſor had been appointed hiſtoriographer by the direction of the abbot, and with a ſalary from the king; an uſual practice in all the great abbeys.

The hiſtorical collections of *M. Paris* contained all the notes and remarks of this Windſor; and he continued theſe to his own death, digeſted in annals: a fair copy of this is now in the Museum, among the *King's MSS.* written in *Paris's* own hand, and was probably the original whence *Matt. Parker* printed in Elizabeth's time, and which *Dr. Watts* printed from in 1684; an exceeding good hand, but much abbreviated. Riſhanger continued the remarks, but noted only civil and ſtate events, unto the death of Henry III. He was hiſtoriographer unto Edward I. and II. and died in 1312; yet nothing more

(a) Cott. MSS. Claud. E. 4.

(b) *Walſingham*, the continuator of his hiſtory, gives him the following character. Eodem quoque temp. floruit et obiit dom Matt. Pariſienſis, Mon. Eccl. St Albani; vir quidem eloquens et famoſus, innumeris virtutibus plenus, hiſtoriographus et chronographus magnificus, dictator egregius, corde frequenter revolvens. Otioſitas illuminata eſt ſplendore animæ: quem quidem ubi fecerat iniquum preſentia cogentium partibus remotis fama reddiderat divulgata commendatum: hic vir a multis retroactis temporibus uſque ad finem vitæ ſuæ chronica diligenter colligens, geſta magnatum tam ſecularium quam eccleſiaſticorum, nec non caſus et eventus varios mirabiles in ſcripris plenariè redegit; mirabilemque ad poſteros notitiam præteritorum, reliquis certificationem. Inerat et tanta ſubtilitas in auro et argento, ceteroque metallo, in ſculpendo et in picturis depingendo, ut nullum poſt ſe in Latino orbe creditur reliquiſſe ſecundum. Igitur exemplo ipſius opibus inſudemus ſalubribus inceſſanter, ut cum ipſo premiis remuneremur celeſtibus. *Cott. MSS. Claud. E.* 4.

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of his writing has been diſcovered or has been ever mentioned: and, if he left nothing, this ſhews a reaſon why Walſingham, in the time of Henry V. took up the hiſtory from the death of *Paris*. There is alſo, among the ſame MSS. a moſt uncommonly fine copy of the *Hiſtoria Scholaſtica*, and probably the very ſame which, *Paris* ſays, had been written and procured at great expence, for the uſe of the church: and, ſubjoined to the ſame, is a copy of Groſthead's tranſlation of the patriarch's teſtament, in the hand writing of *M. Paris* (a).

In the year 1260, and on the day of St. Alphage, (now the 19th of April,) John of Hertford died, having ruled the monaſtic body twenty-five years, and was buried in the church with a pomp ſuitable to ſuch a prelate. This abbot conducted himſelf without any manifeſt partiality to his parents, relations, or friends; and, unlike ſome of his predeceſſors, forbore to enrich or even to gratify them by diſſipating the goods or effects of the abbey, either in wanton liberalities or prudent donations. He had converſed much with all the other prelates of the realm, and ever ſhewn himſelf a mirror of religion, and an example of the moſt mature and ſober judgement. He was given to hoſpitality and munificence, and had gained the love and eſteem of all perſons by his facetious and pleaſant diſcourſe: and many of the nobility, who lived out of the kingdom, recommended their children to his care and cuſtody, to be educated and trained up by his directions.

He had lived in times of great trouble and vexation. Henry had often ſhewn himſelf very adverſe to the nobility and prelates in matters wherein *Magna Charta* had granted them great privileges: and, as we have ſeen, the king and the pope were ever thirſting for gold, and, on one pretence or other, harraſſing the great for ſubſidies of money. Many of the prelates were much expoſed to their exactions, and forced to live abroad: thoſe of the king's kindred did this by choice. But John had always governed with extreme prudence, to be able to eſcape the vexations and afflictions which many others had ſuffered.

The cruſades had cauſed great intercourſe between England and the weſtern parts of Europe with Paleſtine and Greece; through which laſt country the armies and leaders often paſſed, and ſometimes made long abode there in their paſſage: and, in 1204, Baldwin, earl of

(a) King's MSS. 4. D. 7.

Flanders,

Flanders, by help of the Latin arms, was made the head of the Grecian empire. By this commerce and communication, many books and manuſcripts were brought into the Weſt; and many monks and new inſtitutions of foreign orders were introduced into England, the monaſteries abroad having merited favours of the leaders and commanders, from having given them entertainment on their long journeys to the Eaſt. And this accounts for the numerous foundations of monaſteries in England, during the time of the Cruſades; that is, in the period from the end of Rufus to the beginning of Edward I's reign, or from 1100 to 1272: during which time (if the great abbeys that were diſſolved amounted to 200) above one half of that number are found to have been eſtabliſhed. And it is aſcertained, by hiſtorical record, that the Carmelites were brought into England, in 1240, by John Veſey and Richard Grey, and fixed by them at Alnwick in Northumberland and at Aylesford in Kent, having been driven out of their habitations on Mount Carmel by the Saracens. John II. the 23d abbot.

The thirteenth century produced many great events: it was diſtinguiſhed by the high power and pre-eminence of the popedom, and by the inſtitution of the two new orders who were intended to ſupply all the defects of all the other orders. Although the council of Lateran, in 1215, had decreed, with univerſal conſent, *that no new order ſhould be eſtabliſhed or created*, yet the exigence of the times gave a ſanction to the frier-preachers and frier-minors: and the world beheld theſe men, not like the drones who lived on the honey of the land, but active and buſy, learned and ingenious; preaching and declaiming againſt heretics, and raiſing a degree of admiration and conſequence which had not been ſeen before in any of the monaſtic orders. It was a wiſe inſtitution for the purpoſe intended: and every poſſible encouragement was given to theſe men by the popes, to manifeſt to the world that they were as learned and as zealous for religion as the Albigenſes and Waldenſes. Many circumſtances concurred to make them conſpicuous. The Pandects, containing the renowned law of the Romans, had been brought into England in the time of king Stephen; Gratian's Decretals and the Canon Law, which had been ſtudied at Bologna only, and was now taught at Paris, the only flouriſhing univerſity in the Weſt of Europe, found its way into England; and the works of Ariſtotle were new in this part of the world. The ſciences contained in theſe books, together with the Fathers, furniſhed all ſubjects that were reputed worthy to be called learning, wiſdom, and religion. Schools were opened by thoſe friers for the inſtruction of youth, and they procured other univerſities to be founded: the biſhop of Ely, Hugo de

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de Balſam, now collected the ſcattered ſtudents of Cambridge, and founded the firſt college, by the name of St. Peter, in 1257: the like was done at Oxford in 1262 by Baliol: and future founders went on upon the ſame plan; all calculating for the furtherance of knowledge, and more effectual teaching of arts and ſcience. Hence aroſe thoſe many ingenious men, called the ſchoolmen; as, *Albert the Great*, at Cologn; *Peter Lombard*, at Paris; *Thomas Aquinas* and *Bonaventure*, in Italy; and *Frier Bacon*, at Oxford: all whoſe works are ſo numerous as to diſcourage a reader, and we ſcarce know what they contain; yet we are certain they were the ſtandard of divinity and philoſophy, until the revival of Greek and Roman literature. I have made theſe remarks on purpoſe to ſay, that nothing of this new-faſhioned learning was yet admitted into this abbey; that it had not more than two or three ingenious men within its walls, in this century, beſide *M. Paris*; that learning and ſcience were foreign to their inſtitution, and uſeleſs to their occupation, which was to renounce the world and all the concerns of the living, and to contemplate, pray, and intercede for the dead.

Now, whoever reviews what hath been here written, and it is written with a moſt faithful regard to truth, muſt be convinced, that theſe monaſtic inſtitutions were not founded, in any age, with a view to eaſe, indulgence, and gratification: for, while they obſerved their rule and maintained the ſame ſtrict form of worſhip, they could not be liable to a ſuſpicion of that nature. Yet, when at length, in ſpite of all their public utility (a), any ſmall deviation or remiſſneſs of duty was obſerved, this was enough to raiſe a charge againſt them, among ſuch as envied their poſſeſſions; even though theſe lay reformers and zealous accuſers were themſelves guilty of more irregular and more criminal conduct. In the theology of thoſe times this was reckoned the moſt perfect life, and probably men embraced it upon principle, and with a ſincere dedication of themſelves to the worſhip and ſervice of God: but there is no part of that myſtery of iniquity, which Chriſt and his Apoſtles foretold would work, more viſible and conſpicuous than the worſhip and devotion of theſe monks. Indeed, where no inſtruction was uſed or allowed, they faithfully believed, and zealouſly adhered to, ſuch doctrines as they found already

(a) At firſt ſight this expreſſion may appear exceptionable: but, when it is recollected that theſe foundations inſtructed the young, entertained the traveller, fed the poor, and nurſed and cheriſhed the ſick and aged, at a time when neither ſchools, nor work-houſes, nor hoſpitals, were eſtabliſhed, it will be agreed that their utility was conſiderable.

taught.

taught. Their general duty was to mortify themſelves: and, with ſurpriſing patience, they ſubmitted to the painful duties of faſting and watching; but their occupation they ever conſidered as being devoted to the ſervice of the dead. And it is wonderful to behold, how much more diligent they were to ſerve the dead than to benefit the living: the latter they left in a great meaſure to the pariſh-prieſt; but their own peculiar province was to be factors for the dead, and to render them all poſſible aid and ſuccour by their prayers in this world. The popes and rulers of the Chriſtian church at Rome had framed a very ingenious plan of doctrine to this purpoſe: and, ſetting out upon the pagan notion of an inherent and natural immortality of the ſoul, they had deviſed and eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem of proceedings upon all departed mortals, by which they had made the dead ſtill ſubject to the laws of the church. They filled up that undefined period in man's exiſtence with many and intereſting events: they deviſed a ſtate of purgatory, wherein all departed ſouls were ſuppoſed to be purifying by fire from the pollutions contracted in life: they aſſumed to themſelves the power of the keys, or, as they explained it, a power of paſſing judgement on departed ſouls, and inflicting a heavier or lighter puniſhment on them. The paſſage of Scripture, that mentions the power of the keys, intimates no more than an admiſſion into the church of Chriſt by baptiſm, or into Heaven by repentance; and implies that the terms of admiſſion, as practiſed by Peter or others, ſhould be regarded and reſpected in the future judgement of thoſe perſons at the laſt day; that whatever obligations of duty and obedience the apoſtles ſhould lay on the converted, or whatever forgiveneſs and pardon of ſin they ſhould extend to the penitent, according to the promiſes and conditions of Chriſt himſelf, the ſame ſentence ſhould be regarded and inviolably kept by Jeſus himſelf, when he had power in Heaven, or ſhould come down to judge the Earth. The popes therefore, fancying themſelves pre-eminent to Peter, and to be the vicars of Chriſt, aſſumed greater power and authority, and framed ſomething of a code for the better governing theſe inviſible and diſtant ſubjects. This power, of binding and looſing, they exerciſed in its fulleſt extent. They taught that men were unavoidably doomed to that place of purgatory, and, for their certain ſins and infirmities, were bound to undergo the pains and penalties of it: and therefore they did not add to thoſe ſevere inflictions, and bind on them ſtricter terms; but they choſe to exerciſe the more pleaſant and gracious part of this papal prerogative, that of looſing and remitting part of their puniſhment. Hence aroſe the contrivance of

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indulgences, which are remiſſions of the pains and penalties there inflicted; and, if this act of grace was at firſt extended toward the dead, it ſoon found its way, in the papal chancery, to be uſeful and beneficial toward the living: and then indulgences began to be ſold, and perſons who were anxious of their future welfare paid money, to obtain a reſpite for a number of days. The firſt buſineſs was the employment of the monks, who acted as a kind of attorneys, to ſecure the intereſt of the departed; and for this they always received the payment firſt, either by a legacy from the deceaſed, or by a certain rent or penſion payable out of his eſtate, and ſecured as a demand on the heirs. The latter method, that of obtaining a reſpite, and which is properly to be called indulgence, was practiſed by the pope on all emergencies when he wanted money. And this was a main expedient uſed againſt the Albigenſes and Waldenſes, who had affected to deride and to confute theſe impoſitions; yet he raiſed great ſums of money by the ſale of them (a), and kept down the growing power of thoſe people: for, it ſeemed, that the purchaſers ſet a greater value on a falſehood for which they had given money than on a truth which they might receive gratis. The next ſtep to aid the monks in this buſineſs was to invent as many mediators as poſſible: and, for this purpoſe of having friends at court, they exalted the mother of Jeſus, and ſome of the apoſtles; but eſpecially many of the ſaints, or voluntary devotees, who had undergone extreme auſterities! Very few of the Greek or Latin fathers were reckoned in this catalogue. Hence aroſe altars, and offerings, and particular worſhip, to theſe nominal interceſſors. Then the popes pretended that in their poſſeſſion was lodged a wonderful treaſure of merits, which, beginning with the merits of the Redeemer, had been immenſely augmented by the merits of the ſaints and followers of Jeſus; all of whom having ſome portion of merit more than their own caſe required, they had thrown in the ſuperfluity, and the pope had a power to apply this as he pleaſed, and retail it out to ſuch as wanted. If their adverſaries derided this venal traffic, then they ſaid it was the treaſure of God's mercy, and that Jeſus had intruſted them with the key of it, and a power to give or lend as the caſe required. Hence aroſe the doctrine of merits and ſupererogation: and hence followed the practice of many to live in the moſt careleſs, if not profligate and abandoned, manner, when they were told that their

(a) The pope, Leo X. was ſelling theſe indulgences for the purpoſe of building St. Peter's church, when Luther preached againſt them.

ſalvation

ſalvation could be worked out by others: hence alſo aroſe a reverence for the dead, and a degree of worſhip; which was ſoon extended to the garments, or bones, or relics, of any ſort; and this opened a door to numberleſs frauds, and impoſed on the laity, but was ever gainful to the monks. John II. the 23d abbot.

It is impoſſible to revolve in our minds this corrupt ſyſtem of doctrine and worſhip without ſhuddering at the extreme impudence of thoſe who could invent and eſtabliſh it, and at the groſs ignorance and credulity of thoſe who could receive and follow it. But this was the myſtery of iniquity foretold by St. Paul, who, at the ſame time that we wonder at this ſyſtem, furniſhes us with the moſt powerful argument of the truth of our religion, when viewed in the purity of the goſpel.

The monſtrous impiety and blaſphemy of Popery excite in us ſomething far beyond indignation: we are alarmed at conſidering the future doom of theſe men, who taught devices, tricks, and other expedients beſide a ſober and virtuous life, to gain the bleſſedneſs of Heaven; who made inſtruction no part of the public worſhip; who thought they governed and fed the flock of Chriſt, if they could keep the people in ſubjection; who confined the church of Chriſt to the body of the clergy; and who taught that the groſſeſt ignorance in their followers approached very near to perfect innocence.

In this period of my hiſtory the church had arrived at the meridian of its ſplendor and glory: or, to ſpeak in more juſt language, the pope and clergy had attained the ſummit of their worldly power and grandeur, and boaſted of having derived this pre-eminence from the bleſſed and holy Jeſus, although *he* renounced all earthly greatneſs, and ſaid, '*His kingdom was not of this world.*' The ignorance of the laity, the weak ſtate of all governments, and the want of energy in the laws and of unanimity in the councils of princes, gave to churchmen an opportunity of mounting above the rulers of the earth. But in that ſpiritual kingdom, as they called it, or rather earthly dominion, in which the church held the temporal ſubjects of all princes, it is ſomething curious to obſerve what reſemblance the features of their rule and ordinances bear to the laws of the civil power. Thus the power of binding and looſing is analogous to a man's being bound by a recognizance, to forfeit ſo much if he does not comply; and looſing is a real reſpite of the penalty for a longer time. Excommunications (a) are a kind of ſpiritual outlawry: and, though at firſt

(a) Moſheim, vol. II. 64.

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they meant only an excluſion from the ſociety of the faithful, they have ſince been followed with many diſabilities and painful loſſes of civil privilege. An interdict from the pope, which was a total prohibition of all public worſhip, was borrowed from the Roman law, and prohibited the perſon from fire and water, and the enjoyment of all domeſtic comforts and ſociety, and treated him as a vagabond and a Pagan. In the conſtitution of the church many things were appointed in full reſemblance to the civil ſtate. For inſtance, a benefice was copied from the gift, or donation, of land given to the old ſoldier: inſtitution is authority given to exerciſe ſpiritual functions: but induction is analogous to livery and ſeizin, and is an inveſtiture of the temporal rights and profits. Firſt fruits, or annates, were an invention of the popes or biſhops of Rome (for they are very early), and borrowed from the primer ſeizin of the feodal ſyſtem; they were one year's profit of the land or benefice. Mortuaries alſo were required as eccleſiaſtic heriots. The ſpecies of trial by wager of law in the Saxon courts was copied by the Roman clergy in their canonical compurgation. Cathedrals and biſhops ſees, palaces and courts, were conſtituted with much reſemblance to imperial courts, and with the ſame officers, alike in name and in power, as that of chancellor, treaſurer, &c. And thus the church of Rome, ever emulous of imperial ſtate, adopted ſimilar titles and offices, and laid the foundation of a rival empire (a).

(a) Blackſtone's Comment. III. 46.

CHAP.

CHAPTER V.

Roger Norton.

THE prior, ſoon after the funeral of John, diſmiſſed three of the monks to the king, to obtain licence to elect a ſucceſſor, and to make fine for the cuſtody of the abbey and its temporalities. The licence of election was granted without delay or debate, and agreement made for 600 marks to the king, in lieu of all his rights, privileges, and perquiſites, during a ſuppoſed vacancy: by this agreement the abbey was enabled to retain all preſentations to their churches, and to hold all waifs, forfeitures, reliefs, and eſcheats, that might have happened. The day of election drawing near, and all the diſtant members who could attend this duty being arrived, the firſt ſtep, as had been uſual, was to make choice of the electors, called *Compromiſſors*, who had the ſole power of electing, and were now nine in number, though they had been twelve at the time the laſt abbot was elected. Theſe nine were appointed, not in a general chapter, but by the three or four prieſts who had authority to take confeſſions, and were, on that account, the moſt pre-eminent of the prieſthood. Their voice was unanimous for Roger de Northone (or Norton). The election was declared the next day, and inſtantly the new-elected, taking with him the priors of Tinmouth and of Wymundham, and ſome of the brethren, haſtened away to the king, with letters of election; and as ſpeedily returned. The king then ſent his own letters, with thoſe of the convent, to the pope for confirmation. Theſe letters were accompanied with letters alſo from the biſhop of Norwich, then the pope's agent, &c. and with other letters from the biſhop of Ely, and the abbots of Waltham and

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of

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of St. Auguſtine in Canterbury, relative to this election, and probably to atteſt the good character of the elected. Theſe were all ſent by a meſſenger bearing a letter to the king's agent at Rome, called his proctor.

The pope, on receiving them, gave charge to the cardinal de Cornario, with two other cardinals, to examine the election; and, on their report, ordered bulls (a) to be prepared and ſent to the prior and convent, confirming the election. Theſe papal diſpatches contained alſo many charges of duty and obedience to the elect, with letters to the biſhops of London and of Ely, directing them to confer on the elect the grace of the holy benediction. Finally, the pope ſent, as uſual on theſe occaſions, a letter to the king, intreating, on behalf of the abbot and the freemen of the land of St. Alban, that they may be allowed to pay obedience to the church of St. Alban; that is, that the king would not employ the civil power to diminiſh the rights and privileges of the holy church. Theſe being received by the king and by the abbey, the benediction was conferred by the ſaid biſhop, the abbot of Waltham being preſent and aſſiſting: this ceremony was performed before the great altar, on the Sunday before the Nativity, 1263.

The firſt thing done by Roger was to recover the abbey's eſtate at Childwic. It has been ſaid how troubleſome and vexatious Geoffrey de Childwic had been to the abbey, although their tenant and leſſee: he had died lately, and given all his lands to his brother, including thoſe within the manor of Childwic, which manor he had held of the abbey; the brother, ſenſible of a bad title to theſe, ſuffered the bailiff of the abbey, under the orders of Roger, to enter and recover the ſame: and, on petition from Roger to queen Eleanor, ſhe cauſed the brother to pay all the coſts and charges which Geoffrey had made the abbey to ſuffer, and to give a writing to quit claim, &c.

The priory of Wymundham gave freſh cauſe of trouble; for, the counteſs of Arundel, named Iſabella D'Aubeny, claimed a right of appointing the prior at every vacancy; at leaſt, that the abbey ſhould not appoint any one whom ſhe ſhould not think to be *idoneus*. The convent would not agree to her having a power to reject, and ſaid they were bound, by the charter of the founder, to defend, with the goods of the mother church, all injuries and contradictions made againſt that priory; and, the priory having ſaved ſome money, the

(a) So named from the Great Seal appendant, called *Bulla*.

abbot

abbot cauſed it to refund 200l. in order to defend this right: and the counteſs withdrew her claims and pretenſions. Roger the 24th abbot.

In 1264, a great tumult and aſſault happened from the townſmen of St. Albans. They had been long accuſtomed to make woollen, though of the meaneſt kind; but now they intended to full the cloth, and began to employ the mills for that purpoſe, and were content to grind their corn at home in ſmall handmills. However advantageous this might prove to them, the abbot would not ſuffer his mills, four or five in number, to be applied to this uſe, and cauſed his bailiff to ſeize and diſtrain the handmills: great confuſion aroſe, and violent outrage filled the town. The queen came down, and multitudes crowded the ways in expectation of meeting her and ſupplicating her on their behalf; but the abbot took care to conduct her to the monaſtery by ſome private way. The people, thus diſappointed, were more outrageous: however, by her mediation a compromiſe was effected, peace reſtored, and the mills converted to their former uſe. The town at this time was ſo barricaded at every avenue, on account of this inſurrection within and the barons wars without, that it was called, from this fortified ſtate and the poſitive refuſal to any horſeman to enter, Little London. During this tumult, the conſtable of Hertford caſtle, named Gregory de Stokes, came with three attendants armed, with intent to compel the ſeditious to obſerve peace and good order; but the townſmen, pretending he meant to burn or to plunder the town, with extreme raſhneſs and inſolence ſeized them and cut off their heads, which they fixed on poles and ſet up at each entrance to the town. The king, hearing of this outrage, amerced the town in 100 marks, which they inſtantly paid.

In 1269, and during the life of king Henry, the church of Datchet became vacant by the death of Richard Green; on which the abbot, who was the true patron, preſented his clerk, William Blunden, to the biſhop of Lincoln, then Richard de Graveſende, whom the biſhop received, and made no objection; but, before the inſtitution, the biſhop died. On which Sir Henry Pynkeney, knt. obtained from the Court of King's Bench a brief, under pretence that the advowſon belonged to him, with a writ preſenting William Eyton to that church The king ſent a letter of prohibition to the new biſhop, commanding him to proceed no farther: Pynkeney urged his right, and moved a ſuit in the King's Bench, adviſing the abbot to forbear oppoſition, *becauſe he was very familiar at court, and would be ſupported by all the body that ſurrounded the king.* At length Pynkeney came into court, attended by Alphonſe, the governor of the young prince, and many

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many other courtiers: the abbot pleaded long uſage, unvaried right, and conſtant exerciſe of that right: the court adjourned and put off a farther hearing: then the abbot began to fail in his reſolutions, and to forſee much trouble; yet he hoped the adverſe party would delay ſo long, that the living (after ſix months from the avoidance) would lapſe to the new biſhop, that he ſhould thus get rid of his adverſary, and that, if the biſhop ſhould in future times claim the advowſon, he and his ſucceſſors would find a milder or a more juſt enemy to contend with.

In the midſt of theſe hopes he received a gracious letter from the queen, ſaying how acceptable it would be to her, if he would preſent Eyton to the living. Pynkeney then declined the ſuit, ſaid he ſhould be well content if the abbot would comply with the queen's requeſt, and, in ſhort, began to think his claim not ſo good as he did at firſt, and would renounce entirely, if the abbot would gratify the queen. To this the abbot conſented, and, reſuming the former preſentation, he made another in favour of Eyton: and all the parties met at Cheſham, together with the archdeacon of Bucks; the abbot having ſent Geoffrey Cambridge thither as ſacriſt. Eyton was inſtituted, and Blunden returned to the cloiſter, but not without ſome preſent to aſſuage his diſappointment. Pynkeney, next year, renounced all right and claim, on viewing the deeds of his anceſtors, and delivered the renunciation in a written form.

The next year the king ſent down a letter, which was read in the conſiſtory, in preſence of the abbot, the whole body, and all the neighbouring gentry, requiring the abbey to elect a *coroner*, in the room of their ſeneſchal, who had always exerciſed that office. Edward, in his third year, ordained that none under the rank of a knight ſhould ſerve this office; and, though this letter was ſent two years before the death of Henry, it ſeems to ſavour of that innovation and reform which Edward afterwards put more fully into practice.

It was now diſcovered that two of the monks, one of whom was collector of all the rents and revenues, had committed many forgeries, by affixing the abbey-ſeal to ſeveral inſtruments, as bonds, contracts, and obligations; whereby the abbey appeared to be borrowing money, and yet none came into the great cheſt. The uſual cuſtom was this; the prior, ſub-prior, præcentor, and this chaplain, (who was collector inſtead of the cellerer, now charged with want of ſobriety,) had each a ſeal; and whatever papers or deeds required to be made authentic, or, as we now ſpeak, to be paſſed, were

were all brought into a ſecret parlour, and left there until the receiver could find time to affix the ſeal, which was to make them valid, inſtead of his writing his name. And this gave them opportunity to ſign many that were not ſeen or known by the abbot. This diſcovery made it neceſſary to excommunicate the offenders, to declare the papers, from ſuch a period, null and void, and to break the ſeal. Roger the 24th abbot.

In 1275, it was ordained in full chapter, and for their future obſervation, that, when any prior or monk became incapable of duty through age or infirmity, he ſhould be allowed a ſmall annuity, and permitted to return to his friends, if he choſe it, for the reſt of his life. Another ordinance was made alſo, by the like authority, decreeing, that, when any monk died abroad, or out of the monaſtery, which happened ſometimes at Redburn, the keeper of the infirmary ſhould provide a cart and horſes *(carettam et equos)* to convey the body to the gate of St. German's chapel, where the ſervants of the infirmary ſhould attend to receive the ſame and carry it to the infirmary, with the croſs borne, holy water ſprinkled, cenſers burning, and tapers lighted; the whole proceſſion chaunting certain pſalms: and that, in the infirmary, the body ſhould undergo all the neceſſary waſhings, embowelling, ſalting, ſewing up, and decent apparel, previous to its being committed to the duſt. And thus a coſtly burial after death was to conſole the poor monk for a life of toil and watchfulneſs, and a courſe of painful duty.

The church of Chimner became vacant by the death of William Penne, and one Hugo, a goldſmith of London, preſented, in prejudice of the cell at Wallingford; the prior of which aſſerted his right, and that he had before preſented to it one Richard Sotwell, and he now cautioned the biſhop of Lincoln againſt inſtitution. The cauſe was delayed, but heightened into a law-ſuit; and the biſhop, taking advantage of a lapſe, collated to the church one Coleman, as if in full right: but, at the aſſize, the right of patronage was adjudged to the prior, and the king wrote to the biſhop, injoining him, that, notwithſtanding the proclamation of Hugo, he would proceed to inſtitute a proper perſon. The church of Thirfield (or Turville, as now called) in Bucks had long been in the poſſeſſion of the abbey: and, about this time, the abbot having neglected to ſend a proctor to the biſhop's ſynod at Ayleſbury, the officers of the biſhop's court *(Ordinarii)* took poſſeſſion of Thirfield by direction, and declared it to be ſequeſtered. The abbot requeſted the vicar of Wycomb, who was dean of the ſynod, to deſire of the ſequeſtrators to withdraw, and he

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would make ſatisfaction for his error. The dean contemned the requeſt and would not comply. The abbot then wrote to the vicars of Wynſlow and of Horwood that they ſhould declare the dean excommunicated for his diſobedience. The vicars obeyed, and thereupon John de Luca, the official of Buckingham, iſſued a mandate to the vicars of Hugendon and Medmeyham, that they ſhould publicly pronounce, in the ſaid church of Wycomb, that the above excommunication was null and void, and declare that the vicars of Wynſlow and of Horwood had no juriſdiction, either ordinary or delegate, againſt the dean; and he commenced a ſuit againſt them for an unjuſt excommunication, and for iſſuing citations contrary to the privileges of St. Alban's monaſtery. The vicars appealed to the court of arches, or the archbiſhop's court, in which the ſentence of the official was annulled and the ſequeſtration taken off; but not until the vicars had obtained a prohibition from the king.

Theſe ſequeſtrations were much in practice, and bear a very near reſemblance to diſtreſs at common-law. For, in 1281, Peecham, the archbiſhop, ſummoned to a council, aſſembled at Lambeth, all the exempt and non-exempt of his province; and, on the refuſal of ſome, he ordered his ſuffragan biſhops to take poſſeſſion of certain churches, and ſequeſter the goods and chattels to their own uſe; and charging thoſe churches, if they could not prove a rightful exemption, to appeal. On which the abbots of St. Peter Weſtminſter, of St. Alban, of St. Edmund, and of Waltham, proteſted unto the hands of a notary-public their exemption, and appealed to the official court of Canterbury, where the judge, Peter de Saint Maire, ordained them to 'pay 'the accuſtomed compoſition, that the ſequeſtration, or diſtreſſes, 'ſhould be taken off, and the appeals diſmiſſed: that they ſhould 'reſerve their defence *integrè*, and ſubmit unanimouſly; and ſo com-'port themſelves for the future, that theſe tranſactions might not de-'rogate from the privileges of the abbeys, or from the dignity of the 'archbiſhop, whenever he ſhould call a like aſſembly.' A ſentence that leaves open the claims and pretenſions of all the parties.

A great conteſt and ſuit at law aroſe in civil matters alſo between the abbot and one William Merun of Sandridge; the latter having alleged, that the abbot, by his ſervants of the manor, had ſeized his horſes and cows, and impriſoned his body, for not performing the ſervices due and incumbent on him. The abbot anſwered that William was a *villanus*, and held his land ſubject to ſuch ſervices, which had not been performed, and that the abbot had purſued the remedy directed by the law. Merun valued his 3 oxen and 4 horſes

at 11 marks. This ſuit had begun in the 54th year of Henry III. and the two litigants had been vexing each other ever ſince; Merun ſtill pleading that he was a free man, and held his land free from any ſervice: but now at the aſſize and by the ſentence of John de Ryegate, the juſticiary, he was proved to hold only in *villanage*: and thereon the abbot ſeized his land, and infeofed another tenant therein. Roger the 24th abbot.

In 1277, it was ordained in a general chapter of the Benedictines, that the pſalm, which is called *Fides Athnanaſii*, *Quicunque vult*, ſhould not in future be recited at the prime, or firſt ſervice of the day, except on Sundays: it uſed to be repeated in all the feſtivals, and made twelve leſſons in a week. Many other omiſſions were alſo directed, in order to ſhorten the ſervice. And Edward I. having, in the next Parliament, procured an act, or ſtatute, forbidding the religious to hold or appropriate to themſelves any lands, rents, or poſſeſſions, my author (a) ſays, he did this *in ultionem tantæ pigritiæ*. This was the famous STATUTE OF MORTMAIN, and the firſt ever made on that ſubject. It enjoins that the religious ſhall not receive *Fees* by purchaſe, by appropriation, by gift, or by any ſervices, which, having been provided for the defence of the realm, have been unjuſtly omitted and withdrawn. It charges the chief lord to enter, and, by default of one year, the king ſhall enter, and infeof others in certain ſervices for the defence of the realm: reſerving to the chief lord his eſcheats, wards, and other accuſtomed dues. The pope's council at Lyons, held in 1245, had decreed that the religious ſhould pay tenths of the juſt value of their goods and poſſeſſions, temporal and ſpiritual; and 200 marks of ſilver was impoſed on this abbey, as a yearly payment, to relieve the remaining Chriſtians in Paleſtine againſt the Saracens. Roger had been preſent (b) and conſented; but the times of payment were not obſerved, and, for this default, the preſent pope inhibited the worſhip to go on; and the whole ſervice ceaſed, until, by the interceſſion of John Darlington, a frier-preacher, they obtained an abſolution; that is, probably, paid their money.

The falſifying the abbey-ſeal had cauſed great frauds, and, about the time of the abbot's death, there were diſcovered at London two deeds under theſe ſeals, declaring that a Jew had lent the abbey 1000 marks, and that the monks had pawned, for ſums of money, certain of their valuable trinkets, &c. as golden crowns, and precious ſtones, two cups of gold of 24 pounds weight, beſide 300

(a) Walſingham, MS.

(b) He had attended as one of the proctors for his predeceſſor, John of Hertford. See p. 146.

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ſilver ſpoons. The like fraud was found to have been committed on the abbey at Reading; where the Jew, being taken and proſecuted, ſuffered death as a cheat and impoſtor, confeſſing the fraud. And it was ſuppoſed that ſome Jew had corrupted the keepers of the ſeals here, and, by their connivance, had purloined the plate and jewels.

In 1278, the abbot viſited Tynmouth, and abode ſix weeks at Durham, and, having received great civilities from the biſhop, he invited him, in return, to Tynmouth; but here the prior objected, who, having ſome years ſince aimed at independency and ſhewn himſelf very contumacious, was preparing to revive his ancient enmities: however, at length, he complied, and admitted the two great men, and unanimity prevailed. After an entertainment of ſome days the biſhop returned well pleaſed, and the abbot haſtened back to his abbey, where he was received with great joy, and much applauded for his ſucceſsful viſit at Tynmouth, in reclaiming a diſobedient brother.

In the next year, the abbot was ſummoned by the king's juſtices itinerant to Maidſtone, to ſhew by what warrant, or right, he claimed view of Frankpledge over the tenants of the manor of Eaſtwell, and aſſize of bread and ale, and amerced them in his manor-court at Eaſtwell; and over ſuch as uſed to follow the court of our lord the king. One William Tylingham proſecuted for the king, and ſaid that king Richard was ſeized of theſe farms and liberties, as belonging to his crown; that John and Henry had holden the ſame in like manner; and that the abbot holds them by ſubtraction, and damnifies the king in 100l. a year. The abbot defended, by his attorney, and ſaid, that Nigel D'Aubeney *(de Albineo)* held the ſaid manor with all its liberties, &c. and gave the ſame to God and the church; and that he, the abbot, held, as Nigel had given, for the redemption of his and his parents ſouls; and produced the charter-deed. The proſecutor replied, that, whatever confirmation Richard might give, his predeceſſors had poſſeſſed this manor; and inſiſted that the abbot ſhould put himſelf on his country. The jury found 'that none of the kings had 'been ſeized of this manor prior to Richard, that the abbot and his 'predeceſſors had from length of time (from which time there exiſts no 'memory or record) uſed the ſaid liberty, or view of frankpledge, with 'aſſize of bread and ale, and had amerced the tenants, and had made 'no ſubtraction from the hundred court of Eſtre; but that the bailiff, 'and two men of the manor, did every year make ſuit at the hundred 'court on the two law-days; ſo that the king's court ſuffered no

'ſub-

'ſubtraction. And farther, it is adjudged that the abbot depart *ſine* '*die*, and that the king is intitled to nothing for his brief (a).'

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The king, by his juſtices, cauſed many inquiſitions to be made concerning the privileges of his crown, and actually ſeized into his hands many of the liberties belonging to the religious. Our abbot was ſummoned to anſwer, by what warrant he claimed to have and poſſeſs divers liberties in divers manors and places, as well in what belonged to the principal monaſtery as to the cells; but, on producing the records and inſtruments, the juſtices were ſatisfied, and allowed all their claims. This was practiſed on the cell at Hertford, at which place the abbot was brought before John de Ryegate and others, on the morrow of All Souls, in 6 of Edward I. to anſwer to the claims of ſome others on the lands held by this priory; but the abbot claimed (under the grants of Henry II. Richard, and John) view of frankpledge, chattels of felons and fugitives, and free warren, in all the lands belonging to the priory; and, on view of thoſe grants, the abbot's rights were approved.

The Edwards ruled all their ſubjects with a much ſtronger hand than Henry had uſed. For, the abject ſubmiſſion of John, and the conceſſions he had made to the pope and the church, had prevailed through Henry's reign, to the ruin and debaſement of the crown, the impoveriſhing of the people, and the great exaltation of the clergy. But Edward I. had courage to inſtitute better order, and to work a reform: with this view, he formed a ſecond council, in Parliament, of the leſſer barons, knights, and burgeſſes; by which the lower ranks of ſubjects were raiſed to ſome importance, and this ſecond council was a kind of counterprize to the power of the barons, who compoſed the firſt. And now, having united theſe two branches in legiſlation, he uſed them in reſtraining the increaſing wealth of the clergy, who, he perceived, were always acquiring but never alienated. In the ſeventh year he procured the Mortmain-Act, and the year before he had iſſued *quo warranto's* to ſeveral bodies of the leſſer clergy to ſhew their titles. Under theſe reſtraints, the clergy were leſs enterprizing in the affairs of ſtate, and Edward confined them to the peaceful diſcharge of their duty.

Our abbot procured many advantages in point of eſtate and landed property. He had obtained from Henry III. a grant of a market for Codicote, to be held on the ſixth day of every week (or on Saturday) throughout the year, with all the privileges and free cuſtoms belonging

(a) Capiat nil propter breve ſuum.

to

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to markets; and alſo a grant for a yearly fair for four days. He obtained alſo of divers perſons, who had leaſed ſmall eſtates to the abbey, for the maintenance of an aged parent or ſervant, that they ſhould, at the death of ſuch perſons, quit claim and renounce their right: of this ſort of purchaſe, called *perquiſitio*, there were more than forty, although the premiſes were often no more than an acre of land, or a rood, or, perhaps, a wretched cottage falling to the ground. And here we may diſcern the origin of that mode of conveyance, by leaſe and releaſe, which prevailed for many years, until the laſt century, and which, though practiſed by the clergy as an evaſion of the ſtatute, yet came into univerſal uſe with the laity and others. Norton alſo extinguiſhed many claims and latent rights, by giving an equivalent in money: as, for inſtance, he procured from John Lewis of Luton, a written grant, which John had obtained with much ſolicitation, for leave of common paſture in the abbot's pool at Luton near the mill: in all the manors he bought out the rights of the little tenants: and, at Watford, he procured or aboliſhed the right of taking toll there, practiſed by the millers for grinding: and of theſe ſmall redemptions the number was above twenty. He beſtowed much coſt in adorning the church and the monaſtery; which laſt was now deemed very ſplendid and handſome, *(ſpecioſiſſima,)* for, he had furniſhed all the chambers *(cameras)* with chimneys and cloſets. He alſo rebuilt the infirmary, and gave 100 marks to the work; this was executed by the diligence of the prior, John Maryns, who, unknown to the abbot, took the timber out of the abbot's wood, and completed the work in two years. He gave to the choir ſeventeen copes of crimſon, adorned on the ſhoulders with images, or figures, made of gold fringe, and in them was worked the name of the donor, for the perpetual record of his fame. He gave four altar-cloths, and one for the Virgin's altar, where maſs was ſaid every day and ſung *ad notam*, that is, the ſervice ſet to muſic. He gave alſo a pair of decretals; and the ſums, or comments, of Raymund, Manfred, and Bernard, on the decretals: and, among many other choice books, he beſtowed one in which was contained Seneca and his diſcourſes. He cauſed a very large and deep-ſounding *(ſonoroſiſſima)* bell, to be made and hung up, to be ſtruck every night at the time of Curfew; and two other bells in honour of St. Alban and St. Catharine: and he broke four old bells to furniſh the metal, &c. for theſe three. He cauſed one cenſer to be made, of ſilver gilt, and very handſome, weighing 4lb. 11oz. and of price 11 marks, which is 2s. 6d. per oz.

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In his laſt illneſs he cauſed all the plate to be brought before him, and made donations of the ſame to his ſecular friends, and gave money alſo to his relations. He gave likewiſe ſome corrodies, putting the chapter-ſeal to the grants with his own hands. He was ſuſpected of conniving ſecretly at the loſs and alienation of Stanmere and of Horwode, both of which were claimed under ancient grants or leaſes from the abbey, in which, it was pretended, the abbey had not obſerved the covenants, and thereby the right was forfeited: this might be; yet it was almoſt impoſſible to vindicate ancient rights, at a time when the crown and its judges called every thing, belonging to the clergy, in queſtion. But, as he had done numberleſs things well, he was eaſily excuſed for ſome few that appeared ill; and he departed with the love and eſteem of all, who gave great tokens of real ſorrow and concern: at his death the church was not 100 marks in debt. After thirty years rule and ſtrenuous exertions, he died in 1290, and was buried before the great altar; the biſhop of Ely performing the funeral ſervice, and the prior of Waltham with a great number of religious and ſeculars attending. Roger the 24th abbot.

Having already mentioned the high hand with which Edward ſwayed the ſceptre, and hinted at ſome of the means he took to reſtrain the power and conſequence of the clergy, I will here add a few obſervations, that grow out of that ſubject or tend to illuſtrate it. The ſtatute of Mortmain not only forbad the clergy to make purchaſes, but alſo to receive even by gift and donation. And Edward diſcovered, ſo early as the third year of his reign (1275) in what manner he meant to govern the clergy of his kingdom: for, in this year, he procured the ſtatute of Weſtminſter the firſt, which conſiderably leſſened the privileges of clerkſhip. On this ſtatute *Sir Edward Coke* obſerves, (3 Edward I. cap. 2.) that, before this act, if any clerk had been arreſted, for the death of a man or any other felony, and the ordinary did demand him in the preſence of the ſecular judge, he was to be delivered, without any inquiſition to be made of the crime. But, after this ſtatute, when any clerk was indicted of any felony, and refuſed to anſwer to the felony on the ſcore of his clerkſhip, and was demanded by his ordinary; in this caſe, before he was delivered to the ordinary, an inquiſition was to be taken, whether he was guilty of the fact or not, and, if he were found guilty, his goods and chattels were forfeited, and his lands ſeized into the hands of the king. But then, as *Fleta* reports, if the clerk was delivered afterward to the ordinary, and

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and ſtood the teſt of the ſpiritual court, and cleared himſelf by the cuſtomary forms of purgation, the king, on certificate from the ordinary, was bound to reſtore him his goods, chattels, and lands. Thus, by the interpretation of the clergy, the laſt judgement of the offence was left with the dioceſan. This privilege continued with the ſpiritual courts until the reign of Elizabeth, when it was enacted (18 Eliz.) that no man, allowed his clergy, ſhould be delivered to his ordinary (a).

It was not merely with a view to reduce the exorbitant power of the church, or to gratify the king's pique and envy, that parliament paſſed the Mortmain-act; there were other reaſons, of a more public nature, which ſwayed with both king and Parliament: for, when eſtates were given to the church, many of the ſervices incident to the fee were ſunk: the lords loſt their wards, marriages, and reliefs; and the public loſt the military aid which was due for thoſe fees. So that the number of fees, though by the appointment of the Conqueror they amounted to 60,000, was, by the negligence or refuſal of the clergy, diminiſhed to one third of that number.

The king alſo, in the parliament holden at Weſtminſter in 1285, obtained another ſtatute that affected the clergy, called the ſtatute of *circumſpecte agatis*; which was intended to diſtinguiſh the two juriſdictions, and to aſcertain the limits of the ſpiritual and temporal courts; and was meant as a ſort of a barrier between the church and the ſtate. It ſet forth that cauſes *merely ſpiritual*, and therein ſpecified, did come within the cognizance of the court Chriſtian, and that no prohibition ſhould iſſue from the civil courts in ſuch cauſes; for that they have no mixture of the temporalities, and becauſe they are corrections *pro ſalute animæ*. And this prudent ſalutary law endures to this day.

The king continued to act with much more rigour, and, from his former ſucceſs, proceeded to greater ſeverity. For, in the parliament, holden at St. Edmundſbury in 1296, the laity granted the king a large ſupply, but the clergy refuſed to contribute any thing, alleging, that their late payment of half a year's profit ought to excuſe them. The king rejected this excuſe, and ordered all the barns of the clergy to be locked up. On which the archbiſhop Winchelſey directed the bull of pope Boniface to be read in all the churches; by virtue of which the clergy were forbidden, under excommunication, to pay any taxes to the king without the pope's conſent; and all collectors of

(a) Coll. I. 478.

ſuch

ſuch a tax were put under the like cenſure. The archbiſhop convened the biſhops and clergy to a ſynod at St. Paul's; and the king ſent them a charge not to make any conſtitutions prejudicial to his prerogative or the public repoſe, or to diſturb any perſon under his protection and government. The ſynod inſtantly entered on the matter of ſubſidy, and the majority refuſed to comply. On this the king's highneſs ordered his officers to ſeize the horſes of the clergy and religious; he alſo forbad the lawyers to plead for them, and denied them the aſſiſtance both of the bench and of the bar; in fine, he commanded them to be outlawed, and put out of the protection of the government. In this ſituation did they continue, until four prelates propoſed a temper and accommodation: but the archbiſhop refuſed any qualifying expedient; on which the king ſeized on all his eſtates, and he was reduced to extreme neceſſity; yet ſtill he proteſted againſt all compliance. The four prelates propoſed, that they ſhould give one-fourth part of their goods, and depoſit the money in the ſafe cuſtody of ſome ſanctuary, to be hereafter applied and expended, in the public ſervice of church and ſtate. The king was now engaged in a war with France, and, hearing that the money was collected and depoſited, he made a ſeizure of the whole, in contempt of the ſanctuary; after which he took off the outlawry, and reſtored their horſes, &c. Roger the 24th abbot.

The pope was not a whit behind hand in this dexterous way of getting money; for, the next year he alſo practiſed on the Franciſcans. Theſe holy brethren ſent a deputation of three brothers to the pope, to requeſt that he would be pleaſed to impower them to purchaſe lands, and live like other orders, and renounce the ſcandal of begging; and they were to offer him 40,000 ducats for a bull to this effect. The pope inquired if they had the money ready? yes, they anſwered, it was at Rome in the hands of a certain banker, whom they named: he then deſired three days to conſider the petition, at the end of which time they were directed to return: he, in the interval, ſent and demanded the money of the banker; and, in order to quiet his conſcience, he accompanied this demand with an abſolution for breach of truſt. When the three days were expired, the holy friers waited on the pope, elated with hope. But he ſaid, 'he could not ſuffer them 'to renounce the oath of poverty, nor was it adviſable to diſpenſe 'with the rule of St. Francis: and, as to the money, it muſt re-'main for the uſe of the Roman ſee (a).'

(a) Matt. Weſt. ad. an. 1299.

John of Berkhampstead.

John III. the 25th abbot.

The death of Norton being known, the king's eſcheator, named Malcolm, haſtened down, and, demanding all the keys, made a very ſtrict ſearch into the cheſts and coffers of the late abbot. He made an inventory of all the effects which he thought had been the property of the abbot; viſited all the farms and granges in hand; and proceeded to ſell the crops then growing, the horſes, cattle, and implements: he took no money, but agreed for price: the officers of the houſe remonſtrated on this new proceeding; and, the king being apprized hereof, he came down, now in the 18th year of his reign. He made ſtrict enquiry into the ſtate and rule of the houſe, and, after ſome days, reſtored all the temporalities, and reinſtated the monks in their poſſeſſions. The prior, John de Maryns, had procured the election to be made a few days before the king's arrival; and therefore the new-elected was now preſented, and many expreſſions, full of approbation, paſſed. Four monks were diſpatched to Rome, to procure confirmation; where they were made to undergo a very ſtrict examination, relative to the form of the election. The prior, noting the activity of the eſcheator, went from one priory to the other, to give them warning of his viſits, and to put them on their guard.

During the vacancy, the vicarage of Hocton had become void: and the prior and convent preſented, and the archbiſhop approved and gave inſtitution, without any interruption from the king, or any claims of prerogative being urged.

The new-elected abbot, thought it neceſſary to go to Rome in perſon, although his four brethren had appeared there with all the uſual credentials for gaining confirmation. This *John of Berkhampſtead*, therefore, was the *firſt*, who, as Willis notes, went to Rome on this buſineſs *in perſon*. When he arrived at *Civita Vecchia*, called, in the language of Rome, *Urbs Antiqua*, he was met by two cardinals, and ſuffered to approach no nearer; but he was here interrogated, in the ſtricteſt manner, as to the forms of the election and his own qualifications; whether he lay under any canonical impediment; when and where the election was holden, to which it was anſwered on the 5th Id. Dec. Many queſtions were put to the abbot, of the moſt trivial kind; as if the court of Rome feared ſome colluſion in the appointment,

ment, and would not be ſatisfied with the uſual atteſtations. The abbot had gone to Rome, by the advice of his chapter, in order to obviate that probable ſeverity which they were likely to experience from the king, and to make a friend at Rome: and, on the other hand, the cardinals made the moſt minute inquiry into the life and morals of the elect, as if to obviate any future objection which the king might make. The charge and expences of this journey exceeded 1300 marks, of which about 800 went in liberalities to the cardinals and to the holy cheſt. John III. the 25th abbot.

The abbot, on his return, ſtopped at the priory at Hertford for ſome days, in order to attend the king, then returning from Northampton. On his Majeſty's arrival, the abbot preſented to him the inſtrument of confirmation, received at Rome; but, the king obſerving that it had its ſeal, or bull, of lead, he ſaid it was null and void, and perhaps a counterfeit. This was an unexpected obſtacle; but the abbot diſpatched a meſſenger to the *camerarius*, or keeper of the records, then at Redburn, to produce other and more ancient bulls; theſe being of lead alſo, the king withdrew his objection, admitted the abbot to his oath of allegiance, and directed his eſcheator to reſtore the temporalities. On St. Alban's day, the abbot returned, and was received with great ſolemnity: the abbot of Waltham attended, a great maſs was performed, a vaſt multitude was preſent, and the prior had provided with uncommon ſplendor for the joy of the day.

The abbot had taken up the 1300 marks, expended when abroad, of the foreign merchants, and given bills for the ſame; and now the time was approaching for payment, but no money could our abbot find: the treaſury was empty, and the houſe impoveriſhed. On this he repaired to the king, and beſought him to direct his eſcheator to purchaſe the crops on the ground, and take them at the price he had ſet a few months before: the king complied, and the eſcheator ſold the corn on the ground, and raiſed for the abbot 913 marks, 10s. 5d. This was in July, 1291.

It was now the year 1293 (21 of Edward), when the king directed the ſheriff of Northumberland to order the abbot of St. Alban's to yield up to his majeſty the advowſon of the priory of Tinmouth, unjuſtly withheld (a) from him; and, in caſe of refuſal, 'that the abbot 'do appear before our juſtices itinerant, at the next aſſize, and have 'you there this brief.' Dated, Robertſbury, November 30. The abbot preſented himſelf before the king, but in great diſmay and

(a) Deforciatus.

John III. the 25th abbot.

trouble, and repreſented the impropriety and utter impoſſibility of gratifying his Majeſty: the king at length forbore his ſuit, and gave the abbot a charter of confirmation; ſo that his view in this proceeding ſeems to have been the ſame as when he iſſued his *quo warrantos*, in the beginning of his reign.

But, a year or two after, a report came to the ear of the abbot, that the prior, Adam de Telbing, and the convent of Tinmouth, were ready to go into rebellion and to refuſe all obedience to the abbey: the abbot haſtened thither, and, at Newcaſtle, he applied to the mayor for an armed force and a company of followers to attend him, to ſuppreſs the rebellion: the mayor had heard nothing of this inſurrection; but referred the abbot to one Henry Scott, a citizen of ſome note and a familiar friend of the prior; aſſuring the abbot of his good offices to compromiſe all differences. The abbot, by proper addreſs and application, gained over Scott to accompany him; and away they marched, with a great poſſe, in the night. Next morning Scott appears at the gate, and demands entrance; which being obtained, the abbot and company advance, and, occupying the gate, ſeize the keys and poſt a guard: Scott then conducts the abbot and followers to the prior's chamber, where the prior is found juſt returned from chapel, and putting off his ſurplice; on hearing Scott's voice, he opens the door; whereupon the abbot enters with his guard, and inſtantly makes the prior priſoner. He was kept in cuſtody ſome days, and then ſent, under a ſtrong guard, on ſhipboard, conveyed to ſome foreign monaſtery, and never heard of more. A new prior was appointed, and this rebellion cruſhed; and Scott was recompenſed with many privileges and beneficial gratuities, to the loſs and detriment of the priory. But it was learnt that the former prior, and John Thorblock, and ſome others, had put the king on that ſtep of claiming the advowſon; hoping and wiſhing to be thereby nearer the king's preſence, who was then warring againſt Scotland.

It was now the ninth year of John's advancement, when he purpoſed to viſit Wymundham; but a certain lawyer of the town, named Tateſhall, hearing of the abbot's coming, entered the priory and barred the gate, refuſing the abbot to come in or the prior to go out. The party within was too weak to reſiſt and expel this violent uſurper; and the party without too ſmall and unprovided to ſupport their claim of right, and force admiſſion: ſo that the abbot was obliged to retreat, and make his abode at ſome other houſe. Here he prepared a form of excommunication againſt theſe malefactors, and ordained

ordained that the ſentence ſhould be read four times in every year, the bells tolling and the lights all flaming: after ſome time and much altercation between theſe contending chiefs, the diſcord was ended, and a compromiſe effected, between the conſpiracy within and the excommunication without. John III. the 25th abbot.

In 1299, the church of Datchet became void, by the death of Eyton, and the abbot preſented a certain clerk; but, by his neglect and delay, (the biſhop of Lincoln dying,) he could not receive inſtitution. On this, one Sir Hugh D'Eſpencer ſent his clerk with a preſentation, to the archbiſhop, claiming the church as under his own patronage. This prelate ordered the official of Bucks to make inquiry if the church was vacant, and how; and he returned, 'By death, and 'that D'Eſpencer was the true patron, and that Richard de Stand was 'by him preſented.' Richard himſelf accompanied this return to the archbiſhop, and obtained inſtitution. This tranſaction was unknown to the abbot, until he was told that Stand had got poſſeſſion. When he demanded of D'Eſpencer by what peculiar inſtinct he would preſume to vindicate his claim of patronage, to the prejudice and injury *(leſionem)* of him and his church, D'Eſpencer attempted to give reaſons in juſtification; but, on the abbot's producing the proofs on his part, D'Eſpencer believed his right now was not quite ſo good as he had thought it; and offered to drop his pretenſions, provided his clerk was ſuffered to remain. Nothing more is ſaid; and probably the clerk did not quit.

By a decree of pope Boniface VIII. anno 1290, the church and all its members were forbidden to pay any portion, or tax, of their goods to the king, or any noble or ſoldier, without the conſent of the Holy See. The king, now meditating a war with France, was little attentive to this injunction; and exacted money of the biſhops and abbots, locking up their barns and horſes, as I have already ſtated. This was practiſed on the poſſeſſions of our abbot; but he gained a releaſe, on paying down the ſum required.

An agreement had been made, in the time of the late abbot Roger, betwixt him and John, the ſon of John ———, concerning the chace of Horewood. But this John had, of late years, done much miſchief by cutting the timber, deſpoiling the underwood, and thereby ſtarving the deer. The abbot ſhewed the compoſition above-mentioned: John anſwered *it was null and void, having only the abbot's ſeal.* This was anſwered by a proſecution, and the juſtices gave ſentence againſt John, ſaying 'that both parties were equally bound, 'that the agreement was good and valid againſt him as well as for 'him,

John III. the 25th abbot.

'him, and it was neceſſary he ſhould comply in every article that 'tended to ſave the timber and preſerve the deer,' &c.

The former exactions of the king were not the only cauſe that afflicted the abbot: for, at this time, came from the court one Kirby, ſtyled a familiar of the king; and this man, by threats and other arts of extortion, compelled the abbot to pay 1000 marks to Geoffrey de Verano, an executor of the Holy See, for the aid of the poor Chriſtians in the Holy Land under the oppreſſion of the Ottomans; and this, he ſaid, ſhould be conſidered as tenths paid in advance. Though this was a demand made by the king, under pretence of being for the pope and the Holy Land, yet it was in reality for himſelf. It was anſwered by our abbot, that he and his church had paid as much as this ſum to the king, for this very uſe: the king ſaid, he had uſed all that money in his expedition into Arragon: the abbot, thereupon, begged a truce on the occaſion; adding that, though the king had given him a patent of indemnification for himſelf and his heirs, as he had done to many other monaſteries, yet he could not comply with this new demand, without ſuffering a very great grievance. On this, the king promiſed a recompence, and directed the abbot to pay the money. At length the cellerer, having procured 1430 marks, gave the king 1000, and the recompence in the letters patent was this, 'that, whereas the abbey had 'ſuffered great expences and labours, and the abbot had brought the 'ſame to a concluſion, the abbey ſhould, at every vacancy of the abbacy 'by death, continue to enjoy as well the barony as all other their 'poſſeſſions, with a power of diſpoſing of the ſame; which barony and 'poſſeſſions the king had been uſed to hold, to the innumerable loſſes 'and grievances of the ſaid houſe.' The king gives at the ſame time an acquittance, or releaſe, to the abbot and his church, of all debts, however due to him or his predeceſſors in time paſt. In this patent of recompence he engages that the cells and their poſſeſſions ſhall be ſafe and inviolate, and that his eſcheator ſhall ſtay no longer than one day within the gates of the abbey or cell. This is dated in the 31ſt of his reign, namely, 1301.

The king gave them alſo a charter, confirming all the former grants made by his royal predeceſſors; one of which was free warren in all their lands, and even *Warrena Columbarum*; and another, to pay no toll in buying any thing for the monaſtery: he alſo confirmed another ancient grant, that the men of the abbot ſhould not go out of the liberty, on any ſummons or on any occaſion, to appear before any other juſticiary; ſo that the ſeneſchal had a power of oyer and terminer, general goal-delivery, of aſſize, &c.

The king, on his expedition into Scotland, had required the military aid, which was the ſervice incumbent on the abbot as a baron, and conſiſted in the whole of ſix men only. And now Oxey and Crokeſley found one man: Batchworth, Britewell, and Harpfield, provided another: Langley, Weſtwic, Rickmerſworth, Burſton, Garſton, and Syret, raiſed one man: John de Gorham and Lau. de Broke were bound to find one man, for the fee they held in Weſtwic and Shephall; and it fell to the turn of Gorham to provide him: Chilwic, Myrdon, Bradelkye, Siſſeverne, and Norton, found one man; and now the turn fell on Siſſeverne: Sopwell lands, Titeburſt, Wynung, Redburn, Hexton, and Blackhide, found the ſixth; and it was now Sopwell's turn. Although theſe eſtates far exceeded ſix knight's fees, yet this aid had been appointed at firſt, and was ſtill permitted to be, in foot-ſoldiers, armed and provided, paid and maintained, during the king's pleaſure. John III. the 25th abbot.

A precept came from the king, charging the abbot to direct his cellerer, John de Stevenache, and his bailiff, John Greenſtude, to examine and compare all the weights, in the markets here and at Watford, by the ſtandard which had been long kept in the monaſtery; and to do this in the preſence of a jury of twelve men.

Robert de Winchelſey (the archbiſhop) was making his abode for ſome time at Hawes, and requeſted to viſit the abbot, now labouring under old age and infirmity, and be entertained in this abbey: but the abbot and chapter begged leave to decline that honour; and in a manner that was conſidered as a groſs refuſal. However, the archbiſhop came, and the abbot's *mareſcallus*, or grand equerry, gave him reception and entertainment in the town; but, the bells not ringing at St. Stephen's, he grew angry, and threatened to inhibit the church ſervice, or put an interdict on the church: and, indeed, ſome trouble was feared; but, the abbot dying, his ſucceſſor found means to appeaſe the archbiſhop.

This abbot, after ruling the houſe ten years and a half, died, on the 15th of November, 1301. Having fallen under a ſentence of excommunication, he loſt the manor of Childwic, which his predeceſſor had recovered and dedicated to his anniverſary. He had incurred the hatred of the priors; for, he had removed and changed them all, except the new prior of Wymundham,—and he was ſtill very ſtrenuouſly defended by Tateſhall, who continued claiming the patronage and advowſon. Although our abbot had poſſeſſed an ample revenue, he ſtill added to it by great ſales of timber and wood, to the prejudice of his ſucceſſor; and yet he burthened his houſe with penſions and

many

John III the 25th abbot. many liberal benefactions. He was eſteemed to poſſeſs many virtues, beſide being ſocial and good tempered: he was buried, on the 19th of November, before the great altar, the abbots of Weſtminſter and of Wobourn attending the ſolemnity.

The ſub eſcheator came to the abbey, *ad capiendam ſeizinam*, or to take poſſeſſion for the king; but the prior read to him the king's grant, in the preſence of two of the king's juſticiaries, Henry Spriginal and John Aygnell, and of others. The two juſticiaries had been requeſted to come down, to ſpeak on the validity of the royal grant; and the ſub-eſcheator allowed the king's conceſſion, and withdrew.

When we obſerve the unjuſt and baſe methods, practiſed by the ſovereign, to get money, we cannot but think it a moſt noble ſtruggle in favor of popular right and common juſtice, when, in the laſt century, the true patriots inſiſted, that no king had a right (although an uſage) to levy money without conſent of Parliament. And this is one of the moſt valuable ingredients in Engliſh liberty; it is a right of the people, built on natural juſtice; to be exerciſed in a certain orderly and regular manner; and to be applied for the good of the whole, not for the caprice or wanton humour of a few.

John Maryns.

John IV. the 26th abbot. The funeral being performed, three monks were diſmiſſed to the king, then at Lilleſton, in Scotland, to beg licence to elect. The king readily conſented; and, the day being fixed, the chapter choſe, and with great unanimity, *John Maryns*, who, for fourteen years, had ſerved the duty of prior. No election could paſs with more univerſal joy, except by the prior of Redburn, who, during the whole day, kept the chapter aſſembled, and would read his exceptions and objections. The elected went and preſented himſelf to the king, and was graciouſly received; and, on the firſt day of Lent, ſet forth, with four brethren of the monks, towards Rome. In this journey he paſſed the mountains of Chat and of Seneiſe, as they were then called; and was forced to go to Anagnia, where the pope was then holding his court. When at length he obtained an audience, a long examination enſued, as before, into the forms of the election and the merits of the elected. He was then confirmed, and next day received

the holy benediction, and returned on the Sunday after the feaſt of St. Bartholomew, 1302. The charges and fees at Rome amounted to 3000 florins (a). John IV. the 26th abbot.

In the mean time, the body at home petitioned the queen that ſhe would be pleaſed to remit a fee that uſed to be paid to her, called *the Queen's Gold.* But her treaſurer anſwered, 'that this was a fine for 'the king's grant of holding the abbey on a vacancy, when he gave 'a compenſation for the 1000 marks;' and it muſt be paid for this new reaſon *now*, as *formerly* for ſome old reaſon.

The king, in his charter of compenſation, had reſerved to himſelf a power to collate, as the abbot had done, to the churches which ſhould be void during the vacancy of the abbacy: and, the rectory of Watlington becoming void in that time, the king's chancellor preſented to it, becauſe, he ſaid, the taxation (b) of it was under ten marks: although, at the ſame time, P. Muntfichet, a great lord, claimed the right of patronage. Here is an inſtance of that privilege which the chancellors of England have ever enjoyed; and we may here ſee how it was derived to them from the firſt rights that had been exerciſed by the crown: and the privilege remains the ſame to this day, with the change only of the meaſure, or boundary, which extends now to *twenty pounds.*

But we may trace alſo other uſages and preſent rights. It had long been a cuſtom for the new abbot, at every election, to beſtow a certain penſion on ſome clerk of the king's appointment, eſpecially of his chaplains; and the abbot hoped the king would forbear that claim, on taking one of the abbey's churches and giving it as above: but the king wrote to the abbot, commanding him to appoint the penſion, and pay it annually to his clerk therein named; and inſiſted on the abbey-ſeal being put to the grant without delay. The abbot complied, and granted ten marks a year, to be continued ſo long as the clerk ſhould live *in habitu ſeculari*, (for, he was not yet ordained,) and to be paid at St. Alban's, every year, 'until we can provide him with a com-'petent church.' Dated *in pleno capitulo*, 19 Sept. an. 30° Regni. (1307).

Peace was now made with Robert de Tateſhall, the ſon, who no longer aſſerted thoſe claims, which had been ſet up and maintained by the father, to the patronage and advowſon of Wymundham. And, in the preſent compromiſe, it is ſtated that, the father having married a woman deſcended from the D'Aubignys who had founded the priory 200 years before, he had aſſerted the ſame to be part of

(a) Which, at 4s. 6d. a florin, is 815l.
(b) By this taxation was meant the firſt fruits, or firſt year's profit.

John IV. the 26th abbot.

her inheritance; and, on that foundation, he had got poſſeſſion, and ſtruggled hard to keep it; until death took him away, when the ſon renounced theſe pretenſions.

When Edward I. made his firſt incurſions into Scotland, the abbot of this church had furniſhed the eſtabliſhed feudal aid of ſix ſoldiers; but, on his later incurſions, towards the cloſe of his reign, the abbot contributed, in lieu of this military aid, the ſum of ſix ſcore pounds at one time, and ſix ſcore marks at another. And now Edward II. juſt come to the crown, and preparing war with Scotland, demanded of Maryns to be furniſhed with two carts, and proper horſes and all appurtenances: the abbot pleaded his poverty and inability to comply: the king came down to the abbey, but refuſed either to converſe with the abbot or to ſee him; on which Maryns, by the mediation of Peers Gaveſton, gave the king 100 marks of ſilver, and they parted in ſeeming friendſhip. Soon after, Edward cut down a wood at Langley, called Weſtwode, in order to enlarge the royal manſion, &c. on which the abbot exclaimed at the invaſion of his property, and aſſerted the wood to belong to the abbey: but the king ordered his foreſters to enter, and, by ouſting the abbot's ſervants, keep poſſeſſion of the ſame. This palace, or royal manſion, had been begun by Henry III. and was the favorite reſidence of the ſovereigns, for many ſucceſſive reigns: and at this place Edward II. did afterwards found a ſmall endowment of frier-preachers, and depoſited in their church the body of his favorite Gaveſton, when the barons, in 1312, without trial or ceremony, cut off his head. The church of this priory is now the pariſh church, and exhibits an ancient rude monument, ſaid to be that in memory of Gaveſton; (though the arms, ſculptured on the ſtone work, denote quite another family;) and another to the memory of Edmund of Langley, ſon of Edward III. and of his wife Iſabella of Caſtile.

Our abbot turned his thoughts to new regulations in the houſe, and framed many injunctions, or rules, for its better government; yet they went no farther than to a ſtricter obſervance of ſilence, to the more orderly wearing of the cowl, and to ſuch kind of matters, in ſhort, as denoted the power of the ruler and the ſubjection of the ruled; but which had no ſubſerviency to real religion, or tendency to promote the moral duties.

Thus, after ſix years and three quarters, our abbot finding himſelf grow feeble, and his bodily ſtrength to fail, he called the chief officers to his chamber, and told them the ſtate of the abbey; that it lay under obligations of debt in the ſum of 1300l. to ſundry creditors, and to the king in 1000 marks for the laſt vacancy; and that he had only *ſeventeen* marks in his treaſury, ſent lately by the prior of Tinmouth: he adviſed that they would, at his deceaſe, preſent to the king the great cup of ſilver and a ring; that they would not chooſe into his

place any man th.: was likely to be proud and pompous, but one who would be plain and honeſt: he deſired, to meet his brethren once more in chapter; and, being conveyed thither in the arms of two monks, he intreated that his ſucceſſor, whoever he might be, would ſuggeſt to the pope the great debts of the houſe, and the real want and poverty they laboured under: he beſought the monks, with tears falling, 'if he had uſed any with harſhneſs or with injuſtice, that they 'would forgive, and teſtify their love and reconciliation by giving him 'the farewel token of kiſs;' they all addreſſed him with that mark of valediction: he then deſired to be borne to the ſhrine, where, with his laſt breath, he uttered theſe words, *O Holy Alban! whom I have loved and addreſſed as my beſt aid, as I have exiſted and lived by thy help, ſo, O glorious ſaint! defend me from the pains of Hell!* He died on the 6th Cal. March 1308, and was buried, by the abbot of Waltham, in the choir before the great altar, and near to the two former abbots; in token of the love and eſteem they had borne to each other when living: united by thoſe principles which are everlaſting, they wiſhed to be as little ſeparated as poſſible, in all the events of future exiſtence.

John IV. the 26th abbot.

Hugo de Eversden.

John Maryns was ſucceeded by Hugo de Everſden (a), who ruled this abbey about 18 years, and died in 1326. He is ſaid to have improved the revenues of the abbey, (but in what manner ſhall appear,) and to have purchaſed the manor of Caldecot, near Baldock, and other fair poſſeſſions. He procured from king Edward III. many great donations; as a crucifix of gold ſet with jewels; a cup of ſilver, gilt, of great value; ſundry Scotiſh relics; timber for repairing the choir; and 100l. in money.

Hugo the 27th abbot.

One of the firſt works which employed the attention of this man was to build a chapel to the holy virgin, in order to ſhew her a more eſpecial honour: in this he was greatly aſſiſted by one Reginald, a clerk of Rome; and with large ſums from Walter de Langley and Alicia his wife. When this chapel was finiſhed, an image of the virgin, richly habited, was ſet up. The true motives that urged Hugo to this work were ſuch as, in thoſe days, were called pious: and it was a frequent practice to build and dedicate altars and chapels to her worſhip. A chapel argued greater honour and piety than an altar; and, if the ſame was placed at the eaſt end of the church, (as may be

(a) So called from a place of that name in the county of Cambridge.

Hugo the 27th abbot.

ſeen in ſome cathedrals,) it intimated the preference, or pre-eminence, which the founder intended above the Godhead. But, beſide this, it is very probable that the Virgin's altar, which ſtood in the ſouth wing, might be gone to decay; or might not be large enough to receive the devotion of all her votaries: and, as her mediation ſeems to have been much ſought, and the oblations large, it was fit to give all poſſible accommodation to the offerers. It is likely, too, that the coſt and charge of this work was ſo great as to create part of that vaſt debt which lay as a burthen on the abbey during the whole rule of Hugo. There is reaſon to think that at firſt the wall, which now forms the paſſage in the anti-chapel, was not built. This antichapel, which is 48 feet long and the width of the church, was the place to which the devout reſorted, and where they waited till there was room in the chapel to receive them; which room, or ſpace, could be but ſcanty and narrow, when the monks all attended, to chaunt the ſervice (a).

In Hugo's time, great ruins of the church happened: the roof of the ſouth wing fell in: great part of the ſouth wall, over the long cloiſter, fell down, occaſioned by the water from the roof having penetrated the top and looſened the work; by this ſudden ruin one monk was killed: the cloaca alſo fell in, and one monk and a boy periſhed. So that great repairs became neceſſary.

The prior of Wymundham, William de Somerton, refuſed all obedience, and was quite rebellious, until at length brought to terms: and indeed the whole rule and government of Hugo received many interruptions, and was full of vexations and troubles. During the early part of his rule, the cells were diſobedient and rebellious: and he was continually embroiled with the townſmen, and great diſſenſion aroſe concerning their reſpective rights and juriſdictions. The townſmen were under an obligation, and had always been accuſtomed, to grind at the abbot's mills; but they now refuſed, (in the beginning of Hugo's government,) and furniſhed themſelves with hand-mills; the abbot proſecuted, and probably exaſperated them by his rigid proceedings. They had likewiſe been uſed to attend the abbot's ſeſſions for the liberty, (then held at no fixed ſeaſons,) as other men of the liberty did and had been uſed to do; but now, warm with reſentment, they availed themſelves of the general confuſion of the kingdom, combined againſt the monks, revived old claims, ſet up new ones, and, at laſt, after a violent ſtruggle, they obtained from the abbot a charter of privileges, in the laſt year of his rule. This is the ſum: but, as it will ſerve to ſhew the temper and ſpirit of the times,

(a) See more of this chapel in the life of John Wheathampſtead.

and

and diſcovers the beginning of the corporation, I will be more circumſtantial in the detail of theſe conteſts and ſtruggles (a). Hugo the 27th abbot.

When the townſmen had furniſhed themſelves with hand-mills, the abbot endeavoured to ſuppreſs them; and one, named Robert de Lymbury, reſiſted the bailiff, named William Peacock, who had orders to diſtrain, or ſeize, on his mill, and bring away the upper mill-ſtone. The bailiff forbore to proceed farther, and the abbot brought his action againſt Lymbury; and the king's writ (here inſerted at large, and dated at Windſor, February 1, in the 7th year of our reign) directs Lymbury to appear before the juſticiary (Leiceſter), to anſwer in a treſpaſs, on a certain day and place. Lymbury appeared, and found ſureties for trying the cauſe. His ſureties appeared, but did not bring Lymbury; on which, a precept iſſues from the juſticiary to four ſureties (who offered) to bring his body to Barnet, on Tueſday, three weeks before Eaſter. He came not: and he was bound, by two ſureties, to appear at St. Alban's, on the eve of Pentecoſt. Now began the trial: the counſel for the abbot pleaded a damage of 60l. by the uſe of theſe hand-mills: Robert anſwered, that he hindered not the bailiff in taking the mill-ſtone, but that the bailiff could not carry it out; on which he turned him out of the houſe, and ſhut his doors. When the charge, at opening the trial, was read, he put himſelf on his country (b), *ponit ſe ſuper patriam*, (which hath continued as a phraſe uſed to this day on the like occaſion,) and alleged that he never injured the abbot, by uſing this mill, in the damage of 100 ſhillings. However, the jury gave damages to the abbot, in the amount of ſixty pounds; and Lymbury was committed to goal *(gaiolæ)*, whence he was diſcharged, on paying a fine of 20 ſhillings, and giving ſurety, with two pledges, not to offend in the like again.

Three other ſuits of the like nature the abbot proſecuted againſt three other townſmen: and, ſoon after, they ill treated a monk, named Henry St. Neot; they alſo broke open a houſe in the town, belonging to the abbot, carried away many of the goods, and threw down all the trees, &c. And the villains, or copyholders, of Watford, catching this kind of contagious love of miſchief and inſult, robbed the fiſhponds at Watford, that belonged to the abbey, to the no ſmall prejudice, loſs, and grievance, of the monaſtery.

The general ſtate of the kingdom was, at this time, very diſſolute: the people, from ſeeing great licentiouſneſs prevail at court and among the great, were ready enough to follow their example, and to

(a) Extracted from Walſingham's MS.

(b) On a charge of felony, the priſoner ſays he will be tried *by God and his country*. An appeal of too ſerious a nature to be made by the guilty.

think

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think light of any enormity which they choſe, in their wanton undacity, to commit.

And here (in St. Alban's,) great diſorders, beſide the above, were daily practiſed: but twelve of the principal men of the town came to the abbot, and intreated him not to relate to Thomas, earl of Lancaſter, (then reſting in the monaſtery, on his journey to London,) the crimes and treſpaſſes committed in the town; for, they would rectify all diſorders, and conform to the laws of the land. The abbot, truſting to theſe falſe promiſes, complied with their requeſt; but, as ſoon as the earl left the town, a ſervant of the abbot was caught and very ill treated: and, to ſhew their enmity the more, they erected a gallows in the market, and affixed an axe to the ſame, faſtened by a chain, with a written threat, *that whoever refuſed to conſent and join in their contrivances ſhould be beheaded.* Next day, the above-mentioned twelve principals of the town came to the abbot, claiming certain privileges: at firſt they were moderate and gentle in their requeſts; then more earneſt; and, at length, proceeded to threats, and ſpoke in a high tone: the abbot, with ſhort deliberation, requeſted them to put their claims into writing, digeſt them into articles, and bring them to him four days hence. The twelve could not wait ſo long, but, next day, came to the abbot, and preſented an indenture, containing the articles, and demanded immediate anſwer. They were as follow.

1ſt. 'The commons of the town *(communitas villæ)* ſupplicate the 'abbot and convent, that they would yield up to them their privileges 'and a charter thereof as they had ever uſed and enjoyed from the 'making of the ſaid charter, until they had been hindered in the ſame 'by the laſt abbot; as the charter itſelf will ſet forth, and as is wit-'neſſed by a book in the King's Treaſury, called *Domuſday*, wherein 'their town is ſtyled a *borough* and they *burgeſſes*.

2d. 'Alſo they intreat, that leave be given them to chooſe two 'burgeſſes to go to the king's parliament, according to the liberty 'granted to any other borough, and as they had uſed in time paſt.

3d. '*Item*, that they might have leave to make anſwer, in all mat-'ters of inquiſition and pleas before the juſtices itinerant, by twelve 'men choſen in the ſaid town, without any admixture of ſtrangers (a).

4th. '*Item*, that the aſſize of ale and bread might be obſerved and 'kept by twelve men of their vill, or town, being burgeſſes and ſworn, 'as hath been accuſtomed in time paſt.

(a) *Sine conjunctione forinſecorum.* By this it appears, that the firſt idea of a *foreigner* was a man not of our vicinage.

5th. '*Item*

5th. 'Item, that they may have common, in the lands, woods, waters, fiſheries, and other commodities, as is contained in Domuſday, and as they had enjoyed formerly. Hugo: be 27th abbot.

6th. 'Item, that they be allowed to have hand-mills, and be indemnified in the loſſes they have ſuſtained by defending the ſame.

7th. 'Item, that the bailiff of the town (an officer appointed by the abbot) ſhould be ſworn, and ſhould do and perform all executions (or king's writs) without interference or mention of the bailiff of the liberty.'

Theſe articles were exhibited to the abbot in the conſiſtory, and a ready anſwer was given to each article by word of mouth; but, becauſe every anſwer was not put into writing, as they had demanded, the twelve left the abbey in great wrath, and returned to the town. This interview happened on the octave of the virgin St. Agnes, or on January 21, about one o'clock; and, about ſix in the evening, the townſmen, ſome on foot and ſome on horſes, approached the gate at Holywell, (probably a gate near the water,) and began the aſſault with great clamour and caſting of ſtones, while ſome were putting fire to the gate. The abbot foreſaw this in the morning, and had brought in for defence, of ſervants, tenants, and dependants, to the number of 200, beſide monks. This tumult and ſiege laſted about ten days, to the Cal. of February; and the defenders maintained their ground, and repelled the aſſailants in every attack, ſubmitting, with great patience, to long watchings and much faſting: for, it was neceſſary to deal out the proviſions with ſtrict frugality.

The king, then at Windſor, ſhewed great concern for this affront on his church, as he called it, (for, he boaſted himſelf the patron,) and ſent a brief to the ſheriff, to take with him the *poſſe comitatus*, and 'ſuppreſs, if neceſſary, with force of arms, the violence and audacity 'of theſe evil-doers, and make proclamation of his peace; and if, 'after the proclamation and inhibition, he ſhould find any of theſe 'rebels on the ſpot, he ſhould ſeize and confine them in priſon, until 'he received a farther mandate from the court, how to proceed with 'them.' On the Cal. of February the ſheriff came and read the proclamation: on which the aſſailants conceived ſome degree of fear, and no longer bore arms, or terrified the monks with appearance of hoſtility; but they ſupplied the defects of fighting with reproaches and invectives: they had alſo formed a ſort of confederacy with ſome of the neighbouring towns, and with certain of the Londoners, and bound themſelves by an oath, and collected money, to hire certain lawyers to defend them and procure their liberties.

The

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The abbot ſpared no pains to reſiſt their malice: and, on the 9th day of February, ſix of the townſmen, with ſome friends out of the country, and others fit for mediation and treaty, came to the abbot, and requeſted him to appoint a day, wherein both ſides might treat of a pacification, at London, and in the church of St. Paul. On that day the proctors appeared: but the townſmen renewed the attack on the monaſtery, and were again repulſed; though about 80 of them paſſed four or five nights, in traverſing all round the abbey, and forming ambuſcades, with intent to catch any of the defenders who might try to go out in the night; one poor wretch (a) of the town, being on this duty at the gate called Werngate, was ſurpriſed by the garriſon, and, being made priſoner, was, like a thief, committed to priſon.

The townſmen and their counſellors obtained a writ (b) of the king, directed to the abbot, commanding him to forbear farther moleſtations to the townſmen, and to place all liberties, privileges, and franchiſes, on the ſame footing as was ſet forth in the book of Domuſday: and the king directed a brief to the treaſurer and chamberlain of his exchequer, requiring them to ſearch that book, and make report therefrom, what concerned the parties.

This book ſet forth (after recounting the land of the vill to be taxed at ten hides) *that there were four men freeborn, and ſixteen copyholders* (villani), *and forty-ſix burgeſſes*, or inhabiters in the town: for, the *Villani* and *Francigeni* were on the land, and the ten hides muſt have comprehended a great part of the country adjoining. It ſays alſo, *There is one park for the wild beaſts of the woods and one great fiſh-pool.* Which park was the old park of Kingſbury, and comprehended all the land from that place up to the ſtreet and market-place, and the pool was in it. It ſays alſo, *The burgeſſes have only half an hide.* This was produced and pleaded by the townſmen, but was perceived to make very little in their favor. Then the abbot's council produced the grant of Henry II. where he ſays, *He confers, on the church of St. Alban, the vill of St. Alban, with every liberty, or privilege, which a borough ought to have.*

It was inſtantly ſeen, that, by the word *Burgus*, they were in no corporate, or united, capacity, and not independent of the abbey, nor in any other light than as inhabitants and houſeholders; and that their ſtate and condition was confirmed, by writing and ſeal, to the abbey. The townſmen had nothing to reply: but the king's counſel, ſeeing that this very privilege and right was injurious to the church,

(a) Ribaldus. (b) Dated February 8, 11° an. regni.

and had been the cauſe of its great ſufferings, they moved, to have the matter adjourned, for a further hearing at Weſtminſter, to the 6th of the Ides of March, and there to be diſcuſſed by the more wiſe men of the kingdom. On this day the parties appeared, and, after much argument and diſceptation, the three brethren, who repreſented the abbey, and Thomas Pyrot, profeſſor of civil law and furniſhed with authority to conſent, agreed and obtained the others conſent, that twenty-four true and faithful men of the town ſhould walk the bounds and deſcribe the ancient limits; and, when the ſame were by them well marked and deſcribed, they ſhould preſent them to the abbot, to be confirmed by him under the common ſeal; he firſt giving ſeizin, to the townſmen and their ſucceſſors, of every thing within the ſaid limits. This ſeemed a gracious condeſcenſion in the abbey council; but it was granting, in truth, what the town wiſhed, and more than they could prove by Domeſday to be their right. However, the church propoſed this expedient, and thought they got rid of ſome burdenſome duties and ſome very ſturdy competitors. The twenty-four were choſen, and, aſſembling in the conſiſtory, they made oath for the faithful walking and marking the true and ancient bounds; and this deſcription (a), written in law French, was ſealed in form, and preſerved many years in the archieves of the church. The ſubſtance was this.

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From Gonnerſton to the ſheepfold of Kingſbury, thence to the corner of Downehedge, thence to the corner of Tonman ditch, thence unto the Grange of St. Peter, thence to Bernate wood, thence unto Stone Crouch, thence to the corner of the church of St. Peter toward the left, thence unto the Grange of John, the ſon of Richard Baldewyn, thence unto Tonman ditch and Sopwell-lane, thence to the Croft of John Hampton, thence to Green Lane end, thence to Eyewood lane, thence to Holywell Brigg, and thence to Gonnerſton by the water of the river. It was now agreed that the town contained within theſe bounds ſhall be a borough, and for a borough holden; and all the tenements within the ſaid bounds ſhall be burgages; and all the good men, their heir heirs, and ſucceſſors, within the ſaid bounds dwelling, ſhall be burgeſſes, and for burgeſſes holden for ever; and that they may, out of themſelves, elect two burgeſſes to go to every parliament. This limit comprehended in it the abbey, and all its buildings, courts, gardens, &c. and it was agreed, on the part of the town, that nothing in this grant (for it was conſidered ſtill as a conceſſion from the abbot) ſhould turn to the prejudice of the ſaid church, but the ſame ſhall have and uſe all its other franchiſes and rights, which to the church

(a) The deed calls it *renewing* the bounds, as if the limits had been formerly fixed, but till this time neglected and diſregarded.

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are appendant; it was alſo agreed, that nothing in this grant ſhall bar the abbot and convent from grinding at the mills on the ſaid river, although they may belong to any of the good men of the town (a).

The abbot was willing to conſent to this letter of concord, out of a prudent neceſſity, and in obedience and reſpect to the royal pleaſure; having regard to the tempeſtuous condition of the ſtate, and becauſe the kingdom was almoſt deſtitute of all remedy of law. This is expreſſly ſaid by my author, as an apology for many imprudences committed during the rule of abbot Hugo.

But, when the letter of concord was produced by Hugo, read in full chapter, and ordered by him to be ſigned and ſealed, Lo! the articles made their appearance as part of the compact, and, theſe being read out diſtinctly, the monks began to mutter, and look on each other with emotion and aſtoniſhment: then, with one voice, they ſaid they would chooſe to die rather than to ſign and ſeal to ſuch terms; and they beſought Richard Paxton, the archdeacon, to pronounce, in the name of all and every one ſingly, their refuſal to atteſt. The archdeacon entered his proteſt in writing in the name of all preſent, giving it as a reaſon of refuſal, that ſuch proceeding was betraying the intereſts of the body, would prove a dangerous precedent, and be followed by great loſſes.

The abbot then, fearing what evils might enſue from this refuſal, produces a letter from the king, (which the townſmen had procured at the day when the compromiſe was made), commanding him to put the abbey ſeal to the ſaid agreement. The archdeacon and monks refuſed, and ſhewed more indignation; and, riſing from their ſeats, quitted the conſiſtory. But at length, the abbot repreſenting the danger of withſtanding the king, and farther provoking the town, they, with great reluctance, conſented to ſign; though not without making a ſolemn proteſtation againſt the act, in the preſence of John De Maidford, and John Le Hay, two notaries. This inſtrument is there ſet forth at length, and dated 15 Cal. Ap. anno 1327, reciting the objections made by the archdeacon, but ending with the full conſent of the abbot, the ſeal affixed, and the atteſtation of John le Hay the notary.

In this ſtate was the government of the town: that is, having the privilege of electing juries, not to be and appear at the abbot's ſeſſion, but at a view of Frankpledge or Leet, with a bailiff choſen by the

(a) This deed may be found in the roll of patents in the Tower, in the 1ſt year of Edward III. part II. MS. 28; and likewiſe in the archives of the corporation.

townſmen:

townſmen: and this probably held and continued until the grant of incorporation made by Edward VI. in 1553. But this effort of the townſmen was intended to detach themſelves from the rule and authority of the abbot, and to erect themſelves into a degree of corporate capacity, for their better government at home, and the furtherance of their buſineſs in the great council of the nation. Hugo the 27th abbot.

But it appears alſo, by the archives of the ſaid corporation, that burgeſſes had been ſent into parliament as early as the 35th of Edward I. when Simon de Trewyk and Adam atte Stile were ſent from this town, as repreſentatives; and, at the ſame time, John de Sumery and Gerard de Brabroc were deputed as knights of the ſhire.

On the completion of this buſineſs, my author remarks, the townſmen were highly elated, and now thought themſelves to be in the moſt compleat, if not new, manner, perfect burgeſſes; and demanded, in very threatening terms, the common of Bernate Heath, &c. The abbot gave orders to the ſeneſchal to comply, but not in haſte; and, after ſome delay and preparations made, the ſeneſchal repaired thither, and gave them ſeizin by delivery of the branch. The townſmen followed in a great crowd, and began, on entering the heath, or wood, to break down the branches of the beech trees, and to take ſeizin for themſelves: and, after ſome hours of enjoyment in this licentious way, they marched back into the town, bearing theſe branches as in triumph. They deſtroyed all the hedges and fences in Frithwode and Eyewood, in the name of ſeizin; and threw great branches into the abbot's fiſhpools, and alſo caught the fiſh; and, for five years after, they continued to hunt the hares, rabbits, and all game there found: they alſo ſet up their handmills, to the number of 80, in and about the town. They did infinite miſchief to the timber, and did not ſpare to cut and carry away whatever they could; and this licence, augmented into mere malice, was not reſtrained till the time of the next abbot, who brought them back to their former ſtate of moderation and order, and made them pay damages for theſe exceſſes.

But another incident added to the vexation of the poor abbot at this time; a knight, though unknown to him, requeſted one day to ſpeak to his lordſhip, and, being introduced to the parlour, the old abbot entered, and the knight ſaid he had a ſecret to communicate, that was of great importance to the abbey and the church; but it muſt be related to the abbot in private, and entruſted to him alone, and never be divulged again. The abbot conducted this friendly informer to his ſtudy in his lodgings; at which place the

Hugo the 27th abbot. abbot removed the domeſtics and chaplains, and, big with expectation to hear the ſecret, ſhut the door and ſat down. The knight ruſhed on him, ſeized him by the throat, and, with the other hand, drew out a knife, or dagger, and ſwore he would cut his throat, if he did not give him inſtantly 20l. The terrified old man complied, and the knight took his leave, and paſſed through the cloiſters and crowds below as an honeſt man.

The character of this abbot is, that he was very little feared and leſs beloved. He was reputed to be of a very poor ſpirit (a), as the above inſtance ſhews. He was of a tall and graceful ſtature, and reckoned a very handſome man; and he had no ſmall tincture of vanity and affectation, which he gratified in great feaſts and entertainments given to the gentry, and eſpecially to the ladies, of the neighbourhood; the reſort of which laſt was greater than decency allowed, or his dignity required. As an inſtance of his munificence, it is recorded, that being once at Wymundham, and viſiting a gentleman named Symon de Heterſete (ſince called Herſeth), he was there ſplendidly entertained for ſome days; at his departure he took notice of an infant ſon of his hoſt, lying in the cradle, and gave the child a penſion of forty ſhillings for life, out of the houſe of Wymundham: which penſion was paid, to the great loſs of that houſe, during about 50 years.

He died with very little warning of his end, having ſuffered much anxiety of mind, from innumerable law ſuits and many croſs events near home. However, he died, ſays the MS. *infelici nocte:* and the man, whoſe *character* is deſpiſed, will do no good by his *precepts* and *words*. This was in the year 1326.

The ſtate of the treaſury was ſuch as alarmed the officers: a debt of 5000l. to ſundry creditors; penſioners, who had a claim of 24l. 18s.; and corrodars, to the number of 54 or more; beſide great waſte of the woods, ſuch as had never been before. He had received, for wood ſold in his time, 7605l.; and 700l. *(de auxilio)* as aid to the monaſtery from the tenants; alſo from the priors of the cells, as aid, 6000l.; and 100l. from the king. He had received of talliage from the tenants 1000l. (b); as aid from the vicars 100l.; for corrodies ſold at the abbey, 1077l.; and 1000l. for corrodies ſold in the cells.

For the better maintenance of his ſplendor and ſhew, he firſt hit on the expedient of letting long leaſes, and taking a good ſum in hand

(a) Vecordiſſimus.

(b) A kind of exciſe on their goods and moveables, when the abbey was aſſeſſed to the king or the pope.

for

for ſo doing: and here follows a liſt of ſuch grants, and the ſums paid. Hugo the 27th abbot.

To Andrew de Medeſte, the manor of Combes in Suſſex, for the term of his life; and 100l. laid down.

The manor of Pynefield to Symon de Perkote, for 16 years; and 40l. to be paid, yearly, for the firſt 5 years.

The manor of Walden, with two mills, to William Legat, for 10 years; and 50l. yearly, for the two firſt years.

The manor of Barnet, with ſome aſſigned rents in Eaſt Barnet, and the mill of Agate, for 10 years; and 24 marks down.

The manor of Caldecot to John de Gavelock, for the term of 5 years; and 40l. in hand.

The manor of Wynſlow, with the market rents and a mill, for 100 marks yearly rent; and 100 marks in hand.

The manor of Richard Alexander, in Langley, for a term of 9 years; and 24l. for the 4 firſt years to himſelf.

A meadow at Richmereworth to John Windrugge, for 30 years; and 20l. to himſelf.

The manor of Sandrugge for 20 years; and, for the 10 firſt years, 180l. to himſelf.

For a mill let there for 20 years, he received, for himſelf, in 10 years, 30l.

For the manor of Northaw, he received down, for 6 years, 60l.

For the church of Conſcliff he received 40 marks for 5 years.

For the manor of Codicote, with a mill, 100l.

For 2 mills at Norton, 40 marks.

For the mill at Watford, 20 marks.

This cauſed a loſs to the monaſtery of 647l.; and he alſo gave away wood and timber to divers perſons, to the value of 930l.

He is excuſed, in theſe exceſſes, from a conſideration of the great expence and damage he incurred by entertaining and aiding the nobles, who roſe up againſt the king; from the great loſſes he ſuſtained on the farms; and from the many law ſuits he had been always involved in. It is farther ſaid in his favour, that he was compelled to expend great ſums in neceſſary reparations; that many of theſe corrodies had been ſold in the time of his predeceſſor, which had now got up to the ſum of 299l. if valued in money, beſide the neceſſary cloathing, equal to 14l. a year more, and an extra expence of corn yearly of 4l.

To theſe extenuating circumſtances may be added the great expence of building the virgin's chapel, and, perhaps, the exactions made by Gaveſton and Spencer: for, theſe favourites would ſcarcely ſpare the clergy,

Hugothe 27th abbot.

clergy, who could not reſiſt or oppoſe them, when they practiſed the boldeſt extortions on the lords and barons, who could reſiſt. As the rapacity of theſe minions, and the general licentiouſneſs of the times, doubtleſs called for uncommon ſupplies, ſo muſt our abbot have been obliged to deviſe uncommon means to raiſe theſe ſums; and part of his unpopularity with the townſmen may have proceeded from a too rigid exaction of all the rights which a feudal lord could, in thoſe days, demand: it was, however, attended with this advantage to the townſmen, that, whereas their rights were before vague and undefined, and ſeemed to depend much on the will of the abbot, they now got them aſcertained and confirmed by a charter, and became a corporate body. It is obſervable, through the whole of the diſpute, that the king, in this inſtance at leaſt, purſued his father's policy, and ſided with the people, in order to curb the power of the church: and the abbot's too ready compliance, as the monks thought, with the king's mandate, muſt have tended to leſſen him in the eſteem of his brethren of the cloiſter, who conſidered his conceſſions to the townſmen as ſacrilege. He died therefore unlamented, and uneſteemed, either within the monaſtery or without.

Richard Wallingford.

Richard II. the 28th abbot.

This man was elected on the 30th of October, and ruled almoſt nine years, dying in 1335. He derived his name from the place of his birth, as was the common practice; for, no man was diſtinguiſhed by his family name. He was the ſon of a blackſmith, and had been educated at Oxford, where he attained great fame for his early piety and learning. The particulars of his youth are theſe. He was bereft of his parents at ten years of age; on which the prior of Wallingford, named Kykeby, in compaſſion to the boy took him under his care, and, finding him to poſſeſs a docile genius, prepared him for the univerſity of Oxford; at which place, his conduct and abilities growing conſpicuous, he was, in due time, appointed to read in public that great ſtandard

ſtandard of divinity, *the ſentences of Lombard.* After nine years paſſed in that duty, he came to dwell in this abbey, where he had been admitted a monk long before, though allowed to be abſent as a public lecturer. He had been much encouraged in his ſtudies by the laſt abbot, and, at his death, this young man was elected in his room. Richard II. the 28th abbot.

The forms of the election being paſſed, he ſet out to the pope, to receive confirmation, and was abſent nine months. He paid his duty to the pope at Avignon: and it is noted, that all his expences and donations amounted to 953l. 10s. 1½d.

With the pope he had met with many delays, and objections were made that threatened to annul the election. It was ſaid, he had brought no certificate of the vacancy, and no letter from the king to recommend or to allow: and, after intimidating our abbot many days, the pope was pleaſed to ſay, that he had, in kindneſs, thought of a way to expiate thoſe faults, and to ſuffer the buſineſs to proceed—which was to go to his chamberlain and agree for a tax. Richard addreſſed himſelf to the chamberlain and officers of the Papal Treaſury, who beginning to mention a tax, he anſwered, 'He knew of no tax, 'to which the monaſtery was liable, but one ounce of gold every 'year for its exemption. The officers ſaid, 'they found marked in their 'regiſter an arrear of 720 marcs, as due for a viſitation, in the name 'of a vacancy: and, for the entertainment of theſe ſuppoſed viſitors, '120 marcs more.' Richard was ſtruck dumb: but, when he recovered his ſpeech, they compelled him to ſwear on the Bible, that he would pay theſe ſums at certain ſtated periods; and they added a threat of excommunication if he failed; or if, in caſe of failure, he did not return to the pope's court within five months.

On theſe terms, after being long detained, he was permitted to depart; and, landing in England, he came to his manor of Crokeſly, or Croſley, for reſt and repoſe: here he found himſelf afflicted with a ſevere pain in his left eye, which brought on a total blindneſs. He went next, and abode ſome time at his manor of Hexton and Rykenham; and waited on the king, then at Northampton, to do homage for his baronies, and receive the temporalities.

On St. Alban's day, the abbot invited to a ſplendid dinner, as had been the cuſtom, the friends and tenants of the abbey: and now comes one John Aygnell, and demands a certain ſilver cup, *in order that he may ſerve the abbot, and preſent the ſame when he was dining; for that he held his land in Redburn by that ſervice.* And, ſtretching out his hand to reach the cup, he could only touch it; *but that was enough,*

Richard II. the 28th abbot.

enough, he ſaid, *he was in the ſeizin of his office*; and began to be very troubleſome. The company interpoſed; the abbot refuſed to be ſerved by him; John claimed the cup as his perquiſite, ſtill maintaining that he held his land by the ſervice of *Grand Butler* to the abbot; and the cellerer was called, who alledged that they had no ſuch office, and no land holden by ſuch a tenure: on this Aygnell pretended to be ill uſed; but quitted not his ſeat at the dinner. This man's name adheres to the land to this day.

Soon after this feaſt, the abbot determined on an examination of the convent, and the ſtate and condition of its revenues and expences, and the proceedings of all its officers: he took to him, for aſſiſtants, two notaries, Richard Prior of Tynmouth, and John de Sullſull. He ſpent five days in making all proper inquiries, but compleated not the whole examination in three years, as well becauſe of the abſence of particular perſons as becauſe he thought a little diſſimulation neceſſary, fearing to diſcover too much. He therefore ſet himſelf to compile a tract (a), concerning the ſtatutes enacted in the general chapters of the order, and from the decrees of the legates Otho and Othobon. Theſe he digeſted in ſixteen articles, and ordained that they ſhould be recited in the cloiſter, that is, to the monks, three times in the year;—for, *aliquà erant notabiliter reformata:* one article taught the law and decrees againſt Symoniſts.

After ſome ſpace of time the abbot enters the chapter-houſe, in full aſſembly; and calls before him, by proclamation, the underwritten officers, or *obedientarii*, namely, Hugo de Langley, the *ſacriſt*; William de Wynſlowe, *coquinarius*; Richard de Heterſete, (or Herſeth as now called), *Almoner*; John de Woderone, *camerarius*; and John de Tywyng, *refectorarius*; and the crime laid to their charge was, that, in ſpite of the frequent admonitions of the abbot, they had neglected and refuſed to pay to him the tenths, which the king (now Edw. III.) had exacted of the abbot, and which had been granted by the clergy in convocation, during the vacancy on the death of abbot Hugo (b); and therefore, for their neglect, and obſtinate refuſal, he muſt now declare them depoſed from their offices, as the penalty held forth to them at firſt. He then declared them degraded from their ſtalls *(á ſtallis)*, in the choir, in the chapter, and in the refectory; placed

(a) Beginning thus, Auſcultate, obedientiæ filii, quæ ſtatuta gratis et appoſitè publicavit et ſanxcivit tenenda approbans, priuſquam voluit viſitationis ſuæ articulos publicare, ſciens et prudens, &c.

(b) Theſe were the taxes granted to the king, at the ſame time that others were granted by the Parliament.

in a ſtate of perpetual ſilence, rendered incapable of any office or any benefice whatſoever; and to continue in this condition, until, by humble penitence, they ſhould merit to have their puniſhments diſpenſed or removed. He farther enjoined them to abſtain from any communication with the brethren, until they ſhould merit the benefit of abſolution; and ordered them to undergo certain corporal diſcipline, every fourth and ſixth holyday. Richard II. the 28 h abbot.

On this, a great concern was viſible on the face of every one preſent: and, the abbot retiring to the parlour with the prior and ſome of the elder monks, he inveighed in ſtrong terms againſt the contumacy of the offenders: thoſe who were preſent undertook for them (a), that they would amend their conduct, and comply with the mandate of the church. The abbot then abſolved them from the ſaid ſentence, injoined a private and ſecret repentance, and directed them to make oath never to offend in the like manner again. From this day began a kind of combination, not to call it a conſpiracy, to riſe againſt the abbot: ſome wiſhed to depoſe him, ſaying, that the leproſy had ſeized him and was making quick progreſs on him; ſome wiſhed to ordain him coadjutor, or tutor: others contrived to ſubject both the houſe and the barony entirely to the king; but in hopes to have the care thereof committed to their hands: and, others, in order to create the greater tumult and diſturbance, were propoſing to take from him the daily pittances which were ſerved to his table from the monks' kitchen.

The abbot was not in the leaſt moved; but went on, with much ſeeming indifference, to rule and govern, or to yield and concede a little, as he ſaw neceſſary, and according to the reports which were brought to him; but gathering this leſſon of admonition, that, if he relaxed or diminiſhed any thing of the prelate, it would be with great diminution of the maſter. Yet, notwithſtanding this ſeeming tranquillity, he was long after heard to make a ſolemn proteſtation, that argued how much he had been ſecretly moved with chagrin, when he declared, in the preſence of the two priors and others, 'that he 'ſhould ever conſider thoſe, who ſhould attempt to impugn his ſtate 'and rank, or the privileges of the abbey which the king had 'given him to defend, as conſpirators againſt the ſtate and throne.'

He propoſed to the ſenior monks to make ſome grateful preſent to the keeper of the king's Privy Seal, named Richard de Byrclive (or Berkley): and, with their approbation and conſent, it was agreed to give four of their choice books, namely, their fine *Terence*, their

(a) Preſtitâ cautione.

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Virgil, their *Quintilian*, and *St. Jerom* contra Rufinum. This was done, with a view to future favour in their buſineſs with the king, as well as for ſervices already done: and, though theſe were ineſtimable books to a clerk, and the ſource of all conſolation to the church, yet it was allowed that he ſhould have power to ſell them. On this, one preſent ſuggeſted that they ſhould be ſold firſt, and the money given to Berkley. But, after a diverſity of opinion on the matter, and by communication with him, it was agreed to ſell him 32 of their books for 50l. To this the chapter conſented, and that the abbot ſhould retain a moiety of the ſum. When he received the money, he aſſigned, out of the ſame, 15l. to the refectorar, and 10l. to the coquinar, for the better diſcharge of their reſpective offices. The younger monks blamed this tranſaction, as bartering away the ſpiritual food, to ſerve the caſual exigencies of a carnal kind. However, this Berkley was afterwards made biſhop of Durham, and then he reſtored many of theſe books; and others were ſold by his executors to abbot Mentmore.

Richard was very minute in all inquiries made on his viſitation of the cells, and of the abbey's eſtates; and cauſed all the tenants and dependants to preſent themſelves before him, and acknowledge his rights and their duties.

At Redburn there had been a ſort of priory; though the monks were all on an equal footing, and lived in the vicarage-houſe; and it was rather conſidered as a place of receſs for the ſick than of devotion for the well and healthy. But now the abbot ordained, that three monks ſhould be here on duty for one month, and then be relieved by three others; and that, in going and coming, they ſhould be always conveyed in a handſome vehicle *(honeſtâ vecturâ)*, to be provided by the chantor and the camerarius.

The townſmen ſtill withſtood the rights of the abbot, and, when he held a view of frankpledge, or (as now called) a court-leet, they would neither enter the ſame, nor ſuffer the court to make and appoint the aſſize of bread and ale, as formerly: on which, the abbot directed his ſeneſchals, John de Munden, and Richard de Beliſhall (a), to appoint four conſtables for the reſpective wards of the town. He directed alſo, by his ſeneſchal, that the bailiff ſhould, every year, at the concluſion thereof, deliver to the treaſurer a fair and diſtinct liſt of the gaol delivery; of the chattels of felons; and of every tranſaction that paſſed under the green wax, which denoted the authority

(a) Theſe are ſtyled *Servientes in Banco*, that is, of great rank in the law.

of

of the court. He directed alſo, that no perſon detained in gaol (which at that time was indeterminate) ſhould be bailed, or delivered to Mainpriſe, without the conſent of the abbot; and not then, unleſs the offence was bailable; and, if it was, that the priſoner ſhould provide two, three, or more, ſureties, to be bound with him jointly and ſeverally in 10l. or 20l. each, that they would bring the priſoner into court on the day appointed; and that this obligation, or recognizance, ſhould be lodged in the hands of the abbot. The firſt ſtatute that directs and regulates bail was made in the ſecond year of Phil. and Mary; but this point of hiſtory ſhews the nature of bail before that time, and how rigorous it was when left to the diſcretion of the juſtice or judge. Richard II. the 28th abbot.

In his inquiries, the abbot found, that certain of the tenants of the abbey were bound, by their tenure, to find him a certain number of horſes for his journey, whenever he ſhould viſit Thynmount (a): that William de Harpsfield-Hall was liable to find him one horſe; John de London, in the Park of Idelſtre, one horſe; William atte Welde, one horſe; Matthew de la Veche, in the Park, one horſe; the vicar of St. Peter, according to uſage and cuſtom, one horſe; Lawrence of Aycote, for two tenements, two horſes; and the camerarius (by virtue of ſome land held by him) and John Aygnell, of Redburn, one horſe.

At this time died the prior, Robert Norton. And the abbot, having aſſembled the chapter on the third day after his burial, addreſſed the brethren in a ſet and formal ſpeech, ſetting forth the public loſs, &c. and recommending to their choice Nicholas de Flamſtede. The monks had never ſeen or known of ſuch a decency and formal advance towards any election; and ſome conſternation was viſible among them, as not knowing what was to follow. The abbot roſe, and proclaimed, that, if any man knew either crime or fault in Nicholas, they ſhould now declare it: a perfect ſilence enſued. The abbot then addreſſed Nicholas, and ordered the ſub prior and the arch deacon to ariſe, and conduct him, between them, to the ſide of the abbot. Nicholas pleaded his unworthineſs, and his incapacity, and ſtrove to be excuſed; and ſhewed more tokens of humility than of abſolute truth; but, before he could be heard, he was placed at the abbot's left hand. The abbot then addreſſed him in theſe words, 'Mr. Prior *(Domine Prior)*, I re-'commend unto you the care of all my brethren; that you will at 'all times be anxious for the ſafety of them, for the neceſſary honour 'of religion, and for the ſtrict obedience that is due to the rule of St. 'Benedict.' And, cauſing ſeveral of the provincial decrees to be

(a) Tynmouth.

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read, he added, 'If theſe men have lived, hitherto, in the obſervance of religion, it becomes them to be more obſervant for the future; becauſe you, O Holy Nicholas! are promoted to a ſtation of eminence, in order that, by your example, all others may receive inſtruction.'

This character was afterwards amply fulfilled: for, the moſt affectionate concord ever prevailed between this man and the abbot; and it was the wiſh of Richard to have the prior for his ſucceſſor.

The prioreſs of Sopwell, named Philippa, died; and, inſtantly, great cabalíng enſued among the ſiſters, who wiſhed to have the choice of a ſucceſſor; and in their minds they had fixed, with perfect unanimity, on one Alice de Hakeney. This coming to the knowledge of the abbot, (in whom alone was the power to make the prioreſs, without any conſent or leave of the ſiſters), he diſpatches thither the prior, with orders to appoint ſome other whom he might find qualified; accordingly, the prior went, and, calling a full chapter, proceeded to a nomination much after the manner in which he had himſelf been elected; and, to the diſappointment of the female council, he directed that Alice de Pekeſdene ſhould be prioreſs: and ſhe afterwards diſcharged the duty with great credit.

He thought it neceſſary, that every brother or ſiſter, hereafter admitted, ſhould repeat and ſign a certain form, or declaration, obliging them, if poſſible, to a conſtant remembrance of the oath they were taking of their perfect ſubmiſſion to chaſtity, poverty, and obedience. And this was the more requiſite, becauſe, by omiſſion, many of them were perſuaded, that they were under the profeſſion of no rule whatever. So neceſſary did he think it to guard and ſecure matters of great moment, by a punctilious obſervance of all the moſt minute circumſtances that precede or concern them. Ceremonies in religious worſhip may, of themſelves, and abſtractedly taken, be of no uſe and of no moral tendency; but, if conſidered as appertaining to the mental act, they are not only the expreſſion of that act, but they excite it, prepare the mind for it, and become alſo an uſeful example unto others.

There came to the abbey a company of the Franciſcans and Dominicans, with a requeſt to take confeſſions and to preach in his juriſdiction. The abbot thought ſome examination neceſſary, previous to his conſent; he therefore aſks one, whether he knew what were the caſes reſerved for the biſhop or abbot: the frier could make no anſwer, and manifeſted utter ignorance; *Qui idiota fuerat* (ſays Walſingham) *uti plerique ſunt qui confeſſiones audire mereantur.* The

abbot replies, 'Why, if you are ſo void of piety and knowledge, how 'do you know that you can give abſolution?' And the frier departed, not a little chagrined and mortified. For, the general exceptions were well known, and had been long (for bad memories) reduced, like *As in Preſenti*, to a few lines in verſe; thus

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Qui facit inceſtum, deflorans atque homicida,
Sacrilegus, patrui percuſſor, ſic ſodomita,
Tranſgreſſor voti, perjurus, ſortileguſque,
Et mentita fides, faciens incendia, prolis
Oppreſſor, blaſphemus, hereticus, omnis adulter,
Pontificem ſuper his omnis denotus adibit.

None of this confeſſional tribe ever came again to abbot Richard.

We may here ſee the policy of the Romiſh Church: for, by granting theſe mendicants a power and authority to take confeſſions, it enabled theſe holy beggars to live; and, by the exceptions, the popes ſaved the credit of religion; for, beſide theſe excepted crimes, there was very little to be either forgiven or confeſſed.

The townſmen, ever ſince the extorted grants from abbot Hugo, had aſſumed the title of burgeſſes; and were in ſome degree *ſui juris*. But, not content with impugning his civil authority, they became ſo alienated as to refuſe obedience in all ſpiritual matters. And, for want of the ſtrict hand of civil power, as formerly held over them, it was now notorious how profligate the morals of the people were grown, in the moſt audacious fraud and cozening, and in the moſt ſhameful commiſſion of adultery and uncleanneſs. Among the moſt conſpicuous offenders was one named Taverner; and the abbot determined to puniſh him, if poſſible; which might be done either in his court-leet or by his ſpiritual authority: two monks were ſent to ſerve on him the ſummons; and Walter de Amerſham, the abbot's mareſchal, or equerry, (a lay office), accompanied, in order to atteſt the ſervice. This being done, a violent fray enſued; Taverner ſtruck Amerſham; a vaſt crowd aſſembled, chiefly of women, and fell on poor Amerſham. He had reſiſted the firſt aſſault of Taverner with ſuch ſucceſs as to diſpatch and lay him proſtrate: but, fatal ſucceſs! the vengeance of the women overpowered the mareſchal, and he was killed. On this the townſmen roſe; and, ſeizing the two ſummoners, and one Maidford, and others who came from the abbey, hurried them all away to the king's coroner, then dwelling in the town. On which the coroner, named William de Band, and his companions, aſſigned to keep the peace of the king in the county of Hertford, gave it in expreſs charge to Richard de Pereres, the ſheriff of Hertford, that

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that he have, on a certain day named, the bodies of Maidford, and the two ſummoners now in gaol before them at Brantfield, to anſwer for the death of Taverner, and of Amerſham; and to bring thither alſo Richard, abbot of St. Alban, and Nicholas Broom, a monk, to anſwer on the ſame charge. They iſſued a precept alſo to the ſheriff, commanding him to ſummon 24 men of the liberty, and 24 of the town of St. Alban, *probos et legales homines*, by whom inquiſition might be taken and the truth known. The townſmen refuſed to obey, and ſaid they would not be joined with men out of their juriſdiction, nor ſhould the ſtrangers hold any communication with them, in ſuch inquiſitions. On the day appointed, the townſmen appeared, and produced a writ from the king in theſe words.

'Edward, by the Grace of God, to our beloved and faithful William de Band, &c. keepers of our peace in the county of Hertford, 'health. Whereas, in a certain writ indented between our beloved in 'Chriſt the abbot of St. Alban and the townſmen of the ſaid vill, con-'cerning divers diſſenſions there ariſing, and which writ, being made 'patent, we have appointed and confirmed, it appears, and among 'other things is contained, that the ſaid vill is a free borough, and 'the burgeſſes thereof have a jury of twelve men *(Duodenam)* from 'themſelves, ſo ordered that they ſhould have no commixture with 'ſtrangers, nor ſtrangers with them; with this exception, that when 'they themſelves ſhall plead or are impleaded, the cauſe ſhall go, by 'the kings writ, to the hundred court, as hath formerly ever been 'the uſage; we charge and command you, that in all inquiſitions of 'treſpaſſes and felonies committed in the ſaid vill, you allow the ſaid 'burgeſſes to uſe and enjoy the ſaid privileges, according to the tenor 'of the ſaid letters patent.'

The abbot alſo, on his part, produced the king's writ for ſetting at liberty the men impriſoned. The men of the hundred had aſſembled at Brantfield, and alſo thoſe (that is, ſuch as the ſheriff had ſummoned to ſerve on the jury) out of two of the adjoining hundreds; and, with wonderful applauſe of all theſe, was the writ heard. The townſmen were here greatly diſappointed and mortified: and, in fact, this arbitrary proceeding of the king vacated and rendered null their boaſted charter of privilege; and the countrymen of the hundred ſaw, with great pleaſure, the upſtart conſequence of the townſmen taken down: the men who had been indicted, and who were all tenants of the abbey, were thus ſet at liberty, without any form of trial. And this is an inſtance, among others in this reign, where the king interpoſed with a high hand, and perverted the ordinary courſe of law: for, though

though he might have pardoned theſe men after a trial and convic- Richard II the 28th abbot.
tion, yet he choſe to keep within very ſtrict bounds all the new powers which had been granted to the townſmen. The abbot alſo, and the archdeacon, who had been indicted as acceſſaries in the murder of Taverner, pleaded the King's pardon, and were diſcharged in their obligation to appear. But, at the end of ten days, the abbot indicted the townſmen before John de Cambridge and John Hay (a), judges, for the death of Amerſham, and of one Elye, whom the townſmen had aſſaulted and killed in a fray, two or three years before.

The townſmen now turned their thoughts very ſeriouſly to terms of concord; and, at their requeſt, a day was appointed for a conference, and an amicable compromiſe of all their differences. On the part of the abbot, there appeared Philip de Ayleſbury, the ſheriff of Bedfordſhire; maſter Richard Pereres; Richard Moncheſy; John de Cambridge, the ſeneſchal of the abbot: Sir William Symond, and John Slowmill, knights; John Polevn; and William Louth; John de Haye, the ſub-ſeneſchal; and eight others, principal men of the neighbourhood. On the other ſide appeared only one citizen of London, named Symon Fraunceys; and one ſerjeant at Law, named Thomas Lincoln. The ſubject was no ſooner opened than the townſmen renewed the claim of the handmills, and dwelt on this complaint with ſuch earneſtneſs and impudence that the buſineſs could not proceed. On that day nothing farther was done than to declare the right of the abbey, and to expoſe the inſolence and obſtinacy of the townſmen: and, on conſultation, it was determined to proceed againſt them by a bill, without any favor or affection (b). It was now the year 1331, when, on the 15th of September the king's juſtices, Roger de Gray, and John de Cambridge, began to hold their ſeſſion, called *trayle baſton*, at Hertford, for the whole county: a third judge was maſter Robert le Bouſter. Before which day the abbot provided a caſk of wine, and good ſtore of meat, fiſh, and other proviſions: he ſent his cellerer and ſome monks to prepare this, and to collect a quantity ſufficient for a week's conſumption, for the entertainment of the judges and the company aſſembled, who would chooſe to accept of hoſpitality at the priory.

The judges being ſeated in court, the king's letter patent was produced, addreſſed to the judges, and ſetting forth the ſundry and manifold grievances and injuries done by the townſmen to the abbey and monks. The bill of indictment, contained in the letter, charges the

(a) In thoſe times an indictment might be lodged with a judge, before it came to the knowledge of a jury.

(b) Per placitum ſine amore.

townſ-

Richard II. the 28th abbot.

townſmen with ſundry cruel aſſaults made on the ſervants of the abbot; with wanton impriſonments; with wilfull miſchief to any ſort of property belonging to the abbey; and with ſome very forcible extorſions made on the abbot, ſuch as threatening to cut off a ſervant's head, unleſs the abbot would enfeof a certain perſon in 50 acres of the land at Childwick: an exaction with which the abbot was forced to comply. The proof of theſe enormities was ſo full, that the townſmen made no defence, but petitioned to be fined only, and they would ſubmit. One part of the charge was againſt the coroner John de Murden; who, in taking an inquiſition on the murder of Amerſham, had betrayed a manifeſt partiality or a ſhameful fear of the perſons who were charged with that crime. A fine was impoſed on each perſon ſingly and ſeparately, with an injunction not to depart the court till ſecurity for payment was given, and not to approach the king's court, that is, to bring any complaint in future, until the fines were paid.

The handmills ſtill continued a ſubject of debate; and the townſmen pleaded, that they were poſſeſſed of thirteen for time immemorial, and ſpecified the particular houſes to which they were annexed: but, on a hearing before the judges, the verdict was given in favour of the abbot: that his mills ever had ground the corn, that former abbots were ſeized of this right, that the writ to incorporate did not diminiſh this right, and that it was appendant to him as lord of the manor, and was a general and common right attached in the like manner to other lords. On this, four of the townſmen came to the abbot and offered to rent one of his mills, and propoſed to give him 40l. a year rent, repair the ſame, and make the payments regularly at the four quarters of the year; and on this condition, they would give up the grant of all their liberties (a), and make void the ſame in the king's chancery and all his other courts; they engaged to grind at no other mill, except it was the article of malt, and for this they would continue to uſe the hand-mills. The abbot liſtened to this propoſal, and ſpoke fair; but intimated that they had cauſed great expence and coſts to the abbey, and he muſt aſk an indemnification of 200 marks, to be paid in five years. The parties here ſeparated, as it was neceſſary to conſider theſe terms; whether they could be accepted by the townſmen, on the one part, and whether the prior and officers, on the other part, would approve and abide by the ſame. On conſultation in private, the prior and ſub-prior, the precentor and arch-deacon, were ready to approve and promiſe performance on their part. One of the

(a) As obtained under abbot Hugo.

monks,

monks, named Richard de Pyrton, bethought himſelf of an expedient to quicken the treaty, and to bring the other party to concord. Accordingly he goes out, in the evening, to one of the leading men, (who, for divers ſmall offences, had made himſelf obnoxious to the law,) and, in ſecret, he adviſes him to conſult his own ſafety and make terms of ſome ſort, to avoid proſecution from the abbot; Pyrton told his mind very freely, ſome beginning was made towards a mutual confidence, and each undertook, at parting, to adhere to their opinions and their promiſes: the ſubſtance of this oblique treaty was ſoon known to all the confederacy. Richard II. the 28th abbot.

It was now the month of May, exactly one year after the atrocious murder of Amerſham, when the townſmen came to the abbot, and made a voluntary ſurrender of the charter that had given cauſe to all this diſcord. They gave up alſo a charter of confirmation obtained from Edward II. which, with ſome fraud and concealment, had comprehended certain grants very prejudicial to the Church, having been obtained in an artful and crafty manner. They gave up, beſide, another confirmation made by Edward II.; likewiſe one made by Edward III.; and alſo the arbitration made by the knights ſent by the king to make peace between the litigants. They gave up, at the ſame time, the perambulation of their borough, and all their other briefs and records whatever. They brought all the mill-ſtones, and depoſited them in the church, in token of renouncing for ever the right of grinding at home: and they preſented to the abbot the three keys and the cheſt itſelf, as a token of ſurrendering all their corporate rights, and to aboliſh entirely all the hopes and proſpects of a community, or body, in future. On this free and liberal ſubmiſſion, the abbot began to note them with words of reſpect and eſteem, and the interview ended with an invitation to dinner at the abbey: mutual preſents began to paſs and friendſhip to take place, all departing with perfect ſilence as to their own faults and miſdemeanours. The deeds were all ſent, by the abbot, to John biſhop of Wincheſter, then chancellor, to be kept and preſerved in the archieves of the chancery.

In this proſperous ſtate of the abbot's affairs, he thought it neceſſary to have, from the townſmen, a formal renunciation of all their former rights, privileges, and immunities, which they had extorted from abbot Hugo. This was drawn very full and comprehenſive, and enrolled in the common bench; and herein the townſmen renounce, for themſelves and their heirs, all private mills; and conſent to grind all their corn and malt (a), and to full all their coarſe

(a) Omnimoda blada et braſia.

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cloths, at the abbot's mills; and to pay for the ſame all the accuſtomed tolls and ſtallage, ſuch as had been uſually paid for time out of mind. This was ſigned by four or five of the principal men, and ſealed with their reſpective ſeals; and is dated in the ſixth year of Edward III.

During theſe commotions, the monks, and their tenants at Redburn, had refuſed to be aſſeſſed toward the fifteenth, which the convocation had granted to the king, and which was a tax on land and realty as well as on cattle and perſonals. Theſe men pleaded an exemption, founding the ſame on a deed, as ancient, they ſaid, as Edward the Confeſſor's time: but the abbot, on peruſing the ſame, ſoon diſcovered the forgery; for, it contained words and expreſſions not known in England, till the coming of the Normans (a), and the ſtyle was very unlike the Saxon, or Engliſh, uſed before that period. Being convicted of this fallacy, they departed, without any degree of that confidence or defence which truth ever inſpires; and the abbot ordered them to be excommunicated in all the churches of his juriſdiction, and the tax to be levied by the bailiff of the liberty. Here might follow a liſt of 63 names of perſons aſſeſſed to the tax, which was directed to be little more than 5l. on the whole manor and poſſeſſion of the abbot ſituate at Redburn; but I will ſelect only a few, in order to ſhew the deſignation of perſons, and the riſe and origin of ſurnames.

Of Adam de Beſteney (ſince Biſney),	6 marks.
Of John Botyler, —— ——	12 pence.
Of the land of William Purſleye,	11
Of Robert Atte Feld, ——	40
Of John Atte Chirche, ——	2
Of Emma Atte Grene, ——	12
Of Chriſt. Jacob Atte Ponde, ——	12
Of Thomas Atte Hache, ——	18
Of John Atte Dene, ——	11
Of Roger Chriſtmas, ——	12
Of Phe. Palmere, —— ——	12
Of Iſabella Atte Hulle, ——	12
Of William Atte Bekke, ——	6

The queen dowager Iſabella had dwelt at Langley ſince the time of king Edward the ſecond's death, and there held the manor, in grant

(a) Quando Idyoma noſtrum fuit corruptum.

from

from her ſon. The abbot diſcovered that a certain mill in that manor was uſed, in former times, to pay 20 ſhillings yearly to the abbey; and now, by proceſs of law, the queen was compelled to pay this rent, and all arrears ſo long as ſhe had the manor. It had been loſt to the abbey for many years, and was an inſtance, how inſecure was all landed property in thoſe days, by reaſon of the private alienations, ſecret demiſes, and fraudulent conveyances, which the rigor of the feudal law, and the high authority of the lords, put the tenants on practiſing. Richard II. the 28th abbot.

At this time the abbot obtained a reſtitution of a meſſuage of five acres of land at *Sandrugge*, which had been ſeized by the king's eſcheator, William de Truſſel, during a claim which the abbot of Weſtminſter made to it. This office of eſcheator was in great vogue, and of great utility in theſe ages; and this man ſtyles himſelf the king's eſcheator *citra Trentam*. When, by ſeizing for the king, he became a judge of the true right, he ſettled the property without much trouble; and in this caſe Truſſel, on peruſing the claims of each, in conſequence of a petition from Richard, decided in his favour and adjudged the eſtate to the abbey. In like manner the eſcheator had ſeized on the ſummer-houſe (a) of one John Purſer, ſtanding, he thought, too near the highway: on which, by petition of the abbot to the chancellor, the eſcheator is directed to make inquiſition (b) into the nuiſance; and find, who built it and when, and of whom held, and what is the yearly rent; and to return this verdict into chancery. This was done, and the ſummer-houſe adjudged to the tenant of the abbey, who had built it. The deciſion is dated thus, *Teſte meipſo apud turrim London. 21 Maii anno Regni noſtri* 12°. (1339) (c).

The attention of this abbot was not ſo wholly engroſſed by law-ſuits and external concerns, but that he gave much improvement to the inward government of the houſe. He directed, for the better ſupport of the monks table, an addition of 100 quarters of better malt to be provided, and 50 quarters of better corn than uſual, from the manor at Norton: he repaired the roof, and all other decayed parts of the monaſtery, in the firſt and ſecond years of his prelacy. He repaired alſo at that time the mills at Codicote and Laton, Moor-mill, and Park-mill (d), the latter he conſtructed anew, and enlarged the

(a) Solarium.
(b) By the oath of 12 men.
(c) Though this fact happened after Richard's death, it is related here, to illuſtrate the office and power of the eſcheator.
(d) *De mora et de parco*: ſtill in being.

Richard II the 28th abbot.

pool, or mill-dam, by raiſing the banks: he augmented the pool of the abbey-mill, after repairing the ſame; and the meadow adjoining the pool, called St. German's meadow, he raiſed. He cauſed the hedges, ways, and cloſes, about St. German's, to be repaired; and ſowed a croft there, of four acres, with acorns, intending to make a wood. He had ſown this land four years together, and never had a return of the ſeed again; but this year, after ſowing the acorns, he cauſed ſeven buſhels of ſeed to be thrown on the ground; and, in the following autumn, the crop was about ten quarters of very good wheat. This year is ſaid by my author (Walſingham) to have been fruitful in all the Chiltern, and this increaſe he conſidered as a prodigy of fertility, and that the abbot had not the like on any of the lands which he farmed. He rebuilt the mill at Stankfield, from the very foundation; built a new one, at the paſſage to Verulam; repaired a mill in or near the town, uſed for malt only; and raiſed the banks of the pool. He repaired alſo the manſion (a) at London; rebuilt the hall, chambers, kitchen, ſtables, and chapels; and augmented the rent, of the part leaſed out, 15 ſhillings. And, by the help of Richard de Hereſet, then almoner, he built a houſe and offices, within the monaſtery, for the future reſidence of that officer.

He laid the firſt ſtone of a new cloiſter (b), reaching from the abbot's chapel towards the great cloiſter. On this ſtone his name was inſcribed, with the year of Chriſt; and, under the ſame ſtone, he ſprinkled the foundation with ſmall relics, and ſome of the earth found with the bodies of Amphibal and his companions. He paid to the workmen, concerned in theſe employs, thirty ſhillings a week; and this he ſaved out of his income, by living in a very ſparing manner; for, otherwiſe, his rents would not have ſufficed, and he refuſed to borrow and encumber the barony. He cauſed alſo ſome repairs to be made to the farms at Tydenhangre; and he adorned the private chapel and chamber with ſome curious carved work. The remark of my author is, that, inſtead of expending money in theſe uſeleſs works, he ought to have paid the debt of the abbey: but it is a common fault, in the abbots of every great church, to leave

(a) This is called *Manerium*. The word manor is of Norman origin, and meant the Lord's abode, *Manoir*.

(b) This is probably the dark paſſage now remaining under the ſouth window, without the wall.

the

the burdens, incurred by former works, to their ſucceſſors; and to ſtudy new works, and often ſuch as are needleſs. Richard II. the 28th abbot.

He obtained of the king the royal licence to hold the church of Appelton, in Yorkſhire; without which licence, the Mortmain Act of Edward I. would have rendered it an impoſſible acquiſition.

In the ſixth year of his rule, he began to grow very weak and infirm, and was ſo far diſabled, by the progreſs of the leproſy, that he was thought incapable of doing his duty: and a monk of Abingdon, named Richard de Ildeſly, informed the pope of the ſame, in hopes to be elevated into his place, or appointed to be his coadjutor. The pope liſtened to the inſinuation, and directed a letter to the biſhop of Lincoln, requeſting farther information, 'for, he had heard that 'the abbot had loſt the organ of ſpeech, and was wholly unable to 'aſſemble with the ſound and healthy.' The biſhop immediately ſent to the abbey John de Offord, the dean of the arches, and Robert de Bromley, official, to fulfil this inquiry. The abbot, on hearing their buſineſs, diſpatched the prior inſtantly to the king at York, where he was then holding a parliament; and the prior repreſented what an injurious invaſion the biſhop of Lincoln was making on the rights of the abbey, and how falſe it was to ſuggeſt, as Ildeſly had done, that the abbey was ſuffering great loſſes, and that the buildings were all in ruins: he then preſented a petition in parliament, 'that 'the king's council, or ſome of the nobles, would inquire into the 'truth of theſe charges, and why the keeper of the king's privy ſeal 'ſhould affix the ſeal to a letter from Ildeſly to the pope, to begin 'this charge and accuſation.' The keeper, on being queſtioned, anſwered, he was ſo urged, preſſed, and ſolicited, by ſome great men, to ſeal ſuch a letter that he could not refuſe it. And it is probable this was an artifice of ſome courtiers to get poſſeſſion of the abbey's property.

It is not ſaid what ſteps the parliament directed to be purſued in conſequence of the petition, nor what reception or anſwer was given to the biſhop's meſſengers. But, on the return of the prior, the abbot ſent him to the chapter, to propoſe, from the abbot himſelf, a choice of a coadjutor, and named the prior, the arch-deacon, and two others, offering to appoint any one or two of them, as ſhould be moſt agreeable to the chapter; on which they made choice of the prior, and ſignified this to the abbot. Then it was thought neceſſary to write a letter to the pope, to ſtate the truth, &c. This being done, there was perfect peace and unanimity reſtored in the houſe.

But,

Richard II the 28.th abbot.

But, in the year 1335, in the month of May, and before he had finiſhed the ninth year of his elevation, the abbot died, and was interred, by the lord abbot of Waltham, in the preſbytery near his two predeceſſors.

He had made great proficiency, at Oxford, in the new ſtudies then become reputable, and excelled, as Leland writes, in arithmetic, geometry, and aſtronomy. As a ſpecimen of his ingenuity, he is ſaid to have invented a clock that was a miracle of art: it exhibited the courſe of the ſun and moon, the riſing and ſetting of the fixed ſtars and planets, the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, and, in ſhort, the figures, operations, and effects, of all the heavenly bodies. He had begun this clock early in life, and then neglected it; but, being encouraged to proceed by the king when at the abbey on a viſit, he reſumed the work, and this royal exhortation made him very diligent in the execution; for, he would ſay, 'though the abbey wants re-'pairs, my ſucceſſors may be able to build walls and mend tiling, but 'none, I believe, excepting myſelf, can ever finiſh this clock.' As we have no ſcientific deſcription of this piece of mechaniſm handed down to us, we can form no judgement of its merits, being ignorant of the principles that actuated the complex machine, and even of the materials whereof it was conſtructed: it would appear, however, to have been a maſter-piece for that age. He compoſed ſeveral writings that better declare his learning, though nothing more than the titles have come down to theſe times: he wrote of aſtronomical judgements, of demonſtrative ſigns, of the chord and arch, of the eclipſes of the ſun and moon, of the right angle, and of arithmetic and computation.

There were but four colleges founded at Oxford prior to Wallingford's time, namely, *Univerſity*, *Baliol*, *Merton*, and *Exeter*: yet the reſort to theſe new foundations of learning was very great, and, if we may credit Richard of Armagh, the number of ſtudents in Oxford, in Henry the third's time, was thirty thouſand; but, if we reject the literal ſenſe of theſe words, and allow them to mean only a great and unuſual number, the reaſon of it was owing to the ſtudious fame of the two new orders, and the emulation which ſprang up among the old. Theſe two orders had now been eſtabliſhed in England about a hundred years, and all the men of any note, who had appeared during that period, were either Dominicans or Franciſcans, as Roger Bacon, Alexander Hailes, Robert Groſthead, and many others; and this is very conſpicuous on beholding the many voluminous works, compiled by them, and ſince publiſhed, compared with ſuch

ſuch as iſſued from the monaſtic bodies. Now, the high pre-eminence, to which they had raiſed themſelves by their learning and public ſuperiority in all reputable ſcience, proved a powerful incentive to emulation in the ancient orders, and firſt ſuggeſted the deſign of ſending young men to the college then exiſting at Oxford, and, afterwards, of endowing new colleges both there and at Cambridge; for, it was ſoon found, that this deſire to excel could not be cultivated with effect in the monaſteries, becauſe the continual duty of the choir occupied their whole time, and allowed no vacant hours for private ſtudy; it was there thought enough, if the abbot and his higher officers had a little Latin, and ſuch farther inſtruction as enabled them to execute their office; and, if they had one or two monks, who could keep their journals in Latin, and occaſionally write a letter in Latin to the pope, it was all that was thought neceſſary or attainable. Richard II. the 28th abbot.

This difficulty, of uniting the monaſtic diſcipline with a courſe of cloſe ſtudy, was a ſubject that ſtruck the attention of ſome of the great men about Henry the Third: and accordingly Walter de Merton, then chancellor of England, founded a college at Oxford in 1264, two or three years after Baliol, King of Scots, had founded another college; and about the ſame time, (viz. 1257,) Hugo de Balſam, prior of Ely, and then biſhop, founded *Peter-Houſe*, the firſt college in Cambridge, and afterwards modelled this new endowment on the plan of Merton. They were inſtituted in the time of Henry the Third, with a view to train up young men for the *offices* in the abbeys, and to give them that tincture of ſcience which the abbey could not teach, and which the two orders only were found to poſſeſs. This emulation received countenance from Edward the firſt, and the two next kings, all of whom gave more encouragement to the new learning than to the old monkiſh orders (a): nor was the ſpirit, which the ſucceſs and fame of the friers had excited, confined to the monaſteries, it ſtimulated other generous patrons to endow colleges, and was the chief cauſe of the many new foundations that were made by the biſhops and others, in the reign of the three firſt Edwards; inſomuch, that, at the death of Edward the Third, in 1377, there were ſeven colleges built and endowed in Oxford, and ſix in Cambridge.

(a) It had been the cuſtom for two centuries back, and of courſe long before the new orders exiſted, to fetch even the engineers, and managers of the warlike machines then in uſe, from among the religious, who poſſeſſed all the learning of their time: but the old orders could no longer furniſh fit perſons, and the Franciſcans had now the preference in ſupplying them, becauſe they excelled both in abſtract ſcience and in all the arts of utility.

But,

Richard II. the 28th abbot.

But, beſide the royal favour, and this rivalſhip for fame, there was yet another cauſe which operated very powerfully in promoting theſe foundations and endowments: for, it is to be remembered, that the ancient channels of liberality and charity to the monks were ſtopped and ſhut up by the ſtatutes of Mortmain, and colleges became the prevailing objects of benevolence and piety. Theſe ſeminaries were ſoon overſtocked, and the monaſteries could not employ all that were fit; then the reſt were tranſplanted into the country churches, and became the ſecular clergy and the new endowed vicars.

The Benedictines, throughout England, rouſed by the motives I have mentioned, partook of the general ſpirit, and contributed largely to the maintenance of the ſcholars at the univerſities. In Edward the Second's time, the monks of Durham built and endowed *Durham College*, to train up their youth to be ſeculars or regulars (a): the monks of Glouceſter, then alſo, built *Glouceſter College* for the ſame uſes, and it was afterwards enlarged, by licence of Mortmain, for other houſes of the Benedictines, among which our abbey of St. Alban was one (b): *Canterbury college* was likewiſe founded and built, by Iſlip the archbiſhop, to educate youth for the ſupply of the abbey and cathedral at Canterbury, called Chriſt Church (c): theſe three were at Oxford. And, in the reign of Edward the Fourth, a prior was conſtituted, in a provincial chapter of their order, to overlook and direct the ſtudies of their youth in the univerſity of Cambridge.

It has been generally thought, and always ſaid, that the monks were poſſeſſed of all the learning of their times. Now this can be true only of the times prior to the eſtabliſhment of the frier-preachers and minors, or black and grey friers; for theſe ſoon eclipſed all the monks, and left them with no other learning than ſome Latin, to enable them to underſtand what they chaunted, and a little more for their accounts and their correſpondence: or, if ſome of the higher officers, and a few of the prieſts, had a tincture of ſcience, ſtill the great body of the monks were void of all inſtruction, except muſic, which was the only ſtudy either taught or uſed in the monaſteries;

(a) This college fell at the general ſuppreſſion; but, after lying in ruins ſixteen years, it was re-endowed, in 1555, by Sir Thomas Pope, and then newly called *Trinity College*. Monaſt. II. 344.

(b) See more concerning this college in the life of John Wheathampſtead, the 33d abbot, book VII.

(c) The famous John Wickliffe was here choſen ſecond warden; but, being elected by the ſecular ſcholars and not by the regulars, he and they were diſplaced by archbiſhop Langham, and the monks put in their room. Wickliffe, while here, was tutor to Geoffrey Chaucer.

whereas

whereas the two orders not only diſtinguiſhed themſelves in all ſcrip ture learning and the favourite ſcience of canon law, but cultivated every branch of knowledge then known; and we may ſee the whole extent of their erudition by the liſt of the ſciences they deemed liberal, which were ſeven in number, namely, grammar, rhetoric, logic, muſic, arithmetic, geometry, and aſtronomy. Yet, narrow as this field is in compariſon with our preſent acquiſitions, it is wonderful to behold with what penetration, and acuteneſs, and ſubtle enquiry, they ſearched into the receſſes of nature, and with what fanciful ingenuity they raiſed new queſtions when demonſtration and proof failed. But, though their labour may be commended, and their zeal applauded, they erred from the truth, by beginning to build on the falſe foundation of Ariſtotle and Ptolemy's Almageſt. Such was the learning in vogue when Wallingford was public reader of divinity at Oxford; at which place, and from the friers, he doubtleſs learned his mechanic knowledge and geometric ſcience. But that the preaching friers, both at home and abroad, were the moſt celebrated ſcholars in the laſt age, in this, and the next, will manifeſtly appear to any who ſhall peruſe the Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory of Dupin, and the Antiquities of Caniſius, and the Continuation of Dugdale.

Richard I. the 23th abbot.

Edward I. had contributed other means, beſide the two ſtatutes already noticed, to curb the power of the pope and avaricious temper of the clergy, whom he thus endeavoured to make ſubject and obedient to him: for, he repeated and improved the Mortmain Act by three or four more, in order to obviate, with ſilent but ſure effect, the many devices, by which the clergy ſtill found means, though with a fraud, to be gaining eſtates, as by taking them in truſt for the owner, for certain purpoſes and uſes, and in a way of accounting to him, or with a pretence and engagement to provide for his children, &c.: theſe devices were conſiderably checked, though the clergy and dying teſtator called ſuch checks profane and wicked; but, as this was a military reign, ſuch proceeding of the king was prudent, in order to keep up, and prevent the utter loſs of, the military aid: and, at length, this cloſed that immenſe gulph, in which all the lands of England were likely to be ſwallowed up. In the time of Edward III. paſſed the ſtatutes of *Præmunire*, calculated to depreſs the civil power of the pope, and to break, if poſſible, the connection with Rome. Another very politic act of this Edward was to inſtitute vicarages, and thus encourage a laborious parochial clergy, endowing the ſame out of the ſwoln poſſeſſion of the regulars: for, though it was impracticable to deprive theſe bodies of lands or of tithes by force,

Richard II. the 28 h abbot.

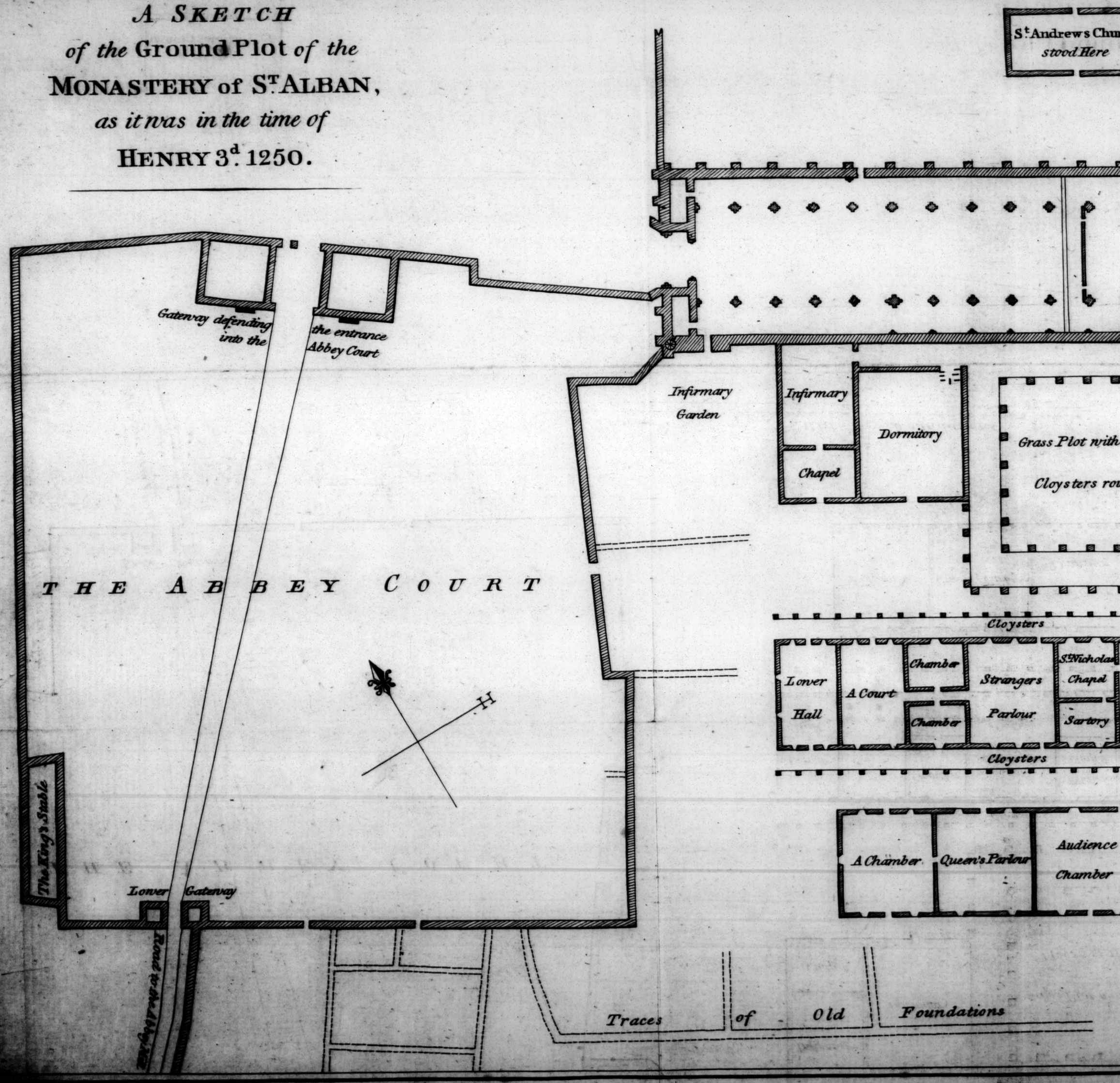
yet they would conſent to endow a vicar, and provide for his reſidence, on condition he was one of their body; but, on other terms, or to ſuffer the patronage to paſs from them, they ſtill refuſed.

The ſtrict hand which the Edwards held over the regulars, and the great increaſe of academic foundations in the two univerſities, kept this branch of the clergy in their proper bounds; and, for theſe reaſons, we find no mention of them in a public and general character, or, as taking any part in the government of the kingdom, and interfering in the functions of royalty. They now were not heard, except in ſome ineffectual oppoſition they made to the king's demand of aid; and their private government was ſo quiet and regular that very little novelty happened among them.

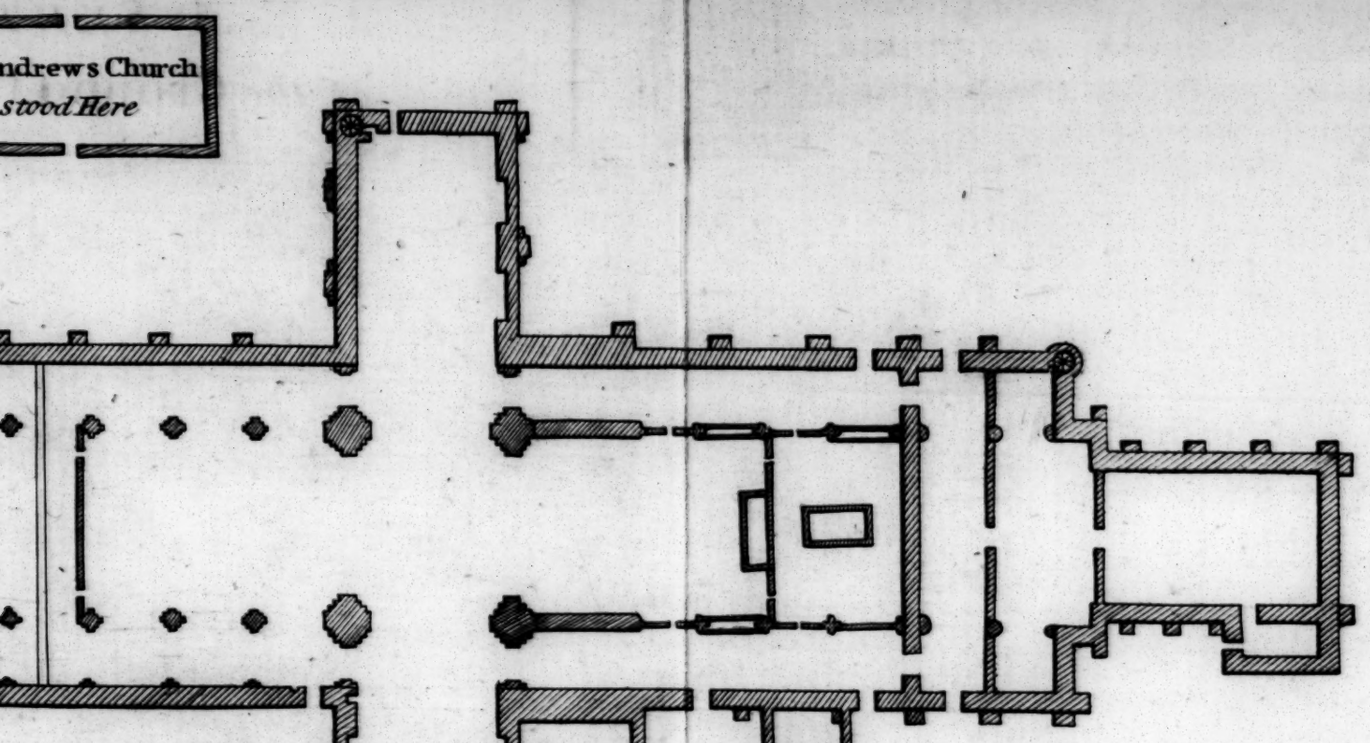
Such was the uniform and peaceable ſtate of this abbey, except when interrupted by the diſputes with the townſmen, which, indeed, laſted long, and were carried on with much animoſity. In theſe conteſts, it is obſervable, that ſkill, management, temper, and ancient cuſtoms, were on the ſide of the monks; while perſeverance, numbers, impetuoſity, and the ſpirit of freedom (then ſpreading faſt), befriended the townſmen. Both parties, however, as their ſcale preponderated, outraged juſtice; the people by open violence, and the monks by favour and ſecret perverſion. For, when at length the former carried their point, they were intoxicated with their ſucceſs, and could not enjoy their new condition with temper and moderation; and the monks, on the other hand, were ſtill ready to reſume, in the hour of proſperity and court-favour, whatever they had prudently given up in times of trouble and of tumult. Thus, after abbot Hugo, yielding to the preſſure of circumſtances, had granted the townſmen a charter of all their demands, they ſet no bounds to their licentiouſneſs, and conducted themſelves in a manner ſo wanton and ſo lawleſs, that, when the firm hand of Edward III. had reſtored domeſtic peace and good order, they furniſhed Wallingford, not only with an opportunity of puniſhing the evil doers, but with a pretext for depriving the borough of many of the privileges that had been conceded by Hugo. In ſhort, though we may diſcern the rudiments of liberty in theſe exertions, they were ſo disfigured by violence, and the advantages gained ſo fluctuating, that it is obvious the principles of civil freedom were then but little underſtood: and, though we know, from co-eval circumſtances of great moment, that the middling ranks of men were riſing into conſequence, and the loweſt claſs began to be emancipated, yet the Engliſh form of government, at the period we treat of, was but a rude and imperfect caſt of the admired and matchleſs conſtitution which we enjoy at this time.

End of Part I.

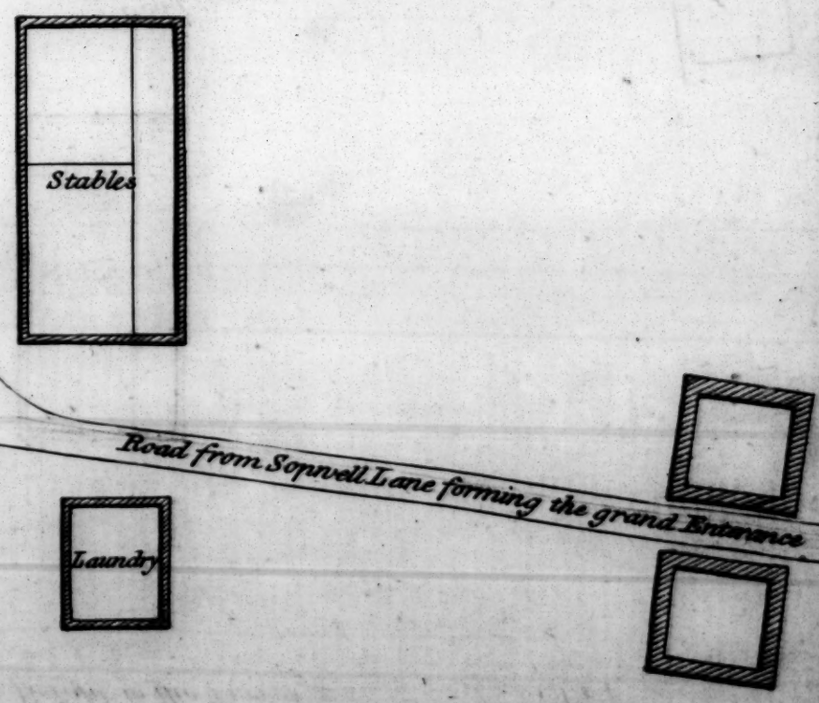
A SKETCH
of the Ground Plot *of the*
MONASTERY of S^T ALBAN,
as it was in the time of
HENRY 3^d. 1250.



ndrews Church
stood Here



	Feet
Extreem Length of the Abbey	550
Extreem Breadth	217
Height to the Turret	144



Scale of Feet.
10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

PART II.

CHAPTER VI.

Michael Mentmore.

Michael, the 29th abbot.

ON the tenth day after the burial of Richard, *Michael de Mentmore* was elected abbot. He was deſcended of reputable honeſt parents (living at a village named Mentmore, in the vale of Ayleſbury), who gave him a good education at Oxford, and probably among ſome of the Benedictine ſcholars: when maſter of arts, he was admitted, by abbot Hugo, to be a monk in this abbey, where he lived in the good opinion and eſtimation of all, but never was placed in any office. As ſoon as elected he haſtened to the king's chancellor, at Nottingham, who was the archbiſhop John Stratford, the king then being in Scotland and at a great diſtance. In Auguſt he ſet forward to the pope, and, having been well received and his papers of election approved, he returned in winter.

Michael, the 29th abbot.

His attention was wholly employed in deviſing rules and orders for ſuſtaining and advancing the honour of the monkiſh life, and in particular of the Benedictine order; and this he did in conſequence of a general chapter of all the monaſteries here in England, held about this time at Northampton. He ordained that the monks ſhould be divided at the time of dining, one half to dine at the gate-way, while the other were dining in the refectory, and thus alternately; but this was to take place, on thoſe days only when they were to eat fleſh: and he directed that the conquinar ſhould, on thoſe days, provide two good courſes. The reaſon of the firſt order doth not appear; but the ſecond was neceſſary, from the very ſcanty diet which they had on the fiſh-days. He made ſome other regulations, for the benefit and advantage of the ſtudents at Oxford, and for the diſtribution of the alms at the gate. He directed that all the great officers of the houſe ſhould give the treaſurer twenty ſhillings yearly, out of their reſpective allowances, in conſideration of his extra-expence on the day of a great maſs. He ordered likewiſe that the refectorer ſhould give to the treaſurer eight ſhillings, for two quarters of wheat, due yearly from the manor of Childwick; which two quarters had been purchaſed formerly by archbiſhop Maryns (John IV.) of William Beneyn and his heirs, who had purchaſed the ſame of Geoffrey de Childwick when he had uſurped this eſtate. He appointed alſo three collectors, to gather the rents and prevent arrears; and here he recovered 7s. 8d. of John Atte Hill of Oxeye, for one field held by him, above the old rent.

He ordained it as a rule, that a ſtipend of 20s. yearly be allowed to the prior, 13s. 4d. to the precentor, 10s. to the ſub-prior, to the ſuccentor and to each of the ſcrutators 6s. 8d. and to each of the monks 3s. 4d; theſe to be annually allowed, in conſideration of their poverty, and of their neceſſary charges at great feſtivals: but to the other officers nothing was allowed. He directed ſome amendment to be made to the comforts of the dormitory, (where they never had ſufficient clothing on their beds,) by allowing them rugs and night-caps (a). He alſo enacted it as a perpetual rule and law, that no prior, or any other officer, ſhould be the proctor of another, or executor of any perſon defunct, or take on him any kind of office under an order from the king, without the conſent and conſultation of the abbot and chapter. He directed that none of the younger

(a) Pelliceas et caputias.

priefts

prieſts ſhould attend, to bear the cenſers and the wax lights, if there were nine of the monks preſent. Michael, the 29th abbot.

It was alſo provided, with the conſent of the chapter, that the maſter of the infirmary ſhould receive an addition to the money allowed him, and this out of the tithes of Sandridge; that the almoner ſhould be allowed more, and this from the lands of Tydenhangre beyond the water, and likewiſe more from the manor of Apſa (a), and ten acres of land at Colney, and from nine acres ſituate in divers crofts near the manſion of Sopwell, and of the crofts lying within the incloſure of that meadow, and from a meadow lately acquired, and from other lands there, (excepting the lands of Gylefeld), and from four acres of land called Leneynlond. Likewiſe the Almoner (theſe are the words) 'Shall take all the 'tithe from the way which leads from to the grange of the 'cell; and ſo, as far as Colney; and ſo, from the higher Colney 'as far as the demeſne lands of Park; and ſo as far as the water 'which leads to Park mill; and ſo by the river which leads to Stank-'field-mill, together with Leneynlond; and from the land which, 'before the Exchange, belonged to the infirmarer, and was called 'Gardineſlond.' And here is the firſt ſeparation and diſtinct allotment of that portion of tithe, which, at the diſſolution, went to the crown, with all the other eſtates, and was granted, by Edward VI. together with the eſtate of Tydenhangre, to Sir Thomas Pope. This allotment to the almoner ſhews how extenſive their gifts and donations were, to ſtand in need of ſo large an augmentation: and my author gives this valediction to the appointment, *Valeat iſta ordinatio, et inconcuſſa remaneat.*

This abbot, as hath been ſaid before, made many new conſtitutions, among which he inſtituted ſome for the leprous brethren at St. Julian's, who, before, living under no rule or regulation, grew to be a nuiſance to their neighbours and a ſcandal to themſelves. He framed rules for the better government of the nuns of Sopwell; and theſe remained long in uſe, and in eſtimation.

It had happened, in the laſt year of Wallingford's life, that he had been in extreme want of money; and, to relieve himſelf and abbey, he ſold or pawned eight ſacks of wool, in the winter, to one Thomas Gentylcors and Chriſtina Puff his wife, for 200l.; and gave a bond for the ſame to Thomas, promiſing to pay the money before

(a) Napſbury.

Michael, the 29th abbot.

the Michaelmas following. This the abbot Richard performed, and took back the wool; but the bond, or obligation, by neglect was left with Gentylcors. And, on the death of Richard, the bond is produced, and demand of payment made, by that man and his wife, —with many threats of indemnifying themſelves. In this perplexity it was in vain to plead the negligence of Richard or of his officers, ſome of whom could atteſt to the faithful performance of his contract. Michael was forced to compromiſe and to agree, under hand and ſeal, to give yearly, to one William Puff, a penſion of 20 ſhillings, and one robe of the ſort worn by the clergy, or 20 ſhillings in lieu thereof; and this to hold until Michael ſhould provide for the ſaid William ſome benefice, which William ſhould think fit for his acceptance. This agreement and covenant being made and ſigned, Michael ſent a truſty monk to Thomas to demand the bond. Thomas refuſed to deliver it, or to permit the monk to read, or to inſpect it; but held it in his hand, and, after much argument and plea on the part of the monk, threw the paper into the fire. From this circumſtance, and as the monk ſaw no marks of a bond, he concluded the ſame to be a counterfeit, framed in pretence by this foreigner Gentylcors.

In this abbot's time another fraud was committed by one William Attepenn of Barnet, who had forged writings, for himſelf and for many others, pretending that the lands and tenements, held by them in Barnet and in South-Mymes, had been made free by ſome former abbot. But, on inſpection of theſe deeds, they were all found ſo much alike in the writing, and to have been ſmoked in the chimney, to give them an air of antiquity, and in this very trick to reſemble each other ſo exactly, that a ſuſpicion aroſe of their falſehood; and this was confirmed, when it appeared that, in the regiſter of acts and deeds, no ſuch tranſaction as an enfranchiſement had been allowed. The abbot brought an action againſt the parties, and obtained a verdict and judgement; and Michael, by order of the judge, gave them a new admiſſion to their tenements.

The prior of Ryſhmead, in Bedfordſhire, had complained, by his attorney, againſt Adam Flann of Newenham, that he unjuſtly withheld the manor of Caldecot, near Aſhwell, from him, the ſaid prior. To which Flann anſwered, that he held the ſame of the abbot and church of St. Alban; and this began to alarm Michael; but it was found that Hugo had granted this manor to Flann during his life;

and

and the prior, finding ſtrong evidence againſt him, withdrew his claim, &c. This was in the 14th year of Edward III. Michael, the 29th abbot.

In the 15th year of Edward, a great diſpute and contention aroſe between the vicar of St. Peter's, named William Puff, and the infirmarer; each claiming the offerings made at a new croſs, which had been erected in the church-yard by Roger Stoke, and carved with his own hand, and under which he had been interred. The vicar had taken theſe oblations, and the infirmarer claimed, under a grant and ancient ordinance, which allowed him all the offerings made at that church, as well as the great tithes of the pariſh. The parties were both cited into the conſiſtory, held in the abbey-church; where, after much argument, the vicar was condemned for unjuſtly detaining the oblations, and directed to pay 40 ſhillings to the infirmarer.

About this time, a demand was made on the abbot from the king's exchequer, that he ſhould pay a certain ſum, on knighting the king's eldeſt ſon, and marriage of his eldeſt daughter; and that the manor of Greenbury, in the county of Bucks, ſtood charged with the payment. The abbot reſiſted this claim, and, the king's treaſurer failing in proof, the abbot demanded a writ, ſetting forth the exemption.

The ſouth wing of the church had been in a ruinous ſtate, and in great want of repair, for 20 years paſt; and it was now undertaken, and reſtored to a ſound ſtate, together with part of the cloiſter, by the encouragement of Michael, and the ſkill of the ſacriſt.

This abbot finding he could not enjoy any repoſe at his manſion of Tydenhangre, by reaſon of the great concourſe of people, who, both going and coming from London, would turn from the road, to pay their duty to my lord the abbot, he repaired a manſion, called Bradelkey, on another part of the ſame manor, and built a chapel, hall, chambers, and kitchen; he erected a bakehouſe and a great gate; and incloſed the whole with a wall.

In the time of this abbot, the archbiſhop of Damaſcus (named Hugo, and of the Greek Church,) came to this abbey, and in his devotions and thanks, he ſet up three images, that of the Virgin, another of Thomas Becket, and a third of St. Oſwyn, in the ſouth wing, then newly rebuilt; for the repair amounted to almoſt a new conſtruction. He alſo provided and dedicated two great bells, in the room of one which had been broken in ſounding the curfew; this bell had been called Amphibal; and another, called

Alban,

Michael, the 29th abbot.

Alban, was re-caſt by the ſkill of Adam Wancaſtre the ſacriſt, and well known in the days of Walſingham for its melodious ſound (a).

Michael preſented many books to his church, namely, two good bibles, one for the uſe of the choir, and the other for the abbot's ſtudy. He gave alſo one ordinal, very beautiful to the eye, and very coſtly in the ornamental part; likewiſe a very fine pſaltery for the uſe of the choir; and many other books, all inſcribed with his name. He gave alſo to the church a very beautiful veſtment, of a ſcarlet ſtuff commonly called Taffety, powdered with archangels in gold, with work of embroidery; and for which he paid twenty marcs ſterling. A brother, John de Bulſille, made an offer to purchaſe this robe: but died before the bargain was made, leaving, by will, a ſufficient ſum for the purpoſe; and the abbot took the money and delivered the robe to the executor.

In Michael's time, a knight, named Ralph Weedon, came to reſide in the monaſtery, being aged, and very infirm; and promiſed to make recompence, by giving to this abbey, in pure alms, his manor of Heymondſcote (b). But, as it was difficult to convey eſtates and appropriate to the clergy, by reaſon of the Mortmain laws then in being, he conveyed it over to a friend of the abbot's, one Henry Green, a man ſkilled in the laws; who, after the death of Weedon, ſold the manor for 500 marcs, and gave the ſame to the abbey, as the only way of being benefited by Weedon's generoſity.

In his time alſo, a certain lady, named Dame Parnel de Banſtede, made an offering of ſeveral valuable articles; namely, a round altar cloth, adorned with jaſper ſtones below, and ſurrounded with a border of ſolid ſilver. This lady, bearing good affection to the ſaint, deſired to depoſit, in the cuſtody of the abbot, all her rich plate and other valuables, at this ſpecial time, when the county of Hertford (for ſhe lived near this town) was very much harraſſed with robbers, and frequent outrages were heard of as committed by the king's diſbanded ſoldiers. Accordingly, leave being given, Parnel fills a huge cheſt with gravel and lead, and cauſes the ſame to be conveyed through the town, on a market-day, to the monaſtery. Here it was received in due form, and put under the ſpecial charge of the treaſurer. At length, when the country was ſafe, and the ſoldiers gone to the wars, the lady comes and demands her cheſt, and, having

(a) Sonoritate commendabilis.
(b) Probably Harmandſworth near Colnbrook.

called

called together the chief perſons of the houſe, ſhe opens it in their preſence, and utters this rebuke and caution, 'I have nothing here 'but gravel and lead; and I have done this to deceive the robbers; 'but it behoves you never to take a depoſit without a witneſs to 'its value: for, was I falſe, I might now charge you as the 'robbers.'

Michael, the 29th abbot.

In his time, queen Philippa was delivered of a ſon at Langley, and Michael was not only invited, but choſen to baptize this infant. He ſtood in ſo high eſtimation among the courtiers and nobles, that they thought his hands would convey with the bleſſing a more peculiar degree of ſanctity and merit. The child was named *Edmund de Langley*, and the earls, John de Warren and Richard de Arundel, were the ſponſors. The queen, after due time, (*expletis ſolenniis purificationis*), came to the abbey, and there made an offering of a cloth of gold of great value.

The very ſtrict diſcipline in which the monks were held may be perceived by the following inſtance. At Tinmouth, a monk had adminiſtered the *viaticum* (as the ſacrament was then called) to a ſick woman, at her requeſt, without leave of the vicar of the pariſh. The prior rebuked him for this preſumption, by which he incurred a ſentence of excommunication; the monk confeſſed and begged pardon. This availed nothing, and he was ſuddenly diſpatched to this abbey, where he was told, that nothing could procure him abſolution but the pope's grace; and, until that arrived, he muſt ſubmit to a ſentence of penance, to wit, 'that he muſt be confined in one of the 'chambers of the infirmary, and remain in ſolitude, having his food 'brought to him by a little boy; and, when it was neceſſary to 'give him a change of air, that he ſhould be allowed to walk in the 'garden at a certain time, but only at ſuch hours as nobody was 'preſent, and no converſation could paſs.'

It was now the year 1349, and a peſtilential diſorder had appeared in the country, and the abbot was one of the firſt who felt the direful effects of that putrid corrupt air which was bringing with it the ſeeds of death. It was Maundy Thurſday, when Michael had done the duty of the choir in perſon; and, on this day, the ſervice was long, being the great maſs, and attended with the ceremony of waſhing the feet of the poor. This token of humility, and moſt humiliating labour of love, the abbot had performed; and, retiring to reſt, he complained of pain and ſickneſs. This confined him to his bed; and, increaſing on him, finiſhed his life on the tenth day, when he was called away from the fallacies of this world to the truths

Michael, the 29th abbot.

and ſubſtantial realities of the next,—from darkneſs to the true light.

The abbot of Waltham was called to perform the laſt obſequies, and Michael was interred on the Thurſday in Eaſter week. This peſtilence was very mortal; for, beſides thoſe monks who died in the cells, the number who died here about this time was not leſs than *forty-ſeven*, and theſe ſome of the moſt pious and holy men of the houſe. 'There never appeared a man,' ſays Walſingham, 'of greater 'humility, piety, juſtice, and integrity; and, as was ſaid of Moſes, 'none ſo mild and gentle: and his death would have been greatly la-'mented, had he left brethren behind him; and the loſs irreparable, 'had not ſuch a man as Thomas de la Mare ſucceeded.'

Thomas de la Mare.

Thomas I. the 30th abbot.

This Thomas was deſcended from very reſpectable parents, and connected by blood to many great families. His father was Sir John de la Mare, knight, and his mother was Joanna, the daughter of Sir John de Herpsfield, knight. As relations of his father, there were reckoned, Sir William Montecute, an earl; Sir William de la Zouch, lord of Haryngworth; Sir Thomas Grandiſon, knight; and maſter Thomas Grandiſon, biſhop of Exeter; all very conſpicuous men and illuſtrious characters. Beſide many relations of the ſame name, he had affinity with many knights, then rich in fortune, and of high military rank, as Sir Richard de Haveryng, John de St. Leger, John Argent, and Thomas Baſingborne (a).

The father and mother had iſſue three ſons and one daughter; and they all made choice of a religious life. They had an uncle by the father's ſide, named William, who had been bred among the canons regular at Miſſenden, and who had been choſen abbot. But the brother of Thomas, named Richard, entered among the religious at Thetford; John took the vow at this abbey; and the ſiſter, named Dionyſia, became a ſiſter and nun at the hoſpital of St. Pree.

(a) He was probably a near relation of Sir Peter de la Mare, ſaid to be the firſt ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons. See *Louth's Life of Wickham.*

Thomas

Thomas had received ſome tincture of grammar-learning while a boy, though we know not where; but, as ſoon as he could judge for himſelf, he came to abbot Hugo, and begged to be admitted. He is ſaid to have been a youth of extraordinary beauty; and, without much examination or enquiry, the abbot was ſo pleaſed with the ingenuity and plain countenance of the lad, that he conſented, and ſent him away to the cell at Wymondham, there to begin his monaſtic career, with directions there to aſſume the habit, and ſtay until he was ſent for hither. At Wymondham, he devoted himſelf to a ſtudious regularity and obſervance of all the rules and cuſtoms; and, though attentive to learn every thing, he ſhewed himſelf chearful among his brethren, and, at the ſame time, humble, patient, and quiet. But Hugo died while Thomas was in this ſtate of diſcipline, and he received the benediction and made the profeſſional vow before abbot Richard. In that cell he applied himſelf to learn the art of rhetoric(a), and made ſuch progreſs therein, that, for the future, he could dictate or write letters, without any faults, even to the pope himſelf. He acquired a great degree of ſkill in this art; and, by this practice in it, he was thought the moſt worthy to be made abbot. He had been monk ten years when Richard Wallingford died: and Michael, hearing of the fame of Thomas, thought him a fit man to bear an office in the abbey. He accordingly ſent for him, and appointed him one of his *bajuli*, or table-companions and privy counſellors. And here, the brethren requeſting to have a coquinar, or ſteward, to direct and ſuperintend their table, on a complaint from the former coquinar and his deputy, that they knew not how to get a ſupply of victual, the abbot appointed Thomas to the office of ſteward, and the keys were delivered into his hands. He performed the duties thereof for one year with great credit and ſatisfaction, and was then appointed cellerer; and, the prior of Tinmouth dying ſoon after, Thomas was ſent thither, to take the government of that houſe. There he ſuffered great vexations and troubles, in endeavouring to recover the manor of Hanſlow, then unjuſtly ſeized and detained by Gerard de Wythington (b), a potent knight in the north. This man uſed the moſt audacious threats againſt Thomas, and once plotted an ambuſcade, in order to aſſaſſinate him. But this outrage made the gentry more favorable to Thomas; and the Lady Mary Percy, ſiſter of Henry duke of Lancaſter and the relict of lord

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(a) Ad ſciendam retoricam.

(b) Perhaps the *Withrington* of martial fame in the north, and celebrated in *Chevy Chace*.

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Henry Percy, ſupported him, with promiſes of aid from her tenants: ſhe ſent to him all her jewels, with an order to raiſe ſoldiers if neceſſary. The cauſe of Thomas gained to it more friends daily, and the iniquities of Gerard became more known; for, he had certainly killed a man ſome time before, though it eſcaped any farther notice. At length, he ceaſed his perſecution againſt Thomas, and yielded up the manor.

About this time, when Edward was fighting at Creſſy, in the year 1346, David le Brus, king of Scotland, invaded England; and the Scots being led by a bold commander, named William Douglas, this man ſends a meſſage to the prior *to prepare a breakfaſt for him and his men for two days*, intending hereby to terrify the prior. But, in a few days, this commander was made priſoner, and conducted to the priory, when the prior accoſted him with much civility, and declared himſelf 'never more pleaſed or honoured than to have ſuch 'a gueſt at ſuch a time.'

Ralph Neville, then keeper of the marches, intended to ſend all the Scots priſoners to Tinmouth, under pretence of confining them there in the caſtle, but, in reality, to eat up the prior and live on the church. On this, Thomas haſtened away to the king, who was juſt arrived at Langley, and petitioned Edward, that he would protect the priory and church of Tinmouth, and ſuffer no one, not even the prior, to lodge priſoners in the caſtle or make any orders to that effect.

Having obtained a little repoſe from theſe enemies without, he turned his thoughts to improvements and reparations within. He rebuilt the malt-houſe at the expence of 90l. he laid out 87l. about the dormitory; and he augmented the rents and profits of their eſtates to the yearly amount of 35l. 4s. 10d. He expended in the whole, in new buildings and repairs, the ſum of 864l. during the nine years he preſided as prior of Tinmouth: of which nine years the *three* firſt were wholly employed in combating his enemies; the *three* next he employed in peaceful ſtudy, and in *preaching the word of God*, which he not only performed (contrary to cuſtom) in his own perſon, but he retained with him, for the ſame purpoſe, many ſecular clergy, and many of the mendicant orders, namely, the frier preachers and minors, who were moſt capable of aiding him in this work; and he encouraged this duty of the religious life, as perceiving it wholly omitted in the monaſteries, uſed only in a ſmall degree by the ſeculars, or pariſh-prieſts, and engroſſed wholly by

two

two new orders, who profeſſed and endured poverty and begging; ——and the three laſt years he ſpent in improving the ſtate of the buildings, and putting them in a good condition. Thomas I. the 30th abbot.

At the time of Michael's death, the prior and ſub-prior were taken off by the ſame ſudden ſtroke of peſtilence; and the ſurviving monks knew not how to proceed to fill theſe vacancies: but, on conſulting the learned in the law, they inſtantly made choice of Thomas de Riſborow for prior; and he, the ſame day, appointed John Wodrow the ſub-prior. A day was then fixed for the election of abbot; and the priors were all cited to appear. Thomas, when he approached this town, choſe to reſt himſelf at Childwick, as a place of more ſafety; but, on the day of election, he entered the abbot's chapel, and found there *Henry Stukley*, prior of Wymondam, *John Caldewell*, prior of Bynham, *William de Belvoir*, prior of Belvoir, *Adam de Gwytenham*, *Walter de Caville*, and a few monks. It was agreed to conduct the election, as in former times, by the method called a Compromiſe (*per compromiſſarios*), which was to lodge the power in the hands of a few. The company agreed alſo in appointing, for this duty, all the priors, and the two brethren above named. The reſt having withdrawn, the perſons preſent caſt their eye on the learning and rank of Stukley, and he was requeſted to retire, to give room for private opinion to declare itſelf; and, in this moment, ſomething was ſuggeſted which drew a general declaration *that he was unfit.* Then it was requeſted that Thomas ſhould retire, and, in a few minutes, it was agreed, with unanimous voice, that he ſhould be the abbot. He was then conducted into the church, and one of the brethren made proclamation, *that Thomas was unanimouſly and canonically elected.* He next retired to the chamber of the prior, where it was the cuſtom for the new elect to abide, until he went to Rome and received complete inveſtiture.

He made haſte in preparing for this neceſſary journey, and choſe for companions Henry de Stukley, and William de Derſyngham; but this man, being ordered to ſet out before, was ſeized with a fatal diſeaſe at Canterbury, and there died and was buried. He then made choice of three ſeculars to attend him, namely, William Purſer, of St. Alban's; maſter Lawrence Stoke; and Stephen de la Mare, a relation; but Purſer, being taken ill at Calais, returned. Here it was directed by Thomas, that they ſhould lay aſide their clerical habit and appear in a lay-dreſs; and, dividing, ſhould repair, by different ways to the pope's court, then at Avignon. The ſervants did the

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ſame; and Thomas went, and returned with no other attendant than one clerk, named Burcote. The reaſon of this prudential ſtep was, becauſe the two nations were at war, and a large company might be noticed and ſtopped. The pope approved and confirmed the election, and the charges in fees, preſents, and gratuities, amounted to 4000 florins, or 1000 marcs; for the payment of which the abbot gave ſecurity at certain times. At his return, he haſtened to do homage to the king, and receive his temporalities; and here the king, having much converſation with him, was ſo won by the dignity of his countenance and manner, and the freedom of his diſcourſe, that he, ever after, bore him a peculiar regard and good will. The fees uſually paid on this occaſion were five pounds and five marcs to the king's chamberlain and mareſchal; and, theſe being diſcharged, he returned.

The place of prior of Tinmouth had been filled up by Thomas as ſoon as he had been elected abbot, by his choice of Clement of Wheathampſtead. But, before Clement could get poſſeſſion, the bailiff of ſome great neighbour, named Hugo Peregym, began to ſeize the goods of the priory, as the crops on the ground, &c. under pretence of a claim from the king for firſt fruits, &c. and which, during the vacancy, might bear ſome ſhow of right to hold the temporalities. But, the abbot having now applied to the king, he obtained a writ to recover from Hugo, and to aſcertain in future what ſhould be law, and to prevent theſe unjuſt ſeizures (a). He viſited the priories as ſoon as he could be ſpared, and was abſent a full year, hoping alſo to find a more wholeſome air in new places; for, the peſtilence ſtill prevailed near London (b). He cauſed ſome

(a) Willis, in his *Mitred Abbies*, ſays, that in 1350 (the 23d of Edward III.) the king releaſed by deed the abbot and convent from an obligation to pay a yearly penſion of 5l. to the king's chaplains, in conſideration that the abbot had now granted to the king the advowſon of Datchet. I know not when ſuch an obligation commenced, but the reaſon given for its propriety was that the king's progenitors had been the founders of the abbey. Sir H. Chauncey ſays, that in 1347 the king granted Thomas and his convent licence to improve the waſte lands on their eſtates, by leaſing them to tenants for life, years, or otherways; but he quotes no authority for this, and, if he be correct in the date and fact, the grant muſt have been to Mentmore, Thomas's predeceſſor.

(b) This peſtilence was the cauſe of death to 50,000 people in London, for whoſe interment the lord Walter Manny purchaſed a piece of ground without Smithfield-Bars, belonging to the hoſpital of St. Bartholomew; and encloſed the ſame, built a chapel, and laid the foundation of the preſent *Chartreuſe*, or Charter Houſe. *Stow's Ann.* 246.

alterations to be made in the performance of the choir ſervice, enjoining that in the pſaltery the readers or ſingers ſhould make a pauſe at the end of each verſe, and not conclude with ſinging out *ego dixi*; which was the uſual and known ſignal for the next voice to begin; and thus he amended that practice, which reſembled a company of blackſmiths at the anvil, who ſang without the leaſt intermiſſion. Although the number of monks was greatly reduced by the plague, yet it was no ſmall want in meat and drink that now afflicted the houſe, and very difficult it was to find a daily ſupply (a): on this, 16 monks were ſent to dwell at Redburn. And, as it had been ordained by abbot Michael, that the allowance for firing at that time ſhould be no more than two faggots a day from Michaelmas to the Purification of the Virgin Mary, it was thought neceſſary ſome addition ſhould now be made: and it was hoped that they could live eaſier, and in more abundance, than in the abbey. The monks had ſuffered ſuch want, that they had been neceſſitated to wander and beg, and had ſold any little goods or property they had poſſeſſed. Together with theſe monks he ſent a great parcel of clothing, and alſo all requiſite furniture for their hall and for their table. It was neceſſary to build a new dormitory. He ſent alſo books and ornamental hangings for the altar; and he built another houſe (with windows) in three parts, in which might be laid up their garments, or books, or any furniture not in uſe; and one part he reſerved for himſelf to ſtudy in, whenever he ſhould chooſe to make any ſtay at this place. He provided every convenience and neceſſary for this colony of monks, but they were in great want of good victuals; and, if they had not the plague among them, they were lingering under extreme hunger. In the monaſtery, he directed that each monk ſhould be allowed a gift of 24 ſhillings, to find him neceſſaries, with orders to provide what they thought moſt needful. The prior and three brethren had been uſually allowed, for their ſeparate commons, to the value of 5 ſhillings in the week; but the abbot added one ſhilling more. A chapel alſo, dedicated to St. James, and ſituate below the prior's cloiſter, having been laid waſte by fire ſome years ago, he now rebuilt and conſecrated the ſame anew. When he was making his abode at Redburn, his practice was, to riſe two hours before matins, and at that hour, if the bell-ringer was delaying, he would not ſcruple

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(a) This ſcarcity very probably aroſe from the want of hands to till the ground, as great numbers muſt have been carried off by the peſtilence that had now raged ſome years.

to

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to ſound the bell himſelf; at the veſpers he would do the ſame; and at the complin, or midnight ſervice, his cuſtom was to ſtrike the bell thrice, as was the practice in the monaſtery. On entering the chapel he would repeat three prayers and the angelic ſalutations, and not ceaſe his devotion until he made a ſignal to riſe. On all the feſtivals, and in the maſs on Sundays, he cauſed the ſervice to be ſung *cum notâ*, that is, with muſical correctneſs, and not by the ear only; and he was highly delighted with the harmony of his choir; inſomuch, that he thought no monks in the world could be compared with them.

The poor women in the hoſpital of St. Pree had been of two ſorts, one called *poor ſiſters*, and the other *nuns*; but ſo illiterate, that they could neither read nor ſing. On this he ſent them books and the ordinal, and provided for their neceſſary inſtruction, with orders that a poor ſiſter ſhould be promoted to the order and rank of a nun, when duly qualified; and, the ſervice being there performed with more ſolemnity, it was given in charge to the arch-deacon to ſuperintend their edification and devotion.

Our abbot was appointed preſident of the general chapter of the Benedictines; and, in that capacity, he ſummoned the monks and prior of Canterbury; but theſe men, on pretence of ſome claims of exemption, treated the meſſenger with inſult and blows, and threw him into priſon. It happened that Edward, the prince and heir apparent, was then at Canterbury; and, hearing of this indignity, declared, with ſome vehemence, that he would ſet the meſſenger at liberty (a); and, meeting the prior, diſdained any other ſalutation than to ſay, *why have you impriſoned the abbot's ſervant.* The prior readily promiſed to make recompence (b), and ſuch as his highneſs ſhould appoint. The prince ſignified this to our abbot, and the abbot inſiſted on 100 marcs. This was granted, and the abbot gave the whole ſum to the ſervant.

The prior and convent at Canterbury, ſubmitted to the preſident, and ſent two of their moſt reſpectable brethren to the general chapter, to pray excuſe for the prior this time. To this chapter came John, duke of Lancaſter, with a train of many nobles, and requeſted the preſident to treat the monks of Canterbury well, and with good humour, *benè et facetè.* This was promiſed by the abbot; and the duke took on him the fraternity of Canterbury; and, to the great

(a) Ego deliberabo. (b) Promiſit emendas.

pleaſure

pleaſure of thoſe monks, took his ſeat with them in this chapter. And here, although the abbot gained an advantage, yet the monks of Canterbury afterwards ſeized an opportunity of obtaining from the king the privilege, that they might not be compelled to attend at the general chapters. In this chapter, ſundry conſtitutions, for the better rule and government of the Benedictines, were framed, for which ſee the Appendix. Thomas I. the 30th abbot.

Edward, although he had ſet bounds to the acquiſition of the monks, and reſtrained their ſecular practice of dealing in land, and trafficking with the rich and the devout, carried his thoughts farther, and conſulted with our abbot about reforming the internal ſtate of the monaſteries; and he aſſured Thomas, that, if he would go, as preſident of the general chapter, and view each abbey, he would be able to correct the irregularities of ſome, and the vicious depravity of others; and that, in ſuch viſitation, he ſhould have every poſſible help from the royal authority. On this, Thomas made a viſitation to Eynſham(a), and reformed religion there in a very laudable manner. He then viſited Abyndon and Beaulieu, and in theſe he corrected ſome abuſes, and rooted out ſome evil habits. With the like mandate from the king, he viſited the noble monaſtery of Reading(b): and here he brought many back to the rule who had wandered far from it; and ſome of the monks, who had formed conſpiracies againſt the abbot, he cauſed to be ſent away to the cells; he alſo brought others thence to his own monaſtery, to undergo ſome ſort of puniſhment, or penance, until they manifeſted a penitence.

At the requeſt of the king and the prince, he viſited the religious houſe at Cheſter; and did this with great courage and ſpirit, without any fear of the fickleneſs and wild behaviour of the Welch. Here he depoſed the abbot, Richard de Syneſbury, who had allowed and cheriſhed great faults, and had let the buildings go to decay, and was in fact a great derider of the rule. He aſſigned him a competent maintenance out of a farm; and, with the conſent of the biſhop and of the brethren, he placed another in the office who knew his duty. He viſited alſo, by the king's order, the principal monaſtery of the whole kingdom, that of St. Edmund de Bury, where he found all quite obedient; and on this he forbore to make a ſtrict viſitation, but directed the prior, Henry Bybſteed, to execute what he adviſed and thought needful. Thomas had borne rule for ſome years, when he

(a) An abbey near Oxford.
(b) Radyngia.

conceived

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conceived an inclination to reſign; which was, to renounce all the cares of the world, and to devote his mind to contemplation and devotion. And what gave him encouragement to do ſo was this circumſtance, that he had, as priſoner in this abbey, John, king of France, who had been made captive at the battle of Poictiers, in the year 1356. The abbot had entertained him at his table, and in a manner that denoted his humanity as well as his courtly ſtyle of living (a). This ſecret wiſh of Thomas he made known to his royal gueſt, who applauded the reſolution, and promiſed to write with his own hand to the pope, to obtain his leave. The price of the king's redemption was paid, and he returned home. Three men of this town (St. Alban's) were ſoon after made priſoners in France, travelling on their way to Rome. Though caſt into priſon and uſed with much harſhneſs, they found means to inform the abbot of their condition, who procured a letter from the prince of Wales in favor of theſe men, and diſpatched the ſame, with a letter from himſelf, to the king of France. This monarch inſtantly ordered the men to be ſet at liberty, ſaying, 'why doth my brother prince think it needful to 'intercede for theſe priſoners, when a word only from ſuch a man as 'abbot Thomas would have been ſufficient:' and he directed the men to return their thanks to the abbot.

Thomas, ſoon after, wrote his letter of ſupplication to the pope, and ſent it to his friend Richard de Eccleſhall, treaſurer at Calais, at which place were aſſembled the king of France, Edward the prince, and many nobles, in order to conclude the treaty of peace between the two realms: and the treaſurer was requeſted to deliver the letter to the king. But the prince, inquiring into the cauſe, and being informed of the buſineſs, forbad any farther proceeding therein; *for, ſuch a man as the abbot could not be ſpared.*

Complaints were often made to Thomas by the ſub-cellerer and his officers, and by the burſar, that the allowance made to the firſt would not ſuffice to purchaſe the daily ſupply for the tables; and that the ſecond could not keep in repair the houſes, buildings, and mills. On which he ordered the rents and profits of Perkſoken (or Parkward) and of Eaſt Barnet, to be given, in addition, to thoſe two officers. This was in the 29th year of king Edward; and, ſome years after, he ſubtracted from the cellerer, and aſſigned to the ſub-cellerer the paſture of Eyewode, which was worth 10l. a year; rents

(a) Humaniter et curialiter.

in

in London, alſo, he aſſigned to the ſaid officer. The manor of Oxeye, which had been recovered by John de Whitwell, ſeneſchal of the abbot, after it had been loſt many years, he aſſigned to the ſaid office; and alſo the manor of Wrobbeleye, which had come into the abbot's hands by eſcheat and forfeiture of Sir Richard Pereres, *militis ſeu latronis*, are my authors words. He aſſigned to the cellerer all the chattels of felons and of fugitives, and other accidental profits that ſhould happen in the liberty, without the town, by forfeiture; and theſe were to be applied in ſuits and proſecutions; the cuſtody of the gaol, with the charges thereof, belonging, as before, to the office of burſar. And, that the burſar might not complain of theſe ſubtractions, the abbot aſſigned to him the manor of Myrdene, which Thomas had procured of John de Myrdene, for 80l. of lawful money, paid to the ſaid John, and for an annuity of ten marcs, together with a new gown *(cum robâ)*, every year during life: and this the ſaid John received, for 28 years, from the burſar. And the burſar was hereupon diſcharged from the expence of ſuits, and the payment of fees, and the office of hundreder, and other coſts belonging to the hundreder's court. The paſture of the Great Garden had long been the official property of the almoner, on condition of paying 50s. a year to ſome particular uſe. But Thomas now diſcharged the almoner, and aſſigned this piece of ground, which was commodious *animalibus paſcendis*, to the ſub-cellerer. The almoner formerly had a mill annexed to his office, called Nichmill, and ſituate between Sopwell and Jugſlane; which mill he uſed to let for fifty ſhillings a year; and then the ſub-cellerer held it, on condition of giving twelve quarters of corn yearly, called toll corn, of which the almoner was to make a parcel of bread, weekly, for the poor,—and this bread was a ſort called Cobbes. But now this mill became uſeleſs, by neglecting the water courſe, and the ſtream was dry, on which the ſub-cellerer was ordered to find the 12 quarters from Stankfield mill.

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In this abbot's time there was a moor, or marſhy piece of ground, long ago aſſigned to the almoner, and called Aumenereſmor. This was thought more neceſſary for the burſar, becauſe it lay near the abbey, and cloſe to the great garden; whereupon it was ordered that the burſar ſhould take this, and give in exchange a ſmall meadow that lay between Sopwellbury and Eyewode, being nearly contiguous to other land of the almoner's. There was alſo a ſmall garden, where the almoner was bound to find herbs for the monk's kitchen; but, by the connivance of this abbot, the coquinar, or cook of the monks'

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kitchen, got poſſeſſion, and alſo of the buildings therein: but the fruit that grew there remained to the uſe of the ſub-almoner, as it did in the Great Garden.

The tithes of Wynſlow, which had always belonged to the almoner, were now aſſigned to the uſe of the little ſociety at Redburn; and the tithes of Norton, Newnham, and Sandridge, were taken from the almoner, and aſſigned to other uſes; yet he ſtill ſupported all the burdens of the office, and diſcharged all debts and claims thereon.

In 1363 he cauſed a rule to be drawn, deſcribing the duty of every officer of the abbey, and the portion of income allotted to him for the diſcharge of the ſame, which is ſo intricate and mixed that the whole is unintelligible.

The following is part of it.

The coquinar and charge of the kitchen was	46	8	4
The refectorer - - was	15	5	10
The camerarius - - was	59	5	8
The Infirmary's coſt, - - was	12	12	10
	133	12	8

For what time appears not.

The income of the manors is ſtated to be -	99	8	9
And the ſum total of the annual receipt to be	181	11	9

Theſe were the eſtates aſſigned to the kitchen.

And the charge of the kitchen, through the year, amounted to	255	8	8

The monks were now only 63, and 3 corrodies, yet it was found neceſſary to augment the allowance to the kitchen in the ſum of 26l. 6s. 8d, more.

The office of the refectorer was augmented with 9l. 17s. 4d. The office of almoner was allowed 8l. 6s. 8d. more. In ſhort, a new arrangement of all the expences, neceſſary in every office, was made at Michaelmas, 1363; in which the defects of ſome were ſupplied out of the overplus of others; and proviſion made for repairs, and other accidental charges. But it is impoſſible to compute the whole receipt of their rents, &c. at this time, or the whole of their expence.

Yet,

Yet, as all the books whence this hiſtory is taken were written in the abbey, ſome account is come down to us containing the large and general receipt, and the full amount of the expence, as ſhall be noted hereafter. But here follows the portion allowed to each officer, and whence it aroſe. Thomas I. the 30th abbot.

COQUINARIUS *(the clerk of the kitchen)* habet temp. Edward III.

Ab Eccleſiâ Sancti Stephani, -	8	13	4				
De Wyngrave,	16	13	4				
De Sudbury in Epiſ. Norw. -	4	0	0				
				29	6	8	
SACRISTA habet Eccleſiam de Bilend, quæ valet,	16	0	0				
Eccl. de Hextonſtone, quæ valet, -	8	0	0				
Eccl. de Northall,	5	0	0				
Portionem de Eccl. Cheſham, -	0	15	0				
				29	15	0	
REFECTORARIUS habet portionem in Eccl. de Watford,	8	13	4				
Eccl. de Norton quæ valet, - -	6	13	4				
Eccl. de Walden quæ valet, -	10	0	0				
Eccl. de St. Michaelis,	10	0	0				
Eccl. de Holborn quæ val. - -	16	13	4				
Eccl. de Potſgrave quæ valet, -	10	13	4				
				62	13	4	
CAMERARIUS habet Eccl. de Redburn quæ valet,	17	6	8				
Eccl. de Winflow quæ valet cum Capellâ, -	18	0	0				
Eccl. de Langtele,	11	6	8				
Eccl. de Turfield,	8	0	0				
				54	13	4	

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INFIRMARIUS habet Eccleſiam Sancti Petri,				56	0 0
ELEEMOSYNARIUS habet Portionem ex priori Eccleſ. - -	12	0	0		
In Walden, -	10	0	0		
In Middleton, -	10	0	0		
In Eccl. de Brentham,	0	13	4		
In Eccl. de Holborne,	1	0	0		
de Heilake, (Eſſex),	0	10	0		
In Eccl. de Gyrton in Epiſ. Ely, -	1	13	4		
In Eccl. de Trumpington, -	3	6	8		
In Eccl. de Everſden Magnâ, -	13	6	8		
				52	10 0
Summa totius, (a)				284	18 4

In the time of this abbot, many of the monks, as if unable to endure the rigour of the order, and the ſtrictneſs of the diſcipline, withdrew privately, and incurred the infamy and the ſentence of apoſtacy. Theſe were eight in number; and two others ran away; but, repenting and manifeſting a true concern, they were re-admitted and pardoned. The other eight were never heard of, and perhaps

(a) The ancient record whence this is extracted (which is N° 602 in the Harl. MSS.) is very miſcellaneous, and contains notes and memoranda of things and incidents, for near 200 years back, and has,

1ſt. A ſteward's account of the manor of Tytburſt, for one year, when the ſame belonged to Margaret, counteſs of Richmond, in the ſixteenth year of her ſon Henry VII.

2d. Then follows the above account of the ſums paid by the churches.

3d. This MS. ſhews alſo the lands belonging to St. Peter's church, called *Grangia St. Petri*, and the following, though belonging to St. Peter, were ſituate in Sandrugge; namely, Whyteleye,—Marſhalſcroft,—Walemondes feld,—Madys feld,—Bealmonds feld,—Tyle feld,—Gardens croft,—Beche feld,—Jannys feld,—Comyns wood, and many others.

4th. In the 15th of Henry VI. Dionyſia, the prioreſs of the nuns of St. Trinity in the wood, (at Markyate), granted a leaſe of their whole rectory of Watford to one Henry Wenge, of Watford, for 19l. a year.

In the 9th of Henry VII. the abbot and convent demiſed, for 21 years, an inn, called the Tabard, for 5l. a year, to one Robert a Lee.

In the time of Henry VI. the abbey poſſeſſed, in Chilwick and Annables, 550 acres of land, in different fields, as therein named and ſpecified.

not

not enquired after. Many alſo ran away from the cells, but they generally came to the abbey; on which the abbot forbade this, and directed them to be conveyed to the place which had been witneſs to their crime. There were ſome monks, who, under pretence of conſenting to a more rigid life, prayed a licence to depart, promiſing to enter ſome other houſe of this order, or even any other *acrioris religionis*, of a ſtricter rule. This liberty was granted; Tho. Banſted went to the priory of Bradwell in , John Folygham to the priory of Rocheſter, Stephen Hertford to the order of the Frier Minors, Robert Aſton to the White Monks of Wardon. Thomas I. the 30th abbot.

The martial exploits in France made theſe men very reſtleſs at home. Henry Spenſer, the military biſhop of Norwich, began a kind of Cruſade, though not againſt the Saracens: he gathered men and arms, and collected forces to lead them into Germany and France. And many monks obtained licence to quit their cells, and bear arms. John de Bekendon went from Tinmouth, John de Weſtwick went from Wymundham, Will. York from Bynham, Rog. Bonner from Beaulieu. From Hatfield the prior himſelf went, William Everſdon, who died in Flanders, and William Schepey. The reſt returned, and were thankful for quiet health and ſafety. At this time ſubſiſted the ſchiſm in the popedom, and the true pope, Urban, was in ſuch diſtreſs and neceſſity that he ſought for ſupplies and gifts among the faithful in England, and had emiſſaries here to ſell his offices of chaplain for a certain ſum. This honor was ſought for very earneſtly, becauſe it gave the privilege of being exempt from the authority of the biſhops and prelates. But Walter Diſſe, a carmelite and doctor of theology, and confeſſor to the duke of Lancaſter, being now employed by the duke, to collect money and raiſe men for his expedition into Spain, procured of the pope a licence to ſell fifty chaplainſhips for the uſe of the duke. This being done, monks of all orders, of the white and of the black, canons regular, rectors of churches and vicars, friers of every mendicant order, ſought this honor. Some of the monks of this houſe were moved by this temptation; and, getting together whatever ſum they could, ſent the money to Rome by the hands of Diſſe, to purchaſe a chaplainſhip. And here the boon, or grace, ſold, was always in proportion to the money given. And ſome, beſide being capellanated, obtained, *ultra gratiam*, a licence to be exempt from their order and rule, and to accept of a church as rectors, if any patron would give them one. Of the monks of this houſe, who engaged in this ſpiritual traffic, there were the aforeſaid Bekendon

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and Schepey, and one Bodington, who, being young men, were the more open to the allurement of this temptation; but an aged monk of this houſe, named Whitchurch, who had lived 50 years in the rule, and been prior of Hatfield and of Wallingford, made a moſt diſgraceful figure, when he was meditating to exchange his meritorious labours for ſo trifling an advantage. The abbot found that he could by no means retain theſe men in the profeſſion, but they would be exempt; but the Lord Rhos took Whitchurch to Belvoir, and placed him there among the monks, and paid his charges; and ſoon after procured for him the cell of Grimſby; and there, as prior, he conſented to live in honour and die in peace.

Thomas had ever ſhewn himſelf a ſtrenuous defender of the abbey's rights; and, in doing ſo, had either made or found a number of adverſaries. One of theſe was a famous knight, named Philip de Lymbury, who lived at Luton (a), a man of extreme pride and haughtineſs, and of great intereſt with John duke of Lancaſter. This Philip, on Monday, being market-day, in hatred to the abbot, and in utter contempt of religion, ſeeing John Moot, the cellerer, riding through, in his way from Hexton to the abbey, cauſed him to be apprehended; and, without any charge, put him in the pillory in the public market. The abbot proſecuted this inſolent knight, and would have brought him to make ſatisfaction, if the duke of Lancaſter had not interpoſed, and, by his authority, brought them to concord. It was agreed that he ſhould make atonement in no other way than by an offering on the altar; at firſt he was not permitted to approach the altar; then, leave being given, as he ſtepped forward the blood guſhed from his noſe, and he retired; he advanced a ſecond time, and his noſe again bled; he requeſted to depoſit the offering in a box, but this was not allowed; and after ſome pauſe he departed. The memory of this event (ſays Walſingham, who relates it) ſtruck many with admiration; the number preſent was very great; and it was conſidered, among the ſuperſtitious, as a vengeance from the martyr; and, by all the ſober minded and pious, as an event that ſhould caution bold men againſt offending God, or thoſe who adminiſter in his worſhip.

He found alſo a moſt troubleſome and implacable enemy in a man of lower degree, though of higher malice, one John de Chiltern; who, having been in the confidence and ſervice of the abbot, was

(a) *In Sokâ de Luton.*

capable

capable of more miſchief, and of wounding the breaſt of a friend more deeply. His conteſt with the abbot began about an arrear of rent for the manor of Langley. The abbot diſtrained his cattle; John ſuffered them to periſh for want, then harraſſed the abbot at law, and fled to Calais, and in due time was outlawed. The abbot had him apprehended and lodged in priſon, and offered to take ſecurity of his friends, if they would give it. They refuſed, and went to the king, aſſuring him that, if he would free John from priſon, John would ſerve his majeſty with very great advantage; for, he could raiſe 1000 pounds for the king on the abbot, for clandeſtine dealing, &c. The abbot then ſued him for another debt of 250 marcs; John denied the debt, for he ſaid the abbot was dead. On this the abbot, on the day of trial, was carried to London, in a litter, and preſented himſelf in perſon in the Court of Common Pleas. And here, on deſcribing the life and acts of John, and judgement being given againſt him, he was committed to the Fleet Priſon, where he lay the reſt of his life, indulging his malice and love of diſcord againſt the abbot and all his old neighbours. And, though the abbot ſent him even food and raiment, the wretch exerciſed his wit in ſtirring up new enemies. For, he ſtirred up John, the ſon of William Aynell, to lay claim to many pieces of land, now in the poſſeſſion of the abbey; and Aynell harraſſed the abbot at law. The king's eſcheator ſeized them; but the abbot made his title good, and they were all reſtored, and ſeizin thereof given. The lands were in the manors of More and of Aſheleys, and of Crokeley and Hamelſhide, all in Rickmerſworth. The plea againſt the abbot was, that they were held by military ſervice. To which he anſwered, that he held them *per baroniam* and *de capite*. Many other claims of the like nature were made againſt this abbot; which was eaſily done, when the eſcheator was ready, on any information, to ſeize the lands; and the proof of a lawful tenure lay on the perſon diſſeized. The manor of Caldecot was thus called in queſtion; and then Norton.

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Among the many expenſive works which this abbot undertook, one was to aboliſh a nuiſance that had long ſubſiſted, from the inhabitants who lived adjoining to the earth wall which was the abbey's boundary. This wall was no proper defence, and much leſs a ſecurity from treſpaſſes and nuiſances; Thomas therefore built, in the room thereof, a good wall of ſtone. This began from a ſtone wall, near Werneſgate, which was called Plumtree Wall, and ran along the

ſouth

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ſouth ſide of their ground: and then paſſed up the hill, and round behind the houſes, quite to Romeland, and contained in length 30 perches. The foundation of which is to be ſeen at this day, but moſt conſpicuous on the ſouth and weſt ſides (a).

The inſurrection, which happened in the fourth year of Richard II. among the people of Norfolk, Suffolk, Eſſex, and Kent, (headed by Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, and on which occaſion they had marched to London, and ſet fire to the duke of Lancaſter's palace, called the Savoy; and to the priory of the hoſpitallers; and put to death Hales, the prior; and Sudbury, the archbiſhop;) had almoſt proved the ruin of the monaſtery; for, a party of the rebels coming hither, under Straw, one of the leaders, (after having been at the abbey of St. Edmondſbury, and at Cambridge, and in both the places burnt and deſtroyed the charters and records) they were joined by one Gryncobbe, and one Cadynton, who, arming a number of followers, and marching into the abbey, threatened great miſchief, if the abbot did not give them leave to hunt and ſport in all the woods adjoining, and to fiſh in all the waters; and, in ſhort, give up that renunciation of theſe claims, which the townſmen had ſolemnly yielded up, and relinquiſhed in form, under the abbot Wallingford. This Gryncobbe had been in ſome uſeful employment under the abbot; and, being diſcharged for bad accounts, now lay under a proſecution for money due to the abbot; but, finding himſelf ſupported by an armed crowd, he took up all the popular cries, and demanded liberty. He threatened alſo to burn down the Grange of St. Peter, and all the buildings at Kingſbury, if he was refuſed; and to perpetrate the like miſchief here as had been done at London. At this inſtant came news from London that Wat Tyler was ſlain; and a meſſenger arrived from the king with a proclamation for peace, and promiſe of indemnity if they would lay down their arms, and a letter of protection to the abbey. Gryncobbe had aſſembled a vaſt poſſe, having ſummoned the people of Watford, Barnet, Luton, and all the neighbouring vills to aid him; but theſe people, hearing the news and the king's offer, promiſed to abſtain from violence, if the abbot would grant their requeſt; and Gryncobbe, fearing his people would quit him and depart, ruſhed in to the abbot with ſome ſturdy followers, and extorted from him the privilege hereafter mentioned; theſe petitioners ſtanding over

(a) The royal licence for building this was dated 30 Edward III. A. D. 1357.

with

with drawn ſwords, until the officers came, and the writ was drawn, ſigned, and ſealed. The tenor of it was, that the abbot granted to the burgeſſes of this town paſture for cattle, in the highway, as far as Stone-crouch; thence, in the highway, to Nodſaiſh; in the high-way from the town to Mile Aiſh (toward Luton), and in Barnetwode, and in Frythwode, and in Dernwel-lane; in the whole path, or way, that paſſes over by Oiſterhille, as far as Kingſbury; and from Kingſbury to Gonnerſton; and, in the road to Hertford, as far as the end of Gonwode-lane; and in a lane called Bermond-lane, as far the Red Croſs (a); and thence, through the whole way by New-lane; then in Tonmanditch, and in the whole way as far as Gryndeſlane; and as far then as Sopwell-mill; and near this mill in three green ſpots, between Flotegate-ſtream and Myl-ſtream; and thence in a way called Grene-lane, which leads to Fotes-place. 'We 'grant alſo,' ſaith the abbot, 'one way, for all perſons, paſſing on 'foot or with an horſe, through Eywod, to Parkſtrate; and another 'from Parkſtrate, through the tenements of John Eywode and Roger 'Hulkice, to Stankfield-mill; and one highway from the Red 'Croſs to Cell Barn (b). We grant them alſo liberty, to hunt, and 'to fiſh, in all theſe places, and within theſe limits; uſing the li-'berty to fiſh from the Old Fullyng-mill, cloſe to Eyewode, as far 'as the other Fullyng-mill, under the abbey; and from a place 'called Siſſeborne, as far as the priory of St. Pree. We alſo will 'and conſent that they have hand-mills in their houſes or elſewhere, 'as it ſhall ſeem beſt for them; and this, without any contradiction 'or detriment to our rights. Given, June the 16th, the 4th year of 'Richard II.'

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On this ſucceſs, the people of Barnet roſe up with the like bold claims; and the abbot was forced to grant them the like privileges. It is directed to all the abbot's tenents of the pariſhes of Barnet and South Myms; and confirms all the liberties and rights before allowed them by the King, Richard II. with all their lands, tenements, and free rents, ſo that they may ſell. This grant is atteſted to Sir William Hoo, knt. Henry Frowyc, John Lodewyc, John Durham, William Nonny, &c. The people of Watford and Caïſho alſo demanded a grant, to be relieved from a tax called Ale-penny, levied on their beer; and to be diſcharged from all tolls for pontage, carriage,

(a) Perhaps a ſign to a public houſe.
(b) Horreum de Celle.

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murage, paſſage, and picage; and to be for ever free from all repairs of bridges and of parks. Theſe demands the abbot granted under the ſeal of the convent.

Rickmereworth alſo made ſome claims, viz. for their cattle, &c. and the abbot allowed them free paſture in all the ground between Cowmore and the field called Parſons-field; and free right of fiſhing in the waters called Pickelſborne; and free common in Burymore and in Bacheworth. They demanded alſo free common in Heyghmore, Hallemore, and in Batteſmore. It ſeems as if they had been accuſtomed to have common in the former places; but, being doubtful of the right, they now only ſought to have that right clearly allowed; and, as to the paſture in the mores, this was a new demand, and they conſented to pay three pence a head, for all cattle there graſed for the ſeaſon, in lieu of all ſervices and demands.

The people of Tring alſo demanded a remiſſion of certain tolls, which had been long paid for graſing their cattle, and never before complained of as a grievance: yet, as the abbot was now diſpenſing his boons, the people claimed a diſcharge from this toll; and the abbot granted it.

The tenants of Barnet thought they had not aſked enough, and demanded of the abbot the book containing the court-rolls, and exhibiting the fines and deſcription of every houſe, &c. granted to the tenant. They required, in high language, that this book ſhould be burnt: and, to appeaſe them, the abbot promiſed, which was aſſured by Henry Frowyc, to comply in three months. Theſe tenants had forged deeds and admiſſions more to their purpoſe, and pretended they were framed in the time of the plague, when there was no ſeneſchal, or cellerer, or officer, to inſpect theſe matters. But they could gain no compliance, and the abbot refuſed them even the ſight of the rolls.

The people of Redburn alſo came to the abbot, to demand a licence to hunt, ſport, and fiſh, in all parts of that manor. The abbot begged time to conſider; the tenants had got on their ſide ſome of the principal men of the place, as Edmond Creſey, William Eyle, and Thomas Norton. The abbot promiſed them ſuch a degree of liberty therein as the king had granted him; but it was requiſite to deliberate on the matter. The men went home, and gathered a crowd, and proceeded to the mill called Betteſpole-mill; threatening to demoliſh the ſame, and to level the bank which parts the prior's mead, called Pondeſmede, from the king's highway; affirming, that the ſame had formerly belonged to the commons of that vill,

and

and had been wrongfully taken from them. They proceeded to level the bank, cut down all the trees, carry them away, and reduce the boundary to level the ground; but did not attempt any miſchief againſt the mill. Theſe people had been encouraged to this degree of inſult by the men of St. Albans; who, having imbibed the levelling notions of Wat Tyler and his party, made a boaſt, that, if the abbot would not gratify them in their requeſt, they would gain the aid of two and thirty villages to aſſiſt them. And, in the event, it appeared that they had formed an alliance with all the abbot's tenants in all the manors, to make it a general cauſe. And the abbot thereupon, in the courſe of the ſummer, granted the like charter, or licence, to hunt, hawk, and fiſh (a), in all the manors; which, by the liſt, are now twenty in number, and only five of them out of this county. The charter or licence now granted was no other than what king Richard had granted 150 years before, and ran in theſe words: 'Richard, by 'the grace of God king of England, &c. to all his bailiffs and faithful 'ſervants: know ye, that we have, of our ſpecial grace, diſcharged 'all and ſingular our leige ſubjects of and from all manner of 'bondage; and granted pardon to all our ſubjects of all felonies, 'treaſons, tranſgreſſions, and extorſions, and outlawry; and, if any 'ſuch ſentence hath been proclaimed, we grant them our peace.' Theſe ſeveral tenants, on receiving theſe grants (which was all that the abbot had promiſed), were wonderfully elated, and thought themſelves acquitted from all ſervice and duty of every kind: and determined, among themſelves, to work no more, and to pay no more rent. But, on the death of Tyler, and the execution of a few of the principal, as has been ſaid, they returned to better counſels and other opinions; and remained, by leave of the abbot, in poſſeſſion of their new privileges of common right, and of hunting, ſporting, &c. The young king, after the death of Tyler, thought proper to go, with a large armed force, ſuddenly got together, and chiefly of horſemen, into Eſſex and Suffolk; and, hearing of great commotions at the abbey of St. Albans, had an inclination to march thither and ſuppreſs the diſorders. But a courtier and knight, named William Atte Lee, offered to go down, and try the effects of his perſuaſions and advice; and, taking with him about fifty bowmen, he approached the town, when Grynecobbe and his aſſociates conſulted how to keep him out or to give him battle, and inflict on him either

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(a) De venationibus, aucupationibus, et piſcationibus.

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a total overthrow or ſome ſevere puniſhment. Atte Lee, however, advanced, and took poſt with his bowmen in the field called Derfold; and, aſſembling the people, he harangued them on the occaſion, and on the times, ſetting forth their miſtakes, and the great mercy of the king. More people aſſembled, and he was heard without interruption. He repaired, at length, to the abbot's chamber, and ſent for ſome of the townſmen, who, on coming, were told by Atte Lee, that they muſt deliver up thoſe grants, which they had extorted from the abbot. Drawing a huge bloody ſword, he ſwore not a man ſhould ever ſee his home again, if he refuſed to comply. On this he haſtened out, and locked the door, having charged, privately, ſome proper guards to keep that poſt, and ſuccour the abbot, if any violence was offered. Atte Lee then repaired to Derfold with his Body-Guard, and, in very ſoothing language, aſked their advice, what could be done with men who had offended the peace, tranſgreſſed the laws, and were preparing to ſtarve the country, by refuſing to work. He appealed to the town jury *(duodenum)*, whether the ringleaders ought not to be attached, and brought to anſwer for theſe enormities, and hoped they would do their duty in declaring who they were. The jury met, and agreed in naming William Grynecobbe, William Cadynton, and John the barber, as the men who had taken by force the hand-mills out of the abbey's cuſtody. Atte Lee exhorted them to proceed in their duty, and uſe their authority to keep the peace, and reſtrain all proceedings that tended to riot, tumult, and rebellion; and to notify to the abbot the names of the offenders. This being done, and ſent to the old man, then confined with four or five of the townſmen, he ſent word to Atte Lee, that his friends then waiting on him would comply with his injunctions, and that he would take their word for complying. And he inſtantly ſent an order to his four bailiffs (already prepared by Atte Lee) to take into cuſtody the three accuſed, and convey them to Hertford. This was done in the evening; and, being certified to be ſo, the abbot permitted his priſoners to take leave. The priſoners were lodged that night in the abbey jail, and next morning they were conveyed away, guarded by Atte Lee and his bowmen, all the gentlemen and principal perſons of the town accompanying. And, in the day time, the murmurs and cabals of the town were ſuch as to terrify the abbot, and induce him to ſend out into the country to the knights and ſquires, to hold themſelves in readineſs to ſuccour him, in caſe the townſmen ſhould proceed to violence.

The

The time of entering on theſe proceedings had been contrived to coincide with the time of the judges being at Hertford; who, probably, were now acting under a ſpecial commiſſion, to puniſh the mutineers and rebels who had taken part with Tyler. And, as ſoon as the priſoners arrived at Hertford, they were led into the court, and placed at the bar. The abbot, in the midſt of his fears, ſends a meſſage to the judge, that he would proceed with lenity, and arguing againſt a capital puniſhment. And the judge and proſecutors conſented that Grynecobbe ſhould be admitted to bail, and three of his friends bound in 300l. each, to produce him on ſome future day, if peace was not made with the abbot before. The other two were detained in priſon. Grynecobbe had a brother, who could have acceſs to the earl of Warwick; and, by his perſuaſion, the earl, together with Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, promiſed to come down and intercede; and it was agreed, by the townſmen, to give up their new charters, and ſend back the mill-ſtones. But the earls came not, being forced to go into the north to appeaſe the diſcontents that had ariſen among their own people. On which the townſmen refuſed compliance. Then the king proclaimed his intention of coming; and the men employed one William Croyſer to plead their cauſe and intercede, and he prevailed on them to comply; on which, but not till the very day of the king's coming, they brought back ſix of the mill-ſtones, reſtored the extorted grants, and gave bond to pay 200l. to the abbot for damages. At length the king came, and was received with great proceſſion and ſolemnity at the weſt door; attended with 1000 bowmen and ſoldiers, and having with him Robert Tryſilian (a), the chief juſtice. Next day the juſtice aſſembled the officers and bailiffs at Moot-hall (b), and directed the three offenders (for Grynecobbe had been committed) to be brought; and in due form the jury was charged with them. My author here remarks that this was the firſt of the dog-days, a ſeaſon that proved unfortunate to the men of this town. The proceedings here ceaſed. And Tryſilian came again, and cauſed the jury to be aſſembled, whom he had before ſworn to indict all malefactors and diſturbers of the peace. The jury ſaid they knew no ſuch perſons, nor could indict any juſtly; that all had been faithful and obedient to the king, and would continue ſo. The juſtice, ſeeing the tendency of this,

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(a) A man, ſaith my author, *ſerpentinæ prudentiæ.*
(b) The place where the townſmen aſſembled and conſulted.

bade

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bade them remember the words they had uſed when they ſupplicated the king for pardon, that they were liable to the ſame puniſhment, and would be alike malefactors, if they were taken. The jury departed. The juſtice diſſolved the court, and followed them to the place of their conſultation. He then drew from his bag a long roll, ſaying, 'Behold here the names of many of your neighbours, 'who ſtand charged with crimes, on the oath of good and faithful 'men; crimes, which are concealed from none. And you think to 'delude us all, or to blind us, by your ſilence. But your deſigns 'never can be effected, when we have ready the names and the facts 'of thoſe offenders, whom you would deem honeſt and innocent. 'Do, therefore, what is expedient for yourſelves, and undertake to 'ſave your own lives; and beware, that, while you are ſinging 'ſafety to your neighbours, you do not raiſe danger to yourſelves.' They thought then of their ſituation, and indicted a great number, both of the country and of the town. The judge then directed another jury to be impanneled and ſworn; and, ſhewing them the names and crimes indicted, aſked what they thought, and had to ſay, of theſe perſons, if they were charged with their trials. Seeing the truth of the accuſation, they anſwered, they would have done and acted in the ſame manner as the firſt jury, if they had been charged with them. The judge then preſerved this jury to give the verdict, ſince they had ſaid they were willing to indict for thoſe crimes, and to condemn, whether the firſt jury would or not. On this comment the judge commanded them, although they might prefer falſehood, to ſay the truth. The judge then impanneled a third jury; and, ſetting aſide the firſt, this third anſwered as the ſecond had done. So that no one was convicted but on the verdict of thirty-ſix men, and the verdict was pronounced by the ſecond. It appears not that here was any form of trial, or any witneſs called for the proſecution, or for the defence; but the want of evidence was abundantly ſupplied, if it may be allowed, by the redundancy of jury.

The three offenders were thus convicted, and for a breach of the king's peace; and, with fifteen more, ſentenced to be hanged. This was put in execution. Five or ſix of the principal townſmen were committed to priſon; and, from the country, more than eighty; who were afterwards, by the royal favour, ſet at liberty. He ſtayed at the abbey eight days, and departed, in order to go to Berkhampſtead, on the 15th of July, in 1382, and thence he went to Eaſthampſtead, in Windſor Foreſt, for the pleaſure of the chace. But,

before

before he left the abbey, he cauſed all men, from fifteen to ſixty years of age, to be ſummoned and to ſwear allegiance, &c. About this time the king commiſſioned John Lodowick, and ſeven others, to make proclamation in all the towns and places, where thought neceſſary, in the counties of Herts and Bucks, to this effect: 'That all and 'every perſon or perſons, that ought to do any manner of ſervice or 'duty to the abbot or convent, whether they were bondmen or free-'men, ſhould do and perform the ſame, in ſuch manner as they had 'uſed to do before the late troubles; upon their faith and allegiance 'to the king, and upon their forfeiture of all they had to loſe. 'And, if any refuſed to do the ſame, the commiſſioner ſhould com-'mit them to priſon, until farther order for their puniſhment.' Thomas I. the 30th abbot.

Theſe alarms and troubles being over, the abbot proceeded to adorn this church much more richly than any of his predeceſſors had done; and expended 400l. in theſe works. One of which was to cover the weſt end with new pavements. Though peace was reſtored, yet theſe ſevere examples only ſharpened the malice and reſentments of the country people; and, at Sandridge, a banner of the inſurgents was found, one morning, to be erected at the gate of the Great Farm, or Bury, with a letter ſuſpended; containing a threat, that the houſe and barns ſhould be all burnt down, unleſs the ſum of 16l. was ſent and paid at Canterbury, on a certain day. This threat was deſpiſed; but, in fact, the ſame was put in execution, and the great barn, then full of corn, was fired and conſumed. At Walden, and at Codicote, alſo, ſome buildings, and a mill, were deſtroyed in like manner; and at Comb's, in Suſſex, ſome of the houſes were burnt to the ground. Two men, together with a woman and a boy, who travelled about the country, were ſuſpected and apprehended; and one of the men, being ſeparated in his confinement from the others, made a confeſſion of the whole; that he was ſuborned, by one Henry Grynecobbe, a dyer, in London, to do this atrocious miſchief, in revenge for the death of his brother. But, after ſome time, he was diſmiſſed.

The men of the town pleaded, that they had received and enjoyed the above privileges from King Offa; but conſidered not, that here was no town, or building, in Offa's time; and they were now told that the 6th abbot was the firſt who laid out the market, and brought inhabitants to that place; that from the time of Offa to the time of Edgar, VERULAM was the only name (a) known for the town;

(a) This ſeems to infer that the new town was not diſtinguiſhed till Edgar was king; as if Verulam had ſuffered its overthrow about that time.

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that the great pool *(piſcaria)* did then extend from the caſtle of Kyngſbury to the bridge at Holywelle, and farther; that the park, *(Vivarium,)* becauſe it was hurtful to the abbey, had been bought by the 7th abbot, Afric, for a great ſum given to king Ethelred; whereupon Alfric, the abbot, drained off the water, and made it dry land; that no future king, or royal viſitor, might be tempted to make it a place for his entertainment; that the townſmen began only in the time of Henry III. and abbot Roger to withdraw their grinding and their fulling from the abbot's mills; and that abbot Hugo forbade and reſiſted theſe illegal innovations; and that the licence of the times, and the degeneracy of their monks, had been the ſole cauſe of their intemperate and violent behaviour.

My author concludes his account of Thomas de la Mare, by reciting the names of ſome famous perſons, then belonging to the abbey, or who had ſome connection with it. He beſtows much praiſe on John Moot, the prior, whoſe prudence and zeal for the honour of the houſe had ever been conſpicuous: and, though he had expended 3000 marcs, yet he furniſhed the houſe with great abundance of neceſſaries and of ornamentals. Now alſo lived Nicolas Radclef, a great oppoſer of the heretic Wyclif. William de Bynham alſo refuted many of his opinions, while Wyclif was living; and Simon Surrey reclaimed many from thoſe errors by his preaching; and all the prieſts, at this time in the abbey, were *ſacra paginæ profeſſores*. Of thoſe born in the town, who had become famous, he names Sir John Mandevil, who had travelled over all the world, and wrote a book, in French, deſcribing what he had ſeen.

Among the beneficial acts of this man, the following are recorded of him by *Robert Wood* (a), that he had improved the value of Appulton (b), in Rydal, in Yorkſhire, from 20l. a year to upwards of 200. It had long been in the patronage of this church, but it was a meritorious piece of ſervice to advance its worth, and confer it to the uſes of the convent. The rectory, or parſonage, of St. Julian, now called the parſonage of St. Stephen, was applied wholly to the private purſe of the abbot, and much improved by the management of Moot, then prior. The manor of Wrobbeley (c), which the monks had holden for 20 years, and rented at 171 marcs

(a) In MS. VI. 7. in Ben. Coll. Libr. Cantab.
(b) It is now a ſmall vicarage in the patronge of Sir William Strickland.
(c) Its place is uncertain, unleſs it be in Ridge pariſh.

per

per annum, had paid, by the care of the abbot, 226l. in the whole. The recovery, or purchaſe, of Gorham, from the counteſs of Oxford, for 800 marcs, was reckoned a very fortunate act. A purchaſe of a moiety of the manor of Norton, in the clay in Yorkſhire, for 50l. was much applauded. The manor of Swelſale was purchaſed for 80l. The manor of Childewickſhaye, and likewiſe a moiety of the manor of Oxheye, was purchaſed by John Whitewell, the ſame being contiguous to the abbey's farms, and by him freely beſtowed, and rendered not liable to the Mortmain: *debitè amortizata*. In like manner the lands of William Okehurſt, with 3 acres of wood in Redburn, were liberally beſtowed on this church. And the gifts or purchaſes (related hereafter) by the benefactors, though made now, were ſecured by the ſame caution. The tenements given in Romeland and other places, or exchanged for corrodies, were ſecured in like manner: they were thought to be valued too dear at the time, conſidering the penſions, corrodies, and repairs, neceſſary. But, after all deductions made, and ſome charge to the king's eſcheators, they brought a rent of 54l. 15s. 7d.: and the annual value of Gorham was raiſed 40 marcs and more; and an advance on the manor of Wrobbeley, of 50s. a year, and on other things that fell not into the hands of the eſcheators.

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When this abbot received the temporalities from the king, he made a ſort of commutation, and, inſtead of 1000l. exacted by the former kings, Edward took only 50 marcs. He agreed alſo with Edward, that, in conſideration of a ſum paid down, he might hereafter be free from all ſubſidies, for the monaſteries, and all its priories and cells; and he paid down 200l. and 500l. more in the reſt of his life. The king committed to his care the collecting of his ſubſidy throughout his juriſdiction, to the great eaſe of himſelf and others. This had been an office and duty generally committed to the hands of the biſhops; but no contradiction was offered to this appointment. He procured alſo, from the court of the pope, that, for the future, no confirmation and journey to Rome might be neceſſary; but the new-elected might be allowed to receive the benediction from the hands of any biſhop in England: and this was granted on a condition to pay to the pope's collector 20 marcs every year; or, on failure, to forfeit the privilege.

This abbot was very munificent in his preſents to this church; for, beſide procuring a great quantity of veſtments, utenſils, and ornamental work, for the choir and ſervice, every thing was of the moſt

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coſtly ſort, both in the work and in the materials. He procured a picture, painted in Lombardy, to be hung over the great altar, that coſt 15l. 10s. 8d. He procured three mitres, that coſt 100l. and two of a plainer form that coſt only 40s. He cauſed the choir to be furniſhed, in the principal ſeats, with velvet cuſhions, adorned with the arms of the earls of Warwick and Suffolk. He cauſed very fine candleſticks to be provided; and cenſers, and urns for water, of ſilver. He added many valuable ornaments to the ſhrine; and a large eagle, of ſilver, ſtanding on the creſt, and gilt, he cauſed to be re-beautified. The famous clock of abbot Richard had been left by him unfiniſhed; but now, by the induſtry of Lawrence Stokes, it was completed, together with a dial, and a wheel of fortune; and this work was valued at 1000 marcs. He gave at one time 100 quarters of malt to the refectorar, named Spaldyng; which was worth at leaſt 50l. The great gate was blown down by an high wind, and built again, from its foundation, with its chambers, its priſons, and its vaults, and the roof covered with lead: ſo that the preſent gaol (ſuppoſed to have been as old as abbot Paul's time) is not older than the time of Richard the ſecond. He built alſo an houſe for the copyiſts, by the induſtry of Thomas Walſingham, who relates this, and was then the *precentor* and *ſcriptorarius* (a).

The firſt great peſtilence, that prevailed in 1349, our abbot had eſcaped, and was now arrived at a good old age of 81, in the year 1389, when another peſtilence aroſe, whoſe contagion ſeized him. Yet his conſtitution held out againſt it, and he recovered from its virulence; but was affected with ulcers that broke out on his body, and which defied all remedy. And theſe continued on him for 7 years, and perhaps contributed to prolong his life. But, during this time, though he retained his ſenſes and mental faculties, he ſuffered a conſtant waſte in his body; and, after this gradual lingering approach of death, he yielded to the fatal ſtroke, in the year 1396, on the firſt of September, aged 88.

The great eſteem, and univerſal love, which had been borne towards him, was manifeſted by the moſt ſincere and general ſorrow for his death. And, indeed, as no man had lived with more utility and benefit unto others, ſo no man could die more lamented. All due preparations were made for his funeral: his body was habited in the beſt and richeſt veſtments, when laid in the coffin, with the

(a) MS. in Ben. Coll. lib. VII. 6.

paſtoral

paſtoral ſtaff under his right arm, and a mitre under the left. In this ſtate did he lie for ſome days; and it was obſerved that his countenance recovered all the freſh colour and manly features of his earlier age; and exhibited much of that benign aſpect, which he had ever worn in his former and beſt days. This encomium cannot be imputed to the partiality which all men bore to the deceaſed; for, it is a fact that is frequently obſerved in theſe days. Thomas Walſingham ſays he was preſent at thoſe laſt ſcenes of the abbot's death and burial; and adds that we ought to conſider this circumſtance with a pious attention, as holding forth to us a kind of earneſt and promiſe of the future renovation which mortal bodies are capable of, and ſhall one day be made to undergo. Thomas I. the 30th abbot.

Our curioſity cannot fail to be excited, to learn where this famous man was interred; but our inquiry muſt ſuffer a painful diſappointment; for, the MS. (a), which contains this relation, hath undergone a mutilation, and three leaves have been cut out and loſt; which probably ſet forth many other particulars, relating to his latter end. The laſt abbot, Michael Mentmore, had been buried, as appears by Weaver (b), in the preſbytery, near the two former abbots; but the place of this abbot's grave can only be gueſſed; though, in the life of Wheathampſtead, it would ſeem that he was buried near the altar.

In levying the taxes and aids to the king, the biſhops had always been employed to aſſeſs the ſame on all the eccleſiaſtics' property; as well that of the monaſteries and regulars as that of the dioceſes and ſeculars. And for this reaſon: in every aſſeſſment, made in this reign, wherein the aids were frequent and the demands great, very preciſe care was taken to keep and maintain the privilege of exemption; for, the biſhops of Lincoln had ever kept up a ſort of claim; and, in theſe aſſeſſments, they extended theſe claims to every place within their dioceſe; but it became a point of agreement at laſt, that the exemption ſhould reach only to ſuch property as the abbey did poſſeſs at the day when the exemption was granted, by pope Hadrian, in the time of Henry I. and that every acquiſition ſince ſhould be liable to the aids payable to the king, and aſſeſſable by the biſhop: therefore, in the *computus* (c), at the end of de la Mare's life, the ſum of property ſtands thus: The goods of the abbot, within the juriſdiction exempt, (and taxed by himſelf) were 12 marcs.

(a) In Lib. Ben. Coll.
(b) 559, where is his epitaph.
(c) Cott. MS. Claud. E. 4.

Thomas I. the 39th abbot.

	l.	s.	d.
But in the whole dioceſe of Lincoln, -	405	4	0
The value of the coquinar's goods in the juriſdiction,	47	7	7
——— without the juriſdiction,	36	14	2
The coquinar had alſo ſome ſmall penſions from ſome of the churches.			
The ſacriſt had ſome goods in the juriſdiction, valued at - - - -	40	14	1
——— out of the juriſdiction,	0	15	0
The refectorer had within the juriſdiction to the value of - - - -	65	9	11
——— without the ſame	22	6	8
The camerarius had, within the juriſdiction, -	68	15	9
——— without, - -	8	5	1
The ſub-refectorer had, within the juriſdiction,	2	6	8
The infirmarius had, within the juriſdiction,	72	18	1
The almoner had within the juriſdiction, -	18	4	9
——— without the juriſdiction, -	6	6	4
The ſub-almoner had, within the juriſdiction,	0	13	4
	390	17	5

The churches in the gift of the abbot were taxed at the following valuation, and lay within the juriſdiction.

Vicarage of St. Peter's, at 5l. and aid, (viz. a tenth) was	0	10	0
Rectory of Barnet, at 10 marcs.			
——— Buſhey, at 14 marcs.			
Portion of the prioreſs of Merkyate, ariſing in Watford, - - - -	16 marcs.		
Vicarage of Watford, - - -	7 marcs.		
Prioreſs of Markyate, for a portion ariſing in the church of Buſhey, - - -	20 ſhillings.		
Prior of Wallingford, in the church of Shephall,	8 marcs.		
St. Julian's hoſpital, at - - -	5 pounds.		
The value of all the goods belonging to the abbot, within the juriſdiction, was - -	315	19	11
Belonging to all the officers, or *obedientiarii*, within the juriſdiction, was, - -	324	5	3
——— of the clergy within the juriſdiction, - - - -	49	0	0
The value of the whole within the juriſdiction,	689	5	2

The

	l.	s.	d.	
The value of the whole without the juriſdiction, but in the dioceſe of Lincoln, was -	163	11	4	Thomas I. the 30th abbot.
And the value of the whole (as well of the abbot and convent as of the clergy) within the dioceſe of Lincoln, - - - -	852	16	6	
In the dioceſe of Norwich the property of the abbot and church was valued at - -	15	15	5	
In London, without the city, at -	9	13	10	
——— within the city, viz. in St. Alban, Wood-ſtreet; and in St. Alphage pariſh; St. Mildred de Walbroke; and other pariſhes;	18	10	10	
In the dioceſe of Chicheſter, in Grene Stede, -	2	0	0	
——— Ely, to the value of -	24	3	6	
——— York, to the value of -	19	3	4	
——— Durham, from Gonſclyff, -	25	0	0	
The ſum of the whole income,	967	3	5	
Rents due to the abbot, and ariſing from eſtates in the town.				
By rents, of fairs, markets, view of Frankpledge, mills, cartilages, and other caſuals, -	44	0	4	
In Sandrugge by land rents, mills, view of Frankpledge, and other perquiſites, -	12	15	4	
From Hexton, the manor yielded yearly, -	10	10	0	
By a farm there, appropriated to the kitchen,	1	0	10	
From Newnham by rents, and ſervices of the bondmen, or copyholders, and by the court, -	4	10	3	
——— by a farm there, appropriated to the refectory, - - - - -	2	0	0	
From the manor of Norton, worth yearly, -	10	15	4	
From a farm there, appropriated to the kitchen,	2	0	2	
From Bradeweye, in lands and meadows, -	5	8	4	
———, from a farm there, appropriated to the kitchen, - - - -	1	0	0	
From Walden, (now Paul's) by land rents, mills, fees of court, ſervices of copyhold, profits of cattle, and other caſuals, - -	12	9	8	
Forward,	100	10	3	

From a

		l.	s.	d.
Thomas I. the 30th abbot.	Brought forward,	106	10	3
	From Walden, by the farm there belonging to the kitchen, - - - -	4	7	8
	From Codicote, by rents, and divers other things,	14	15	4
	——— by the farm there appropriated to the kitchen, - - - -	3	0	0
	From Parkbury, by rents, and other profits, -	23	6	9
	——— by the profits of cattle, -	0	12	8
	——— by the farm appropriated to the kitchen, - - - -	11	10	0
	From Tytinghangre, in rents, and other matters,	5	13	9
	——— by the profits of cattle there,	0	15	3
	——— by the farm appropriated to the kitchen, - - -	4	12	0
	From Barnet, by land-rents, underwoods, *(sylvis cæduis)*, - - - -	13	2	4
	——— by another rent there, -	2	0	0
	From Northawe, by rents, and fall of underwood,	2	9	10
	——— by the profits of cattle, &c.	1	12	0
	——— by another rent there, -	1	10	0
	From Borham, by land-rents, and divers other matters, - - -	1	2	6
	From Wynflow, in land-rents, and divers other matters, - - - -	23	6	0
	——— by the profits of cattle, -	2	18	4
	From Caiſho and Watford, by land-rents, and other matters, - - -	26	9	8
	——— by the profits of cattle, &c. -	1	12	8
	——— by the farm appropriated to the kitchen,	6	12	0
	From Rickmereſworth, by land-rents, and other matters, - - - -	6	19	9
	——— by the profits of cattle, -	1	7	0
	——— by the farm there appropriated to the kitchen, - - - -	9	18	0
	From Saret, by land-rents, and divers other matters,	3	6	0
	From Crokeſle, by land-rents, and other matters,	5	7	0
	——— by profit of cattle, - -	0	15	0
	From Oxeie, by land-rents, and other matters,	5	11	8
	From the manor of Pynesfeild, - -	2	7	0
	From Langley (abbot's) in land rent and other matters,	8	10	0
	By the farm there appropriated to the kitchen, -	9	18	0
	In all,	311	18	5

These

Theſe were the ſums aſſeſſed to every aid that was laid on their movables; and the tenth, which was a general tax, amounted to 31l. 12s. 0d. But, out of this ſum aſſeſſed, the abbot had 14l. 15s. 1d. the burſar had a like ſum; and the remainder, viz. 80l. 8s. 3d. went to the ſub-cellerer; and the tax was paid by each in proportion. Thomas I. the 30th abbot.

The above rents were paid by eſtates within the juriſdiction, that was exempt from Lincoln. But, from churches beyond the exemption and extra, the abbot received

From the church of Layton,	-	66	13	4	or 100 marcs.
——————— Dolowe,	-	7	3	1	
——————— Branfeld,	-	10	15	4	
——————— Aldenham,	-	0	4	0	
——————— Sonyngg,	-	2	9	8	
——————— Biſcote,	-	0	6	8	
——————— Mildelton Caynes,		1	2	0	
		88	14	1	

The abbot had alſo, from the church of Newnham, 10 marcs; and from the church of Redburn, 26s. 8d. equal to 8l. making, in all, 96l. 14s. 1d. Out of which the burſar paid the tenth to the aid.

The churches to which the abbot now collated were as follows:

The rectory of Barnet, taxed at 10 marcs.
Ideleſtrie, taxed at 3 marcs.
St. Julian's (St. Stephen) taxed at 5l.
Brantfield.
Letchworth.
Walington, Kymbel Parva.
Stanmore.
St. Peter's in the Chepe, London.
St. Michael in Hog-lane.
The vicarage of St. Peter's in St. Alban's town, taxed at 5l.
Sandrugg, formerly a chapel.
St. Peter's, taxed at 5 marcs.
de la Rugge (formerly a chapel of St. Peter's), taxed at 3 marcs.
St. Stephen's, taxed at 12 marcs.
St. Michael, taxed at 4 marcs.

Thomas I. the 30th abbot.

The vicarage of Watford, taxed at 7 marcs.
Walden, no value.
Norton, no value put down.
Newenham, taxed at 20 ſhillings.
Rykemerſworth, taxed at 5 marcs.
Hexſtanton, taxed at 3 marcs.
Northawe, formerly a chapel of St. Peter's, taxed at 5 pounds.
Redburne, taxed at 4 marcs.
Wynſlow, taxed at 5 marcs.
Greneburgh, taxed at 4 marcs.
Aſton, formerly a chapel of Wynſlow, taxed at 5 marcs.
Horewode, formerly a chapel of Wynſlow, taxed 3 marcs.
Langley, no tax ſet down.
Saret, no tax ſet down.
Luyton, taxed at 100 marcs.
Houghton, no tax ſet down.
Potſgrave, no tax ſet down.
Caldecot, no tax ſet down.
Tirfilde, no tax ſet down.
Wyngrave, no tax ſet down.
Everſdon Mag. no tax ſet down.
Appelton, in the dioceſe of Ely, no tax ſet down.
Sudbury, in the dioceſe of London, no tax ſet down.

In all, 9 rectories and 28 vicarages. Each and every of theſe vicarages was appropriated to one of the great officers of the abbey, who was bound to ſerve the church, and to apply the remainder of the dues to the diſcharge of his office. Each church alſo paid procuration to the arch-deacon, and 6 pence for ſynodals.

The prudence and œconomy of abbot Thomas had manifeſted itſelf in the good management and increaſe of his revenues; but his munificence was more diſplayed in the great abundance of coſtly habits, rich veſtments, gold cups, ſilver baſons and ewers, gilded candleſticks, croſſes ſet with precious ſtones, and other ſplendid articles, with which the church, the refectory, and the altar, were furniſhed. There were 4 texts, or books, of the Latin Bible, very much

much inriched with gilding and figures emboſſed in gold. There were 8 or 9 very ſplendid croſſes, of different metal, and different value, and borne on different days of proceſſion; but one had been the gift of Edward of Carnarvon, and was rich in jewels. There were two candleſticks of ſolid ſilver, and two of braſs gilt for daily uſe; and 8 of iron, for ſhow. Veſſels for burning incenſe, of ſilver, and with ſilver chains; and others of copper (*de cupro*). Baſons of ſilver, with holy images in the bottom, and on the rim, or margin, of weight equal to 40s. (or 10l. of ſilver now.) Cups of all ſizes, curiouſly wrought, of ſilver and of gold, and of divers value; ſome for uſe, and many for ſhow. And, as every chapel had an altar, ſo every altar was ſet out with rich vials and patines, for the bread and wine. The pontific habits were beyond number; with mitres, paſtoral ſtaffs, rich ſandals, zones, rings ſet with ſapphires; the gifts of great benefactors; precious ſtones of all ſorts, altar-cloths, ſtools of velvet, &c. for the choir; divers pieces of tapeſtry, cuſhions of ſilk, with gold fringe (*aurifrigiis*). The veſtments, conſiſting of copes, chaſubles, pectorals, and ſundry others, were not only as rich and ſplendid as art could prepare or money could purchaſe; but they were ſo numerous, that the abbot and officers (who alone were allowed to appear in them) could not bring them all into uſe, though they changed their attire every day (a). Thomas I. the 30th abbot.

John Moote (b).

The laſt abbot died on the 15th of September, 1396; and the prior and convent, in chapter, appointed the 9th of October for elect- John V. the 31ſt abbot.

(a) Cotton MS. Claud. E 4.

(b) The hiſtory of this abbot is extracted, chiefly, from a fine MS. in the library of Bennet College, Cambridge, called *Supplementum Aureæ Hiſt. J. de Tinmouth ex cœnobio St. Albani, id eſt, pars majoris Hiſt. Thom. Walſingham*, book VII. It is ſaid to be left imperfect by William Wynteſhall, and continued by Robert Ware.

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ing a ſucceſſor, having procured the king's licence, dated September 18th, for this purpoſe. The following perſons appeared in the chapter-houſe on that day; namely,

John de la Moote, *prior.*
Nicolas Radcliffe, *arch-deacon.*
Simon Sothery, *prior of Bealvoir, and S. T. P.*
Robert Heron.
Adam Redburne.
Robert Wittele, *ſub-prior.*
John Graveley, *ſub-refectorar.*
John Mouſton, *prior of Hatfield.*
William Wynflowe, *prior of Hertford.*
William Wylum, *prior of Redburn.*
Peter Mevaunt.
Robert Theſtayn.
William London, *ſecundus ſcrutator.*
Robert Trunche.
Richard Beaver, *precentor.*
Thomas Walſingham, *prior of Wymundham.*
William Trent.
Adam Houghton, *burſar* (a).
John Beaver.
William Wyndrug, *primus ſcrutator.*
John Wathampſtede, *prior of Tynmouth.*
Robert Stikford, *third prior.*
Roger Hevered, *ſacriſt.*
William Weſtwyk, *camerarius.*
Richard Mouſted.
Nicolas Trecy.
John Warram, *prior of Beaulieu.*
Thomas Welles, *ſuccentor.*
Thomas Houghton, *ſub-ſacriſt.*
William Wynteſhall.
Robert Botheby, *cellerarius.*
Alexander Bone.

(a) *Burſar* is a word of mercantile import, and was taken from the trading world. It implied, here, a man who bought and ſold, and exchanged, commodities: and it was the buſineſs of the burſar to buy up great quantities of grain, and ſell out the ſame in a dear time; and thus not only gain a profit to the monaſtery, but have at all times a good ſupply at hand; and this was the uſe of ſo many granges and offices.

Thomas

Thomas Reynesforde, *coquinarius.*
Nicolas Dry.
35. Henry Wylum, *tertius ſcrutator.*
Edmund Stukey.
Richa[redacted]eſſendene, *ſub-celler.*
Robe[redacted]e, *prior of Bynham.*
Roger Welburne.
40. Nicolas Grantham.
John Blebury.
John Burk.
John Heyworth.
Nicolas Tyttington.
45. Hugo Wathamſtede.
William Alvewyck.
Michael Theyne.
Richard Olyve.
William Beaver.
50. John Tehylton.
William Heyworth.
Robert Ware.
Symon Wyndeſhore.
Richard Ryche.
55. Thomas Barkford.
John More.
William Dunſtaple.
Henry Rikempſworth.
John Petham.
60. John Hatfeld.

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William Bynham, the prior of Wallingford, was hindered from coming by extreme weakneſs of body; and Richard Storpelle was languiſhing in the infirmary; but they were allowed to vote by proxy. The chapter was attended by a notary public, from London and of the dioceſe of London, named Ralph Gardener, whoſe office it was to ſtand at the door of the chapter-houſe, and, with a loud voice, make proclamation for all perſons, who had a right to vote, to give their attendance. Then was read in public the king's letter of licence; and the notary farther proclaimed, that, if any perſon was preſent, not having a lawful vote, he ſhould depart, otherwiſe be excommunicated, and lie under ſuſpenſion and inhibition. Then was read, by one Thomas Tombe, the junior bachelor

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of arts, from the univerſity, a conſtitution of ſome general council concerning elections; and, this being done, the chapter unanimouſly elected John de la Moote. Immediately the whole aſſembly began to ſing the hymn of Te Deum, and conducted John to the great altar; and, there ſtanding, he was informed, and proclamation made, by Symon Sothery, that he was elected abbot. Then the inſtrument of election, to be carried to Rome for confirmation, was prepared, and atteſted by the notaries (who were three or four more, beſide Gardener and Tombe), and divers other witneſſes; and the ſeal of the abbey was affixed.

Another account ſays, that Moote was known to the king (Richard II.), and in great favour with him; and that this election paſſed without any notice of the vacancy, or opportunity given for the king's officers to take poſſeſſion of the temporalities, the monks having procured letters from the papal agent here in England, and concluded the election in haſte. The king knew that the pope's legate would grant leave to elect, and that the uſual practice was to obtain ſuch leave by paying to the pope's collector the yearly ſum of twenty marcs. The omiſſion of aſking leave of the king, though in ceremony, he might have deemed an affront; but, in favour to Moote, he granted him a charter confirming the ſaid bull, or apoſtolic letters, and allowed him to pay the twenty marcs yearly; yet, on condition, that, for the future, the convent ſhould certify under their ſeal every vacancy, whenever it ſhould happen, and pray leave of HIM to chooſe a new abbot.

It is probable that John did not make the accuſtomed journey to Rome for confirmation, as the ſame is not mentioned, and as it is recorded, among the beneficial acts of his predeceſſor, that he obtained, from the court of Rome, in conſideration of a certain yearly penſion, permiſſion for the new-elected to receive the benediction from the hands of any biſhop in England. He obtained certain bulls in favour of the abbey. One was to gain a diſcharge of paying twenty marcs a year to the pope's collector; another was to be excuſed ſhewing and exhibiting all their deeds and muniments at the viſitation of the ordinary; a practice they had been uſed and compelled to obſerve, but from which they were now to be freed, provided they could ſhew forty years quiet and undiſturbed poſſeſſion, and this to be proved on the teſtimony of good and credible witneſſes. He obtained another bull, conferring a right of conſervancy, that is, a privilege of keeping and retaining, without alienation, the lands, and goods, and property, thereon; and this privilege to be permanent and unchangeable to the abbey and all its cells. The reaſon of this new power was, that the abbey had

ſuffered

ſuffered frequent loſſes in all their goods, by the rapacity of the civil power; and this recourſe to Rome was the beſt and only barrier they could procure, againſt its arbitrary exerciſe. He obtained a bull concerning the order of Acolyths (a); to wit, that they ſhould be choſen only from the monks. This order was of the moſt inferior degree of all who bore office in the ſervice of the church, and conſiſted of ſervants only, who followed the biſhop or abbot, and bore his train; and who, at other times, attended the wax-lights and lamps in the choir. He procured alſo another bull, allowing young monks, and the profeſſed, to be admitted into holy orders as ſoon as they attained the age of twenty one years. John V. the 31ſt abbot.

For theſe bulls and privileges he paid to his proctor at the Roman Court, named maſter John Fraunceys, the ſum of 48l. 6s. 8d. And it was found that more was due, which had been left unpaid by the laſt abbot, to the amount of 78l. 6s. 8d.

Theſe were times when the ill government of king Richard II. was likely to throw the kingdom into great civil convulſions. A writ of array was iſſued, commanding the military aid to be called forth. And the cuſtom was, that the writ, requiring the aid of the clergy, was directed to the biſhops; but the abbot had the addreſs to procure the writ, for the juriſdiction of the church of St. Alban, to be directed to the vicar of Watford, whom he had conſtituted his military commiſſary. And this prudential ſtep was taken, to prevent the biſhop of Lincoln from employing any juriſdiction, or authority, or making pretenſions to the ſame, over this church and its poſſeſſions.

The abbot requeſted the arch-biſhop to celebrate an ordination at the church as oft as was neceſſary; and this was done. He eſtabliſhed and built a church at Barnet, where had been no place of worſhip before (b). He alſo dedicated, with great ſolemnity, many other altars, then called portable altars. And this was a practice often uſed, of carrying an altar from a cathedral or conventual church, and ſetting it up in ſome lonely or unprovided place; and there the pious reſorted, and paid their devotions; and this laid the foundation of many churches, or chapels, in parts remote from the pariſh-church, or other places, where worſhip had been eſtabliſhed.

In the third year of this abbot's time, the body of John, duke of Lancaſter, lately deceaſed, was conveyed to this town, in its way to London. The corpſe, it was neceſſary, ſhould be repoſed in the abbey; and it was already brought to the great weſt door; and no-

(a) From Ακόλουθέω, ſequor.

(b) The builder's name (Beauchamp) is recorded on a flat ſtone in the pavement.

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tice was given to the abbot, that the biſhop of Lincoln (then Henry Beaufort, ſon of the deceaſed by Catharine Swinford) would perform the exequies, and appear in perſon. The abbot, as if foreſeeing this event, and now being dreadfully afraid of the claims of Lincoln, had procured a letter from the king, directed to the ſaid biſhop, to this effect: 'That the biſhop, by his acceſs to the monaſtery or behaviour therein, would not do any thing to derogate, or injure, the rights and privilege of that place, of which he (the king) and his royal progenitors had been the founders. And, if he ſhould obtain leave to do any thing in the monaſtery, that he would give a ſpecial letter of indemnification to the monks.' This letter the abbot ſent, by the prior, to the biſhop, who was then waiting in the priory at Dunſtaple, accompanied by his mother: but the anſwer was this: 'That, in reverence to the royal letters, he would not prejudice the privileges, but regard them as he would his own.' From this ambiguous anſwer Moote knew not how to proceed, and wanted more ſound counſel; and ſent back, 'that he could not admit the biſhop to any kind of entertainment, or even to enter within the walls.' The biſhop intreated the abbot to reſtore their former friendſhip, and to ceaſe from any cauſe of diſcord. The abbot, in great perplexity, and in fear of miſchief from the attendants on the corpſe, ſtill at the door, and from the crowd that ſurrounded it, changed his reſolution, by the advice of the biſhop of London, then and there preſent with him; who inſtantly pledged himſelf to ſeal letters of indemnity. But, not having any ſeal of Lincoln, he affixed the ſeal of London; and the corpſe and train were admitted into the church. The biſhop accompanied the coffin to the ſtall, or ſeat of the abbot, where it was repoſed; and the biſhop was ſeen, ſtanding near it. The abbot took his place in the oppoſite ſtall, dreſſed in his full attire, and ſtanding. A ſuffragan of the biſhop of Lincoln occupied the middle of the choir, and directed the ſinging. On the morrow, the biſhop of London, together with the abbot and the ſuffragan, performed a ſolemn maſs, ſtanding near the great altar. The altar was alſo ſet forth with all the rich garments, and decorations, both of gold and precious ſtones, that had ever been provided for it; together with ſome rich carpets and coverings, which the deceaſed duke had formerly given. And, the next day, the funeral proceeded for London, the whole convent attending it as far as Barnet.

The biſhop of Lincoln, for the preſent, returned thanks to the abbot and monks, for the honour ſhewn to his father's corpſe; but,

when his elder brother, now earl of Derby, was crowned king, this biſhop tried to injure the abbey and the cells in ſome of their privileges. However, at preſent the abbot received the biſhop, after the corpſe had departed, and gave him ſumptuous entertainment in the grand chamber; and they parted with great profeſſions of good will, and with an exchange of ſome very coſtly rings, ſet with precious ſtones. John V. the 31ſt abbot.

In his time, the rectory of St. Julian, (as it was then called,) which had been leaſed to William Burcot, reverted, by the gift of the ſaid Burcot, and was applied to the uſe of the prior, with a certain annual portion to Burcot. Moote had applied himſelf, for twenty years, to the care and labours of his office of cellerer; and he had conſtructed a beautiful chamber for the abbot, contiguous to the wing of the church; and ſpent thereon 600 marcs or more. He built alſo another chamber, or lodge, for the ſeneſchal, between the houſe of the almoner and the gate which leadeth to the ſtable. In the city of London, the abbot's houſe had gone to decay; but this, together with its offices, and all its appurtenances, he completely rebuilt.

On the manor of Parkbury he renewed all the buildings except one houſe. On the manor of Tytenhangre he built two farm-houſes (*Grangiæ*), with proper offices, from a hay-barn to an ox-houſe (a). He planned alſo a manſion-houſe for himſelf and family; but, being prevented by death, he ſcarce completed one half of it. On the manor of Langley he built one grange, and repaired all the other houſes; and gave twenty marcs towards repairing the grange at Rickmerſworth, then taken by a farmer, named Robert de Pantry. At Cayſho he built one ox-houſe; and repaired all the other houſes as far as was neceſſary. At Sandridge he built a houſe with a new gateway, and a ſtable fit for horſes and cattle at graſs. He alſo built mills at Codicote and at Sandridge, with ſuch offices as were neceſſary for the cellerer and his deputy. It is to be underſtood that moſt of theſe lands and manors were in hand; and there they fed oxen, and provided the meat, and flour, and corn, for the conſumption of the monaſtery. He rebuilt two parts of the cloiſter, with the cloſets, and library, and chapel of St. Nicolas; and, over the arch of that cloiſter, he prepared a place for books; and, under the vault of the chapel of St. Nicolas, he intended to have made an *almariola*, or place to ſecure their deeds and muniments. He repaired and improved many

(a) A grangia fæni uſque ad bovariam.

parts

John V. the 31ſt abbot. parts of the houſe; and cauſed a vaſt reſervoir, or vault, to be made near the kitchen, to receive and hold the rain-water for the uſe of the offices. He improved the garden (a); built therein a new pigeon-houſe; and conſtructed a covered way, for the more convenient walking in wet weather.

The manor of Napſbury had been long applied to the uſe of the kitchen, but was now gone to utter decay. This was rebuilt by our abbot. The manor of Aſton, now ruinated both in its timber and its ſtone work, he covered anew; and erected three ſheepcotes there. The manor of Shephall had been let to one Robert Broome, a great man near it, for the term of his life, and for a ſmall rent. But, he not performing the terms, Moote cauſed him to give it up; and, with ſome new buildings, made it a good farm for ſheep, as the name imports. The manor of Eaſtwell, in Kent, gone to ruin and decay, he built anew. The grange in the manor of Tombes, in Suſſex, he transferred, or recovered, from the prior of Michenham, and repaired the buildings.

The Grange of St. Peter's had been long ago deputed, or ſet apart, for the infirmary; and here he built an excellent farm-houſe, with a cow-houſe, ſtables, and pigeon-houſe, alſo a kitchen and bake-houſe: the hall and other offices he repaired. He incloſed the whole with a ſtrong wall of earth, and with a deep ditch, including the grove adjoining. In the walls, he made gates in the front, and poſterns in the back, for the ſafety and pleaſure of thoſe who ſhould dwell in the ſame. He built alſo (to return to the monaſtery) a chimney in the dormitory, to warm the poor inhabitants of that manſion; and added two windows, for the better airing of the place.

The manor of Childwick had been long ago ſet apart for the office of the refectory; and here he found it needful to build a grange, and repair all the houſes and offices adjoining. At Walden, which had been a place over-run with buſhes and briers, and which he cauſed to be reclaimed to fertile land, and levelled fit for uſe, he built a barn and a ſmall dwelling for a bailiff; and incloſed this with a wall of earth and a ditch.

(a) He incloſed this with a ſtrong wall, made of earth, and covered with tiles or ſlate; but, on one part, it was bounded with a broad and deep pool, called the prior's pond.

At

At the rectory of Houghton he built a good grange, on a founda- John V. the
tion of ſtone; and incloſed the ſame with a ſtrong wall of timber 31ſt abbot.
and earth, well tiled, and covered with ſlate or ſtone (a).

In the manor of Kingſbury he built a new barn, and repaired all the offices; and incloſed the whole with an earth-wall and a ditch. This manor had been ſet apart for the office of the under-refectorary; but, by his perſuaſion, it was now given up to the uſe of his principal, and gave great help and ſupply to that office; for, he now augmented his ſtock of napkins (b), towels, and table-cloths; and added, to the plate and Myrrhine glaſſes, others, mounted in ſilver and gold, having ſold ſome veſſels and bought larger and better: out of the old ſaltſellers he had made twelve new ones; and, with the old ſpoons, he had obtained ſeven dozen of new, of better weight and form.

The grange and manſion in the manor of Redburn he repaired with good ſtone-walls, well ſecured with freeſtone. At Wynſlowe, alſo, the grange, for gathering and laying up the tithes, was repaired. Theſe had been demiſed to one Edward Martin for an annual rent of 12s. 8d. but now were redeemed for 18 marcs; and, by the repairs, the ſame could be let for a better rent, or ſold. He rebuilt, from the foundations, the chancels of the pariſh-churches of Sandridge and Grenebury; and repaired with a new roof that of Norton. He was ſuppoſed to have expended, in all theſe works, at leaſt 2000l. yet the poverty of the houſe was relieved, and the ſum of the rents and profits almoſt doubled. The manſion at Oxford, for the young ſcholars, was in a ruinous condition, and too ſmall and incommodious for the number which he wiſhed there to maintain. On this, the abbot bought, of the abbot of Malmeſbury, ſome ground adjoining, and made additions to the college.

In the ſecond year of his rule, he was deputed to viſit all the Benedictine monaſteries in the province; but he declined it, and appointed Symon Sothery to perform this viſitation; and, at the ſame time, employed him to viſit all the cells of this abbey.

Tytenhangre (c) had been a place of reſort for many of the preceding abbots, although it had only a mean farm-houſe for their

(a) Tiles and bricks of clay, and burnt, were invented about 1440, and not earlier.

(b) Naperia.

(c) This name (of Tytenhangre) is of unknown antiquity, but denotes hides of land. There are many places ending in hangre; as, Panſhangre, in this county; Bettſhangre, in Kent; Goldangre, in Eſſex; and Shelfangre, in Norfolk. And Angre ever ſignifies a gravelly ſoil.

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accommodation; but, as it afforded plenty of water, and was a fertile ſoil, and bleſſed with good air and moſt delightful proſpects, this induced Moote to make it a more convenient and uſeful dwelling; and he expended herein, though the work was not half finiſhed at his death, the ſum of 360l. 5s. 6d. beſide carriage and victuals to the workmen. The building of this manſion gave riſe to divers opinions: ſome objected to it and ſaid, it would be ſo pleaſant as to attract the notice of the king or ſome great lord, and it might be difficult to deny them in any requeſt concerning it; and, if it fell into ſuch hands, they would only become a burden to the abbey and its tenants: others ſaid, it would draw away the abbot and many of the brethren from the monaſtery, and prove injurious to the hoſpitality and the alms-giving there obſerved; that the cells and other eſtates afforded better and more commodious places for the abode of a ſmall family, if the abbot choſe to retire from his duty in the abbey; that here the repoſe of the abbot would be much interrupted, and his quiet diſturbed, by reaſon of its being contiguous to the London road, on which account he would be obliged to receive viſitors, and could not be excuſed; and that he muſt ſend to the abbey for proviſions, &c. neceſſary to entertain them. The good abbot could not eſcape the blame and obloquy of all who diſliked the ſcheme, or envied him; but this made him only more diligent in promoting the work, to which he gave all poſſible attendance, with every exertion to quicken the workmen; and abſented himſelf ſo much from the monaſtery, that the uſual hoſpitality and charity ſuffered ſome diminution. He entertained alſo ſuch a multitude of hirelings, and exacted from the tenants and dependents ſo much labour and carriage, that they complained of the hindrance and loſs to their farms. But he cared not, ſo he could gratify his own taſte and inclination. However, the work was deemed unlucky; not only becauſe it brought much vexation on thoſe employed, but alſo brought the abbot to his end. The cattle fell ſick of a murrain, and dearneſs of corn followed, and a great ſcarcity of victuals: this was a general calamity, owing to a bad ſeaſon or very wet ſummer, and there was ſcarce a ſufficiency of corn and malt for the uſe of the monaſtery. All theſe misfortunes, in the minds of ſome men, were imputed to the abbot; and more eſpecially as he was much altered in his behaviour, and frowned on his old friends, while they ſaw him careſs and ſmile on his foes. At the end of this ſummer, the fourth of his elevation, on the day of

All

All Saints, and after the ſolemnity of the maſs, he was ſeized with a dreadful pain, and loſt the uſe of his hands. The phyſical perſons were ſent for, and they pronounced, from his difficulty of reſpiration and extreme pain in his ſide, that this diſorder was a pleuriſy, and that he could not live long. This happened at Tytenhangre; and, as ſoon as it was known in the abbey, the prior and elders conſulted whether it was not adviſable to bring him to his lodgings. This was determined: and William Wynteſhall, his confeſſor and principal chaplain, fearing his death to be haſtening, repaired to him at three in the morning, and addreſſed him in theſe words: 'The 'phyſicians have certain ſigns of your approaching death, and that 'you will ſoon be deprived both of reaſon and of memory; there-'fore, I require you to attend to the ſalvation of your ſoul, while 'any vigor remains; then, and next, make reſtitution, if you have 'defrauded any perſon; (*ſi quid ſubtractum habeas*;) and laſtly, ſig-'nify your will and pleaſure in matters depending between you and 'our brethren.' The abbot, as uſual in ſuch caſes, and as he had been accuſtomed, went into a clear and ready confeſſion, and added many firm promiſes of amendment. He then beſought his confeſſor, that, by virtue of that grace which had been granted him by the pope, he would pardon him in all his tranſgreſſions and deviations, and that he would adminiſter to him the reviving helps of the Lord's body. This was performed, and he was borne next day on a couch, or litter, to the abbey; where, after languiſhing three days, he requeſted the extreme unction: which being performed in the preſence of the prior and fourteen brethren, as was uſual, he breathed his laſt.

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He had explained his mind, at well as he could, to his confeſſor, in all temporal matters, requeſting that the manor of Bacheworth, lately recovered by his diligence, might be affixed to the office of treaſurer. Concerning the manor of Gorham, lately acquired, he would make no diſpoſition, but left to his confeſſor to explain to the ſucceeding abbot what his will was in relation to the ſame. He ordered that, as he had borrowed of the prioreſs and nuns of Sopwell forty pounds, the ſame might be reſtored, or ſatisfaction made them in a better ſupply of victuals, &c. He was buried, as he had deſired, at midnight; but not until the fifteenth day after his deceaſe; and then, with a very ſmall concourſe of people, and without any ſolemnity or coſt, or indeed grief; being, when living, little honoured or beloved: no ſhow of black, except a coat of ruſſet, given to each torch-bearer, and they were twelve in number.

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He died on St. Martin's day, in 1400, and in the beginning of the fifth year of his preferment. He left the houſe much indebted; and the furniture, goods, and chattels, on the lands, much diminiſhed. But this was unavoidable, in ſuch times of confuſion and military troubles, during the inteſtine wars; in which he often loſt money; and often gave more (though without any good effect, yet) to avoid rapine and plunder. He had expended, on the obſequies of his predeceſſor, 76l. 4. 6d.; and, about his own election and inſtallation, a ſum ſuppoſed to be 55l. 4s. 6d. He had alſo given to king Richard, at different times, in order to preſerve his favor and avoid ſuſpicions, no leſs than 126l. 13s. 4d. He had given to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, for his friendſhip and intereſt in obtaining of the king a confirmation of certain charters, or privileges, for certain clergy, 20l. He had given to the biſhop of Carliſle, for the ſame kind of buſineſs, and in the ſame cauſe, 10l.; alſo, to the king's confeſſor, 10l.; alſo to a companion of his, 20l. 6s. 8d.; and, to maſter William Ferby, notary to the king, 10l.; and to John Serle, keeper of the rolls, 60l. 6s. 8d. In expences at Tytenhangre, for victuals and carriage, he had expended 60l. 2s. 9d.; for the new ſtructure at Oxford, 138l. 3s. 2d.; and for making a very large barn at Croſley, and other buildings there, 100 marcs. In recovering the manor of Gorham he expended above 50l. 6s. 8d. (though this was given by friends); and, farther, 400 marcs to John Rolond, out of the rents of the ſaid manor; alſo, for divers privileges, written and authorized, 73l. 6s. 8d.; and above 40l. more to be paid after his death; and, for conſtructing a certain wall at the priory at Beaulieu, almoſt incloſing the ſame, he paid 6l. 13s. 8d.

In exchanging rings with the biſhop of Lincoln (Beaufort), he had given one to the biſhop, which contained a piece of the true croſs; and was therefore earneſtly prized, and begged by the biſhop. But, ſoon after, the biſhop informed the abbot, that the ring given by him was conſiderably more valuable than the ring given by the abbot, and the difference muſt be made up in money. Here the biſhop had forgotten all the terms of friendſhip, profeſſed at the exchange of the rings; and this importunity was ſo preſſing and troubleſome, that the abbot was forced to give him 5l. for a final diſcharge. He made a journey towards Ware and Hychen with his ſeneſchal, and then ſent him to the parliament holden at Salop; all which coſt 20l. He

paid

paid alſo to the king, every year, a ſubſidy, or tax, called Pleſaunce (a); and for ſome of the tenants 8l. 13. 4d. He paid alſo to Peter de Boſco, biſhop of Aix, and reſiding at Rome, for his goodwill and favour in that court, 10 marcs yearly. The journey of his commiſſary to viſit the monaſteries in the dioceſe of Lincoln coſt 20 marcs; and at times he gave, to the prior of the ſtudents at Oxford, 5l. John V. the 31ſt abbot.

In aid of theſe expences he received, of maſter William Burcot, 100l. for the privileges obtained for him and for the cells; from the prior of Tinmouth 100 marcs; from the prior of Wymondham, 16l. 13s. 4d; from the prior of Bynham 15l.; from the prior of Wallingford 20 marcs; from the prior of Hertford 6l. 13s. 4d. But the cells of Bealvoir, Hatfield, and Beaulieu, were ſo much in debt, that they were diſcharged from this demand. He alſo cauſed the burſar to pay him 20 marcs, and the ſub-cellerer 5l. for privileges obtained by him, or now granted, in the exerciſe of thoſe offices. And thus he recovered a ſum of 230l. 6s. 8d. He received alſo, as preſents from ſundry of the brethren, certain gifts on the recovery of Gorham and Weſtwick; and theſe amounted to 50l. 2s. 8d.

If it be aſked how theſe men became poſſeſſed of any money, it is to be ſaid that they had been allowed yearly a ſmall penſion; and, when Moote was elected, he made this penſion ten ſhillings a year. On the evening before the election, he had cloſeted many of the monks, and told them he wiſhed for the place of abbot, for no other reaſon but to recover the rights of the abbey, and to augment their ſtipend. He promiſed to do both, and ſucceeded; and this artifice had taken effect at the very inſtant of election; for, he, as prior, conducted the form of their proceeding, and, when the lawyers preſent aſked in what manner they would elect, directly his fautors raiſed a tumultuous and ſudden cry, to the utter confuſion of all the reſt; and, inſtantly running to him, took him out of the chair and carried him by force into the church, and, contrary to all uſage and decency, ſeated him on the altar. He had been born at a place in Berkſhire, named Syndloſham (b), of ordinary parentage. He was tall of ſtature, of a ſober air and deportment, and very fit for ſecular affairs; for, being the ſon of Thomas de la Moote, who was bailiff and auditor to many lords, he had received early inſtruction in thoſe

(a) To aid the king in building a houſe at Greenwich, given afterwards to duke Humphry, and in the crown in the time of Henry VIII.

(b) This Syndloſham is probably Ingleſham neat Faringdon.

cares;

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cares; and, entering here, was ſoon made chaplain to abbot Thomas, and placed in the office of cellerer; and diſcharged this duty, to the ſatisfaction of his employer, for twenty years.

In 1399, the duke of York, uncle to Richard II. and regent of the realm during the King's abſence in Ireland, aſſembled at the town an army of 60,000 men, in order to oppoſe the duke of Lancaſter (a), who had landed at Ravenſpur, in Yorkſhire, and was claiming the crown as his inheritance unjuſtly detained from him, and demanding juſtice of the king. And this demand was carried to ſuch exceſs as to induce the Parliament to dethrone Richard, and to place the crown on Henry of Lancaſter's head. In this Parliament, the nobles and commons were unanimous in this precipitate act of violence; and none roſe up to ſpeak for the abſent and injured monarch, except the biſhop of Carliſle; who, though ſingle, yet ſhewed an inviolate loyalty to Richard as his lawful ſovereign, as well as the moſt ſober, diſcreet, and wiſe, counſel, as a man, on this general defection of friends, and haſty proceedings towards a remedy. He ſaid, in the preſence of the lords, he doubted not to tell them, that there was none among them, meet to give judgement on ſo noble a prince as king Richard was, whom they had acknowledged for their ſovereign, and liege lord, for the ſpace of twenty-two years and more. 'I aſſure you,' quoth he, 'there is not ſo rank a traitor, nor ſo errant a thief, nor yet ſo cruel 'a murtherer, apprehended or detained in priſon for his offence, 'but he ſhall be brought before the juſtice, to hear judgement; and 'will you proceed to the judgement of an anointed king, hearing neither 'his anſwer nor excuſe? I ſay, I will avouch that the duke of Lan-'caſter, whom ye call king, hath more treſpaſſed to king Richard, 'and his realm, than king Richard hath done either to him or to us. 'For, it is manifeſt and well known, that the duke was baniſhed 'the realm by king Richard and his council, and by the judgement 'of his own father, for the ſpace of ten years: for what cauſe ye 'remember well enough. This notwithſtanding, with licence of 'king Richard, he is returned again into the realm; and, what is 'worſe, hath taken upon him the name, title, and pre-eminence, of 'king. And, therefore, I ſay, ye have done manifeſt wrong, to 'proceed againſt king Richard, in any ſort, without calling him 'openly to his anſwer and defence.'

(a) His father being juſt now dead, he claimed in his own perſon.

 I men-

I mention this ſtory, becauſe the honeſt prelate, for this free ſpeech, was ſoon after ſent priſoner, and confined in this abbey; and, by a new practice of the pope, when he would oblige a crowned head in getting rid of a biſhop or eccleſiaſtic who was unacceptable, he was releaſed, and appointed by his holineſs to be biſhop of Samos, in Greece. But the good man died, before he could ſet out on his new charge; and preſerved an immortal fame, amidſt the ill-treatment of thoſe times. His name was THOMAS MERKES (a).

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WILLIAM HEYWORTH.

The next perſon, after Moote, who ruled this abbey and church, was William Heyworth. He was abbot from 1401 to 1421; when, being the year before appointed to the biſhoprick of Lichfield, he reſigned the dignity of lord abbot, and continued in that ſee 27 years after, as Goodwin ſaith. It is probable that he was born at Lichfield, or had ſome connection or predilection for the place; becauſe, in 1404, he founded almſhouſes in Bacon-ſtreet, in that city (b); which, to this day, are in repute, and called by his name.

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Nothing is recorded of Heyworth, as abbot, except that he was eſteemed for his holineſs and piety; for the ſtrictneſs of his own life, and for the prudent government of others. John of Wheathamſtead was choſen on the reſignation of William, as we learn from undoubted authority (c).

In this reign of Henry IV. the Lollards, favourers of the doctrine of Wickliff, had ſucceeded ſo far in ſpreading their opinions, as to imagine they had a great number of friends in Parliament: and, in Lent 1409, the heads of them preſented a petition to Parlia-

(a) See *Goodwin*; and *Hume*, in 1399.—Dr. *White Kennet*, in two pamphlets, called *Letters to the Biſhop of Carliſle*, and publiſhed in 1713 and 1716, endeavours to refute this relation, and deprive the biſhop of the honour of this loyalty.

(b) See Anglia Sac. Vol. I. pp. 453 and 455.

(c) Har. MSS. 3775.

ment,

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ment, to diſſeize the church of her temporalities. It was drawn up in this form.

'To the king's moſt excellent Majeſty, and all the Lords in Parliament aſſembled, the loyal Commons humbly ſuggeſt, that, in caſe our ſovereign lord the king ſhall think fit to take away the eſtates poſſeſſed by the biſhops, abbots, and priors, ſpent at preſent upon grandeur and unneceſſary figure, the crown and kingdom will receive great advantage by ſuch meaſures; for, by the ſeizure of theſe eſtates, the king will be enabled to create and provide for 15 earls, 1500 knights, 6200 eſquires; and to make a ſufficient ſettlement for 100 new hoſpitals.' In anſwer to this petition they were required to bring a valuation of the lands, &c. to prove that the fund would anſwer the length of the project; but here they failed in the matter of computation. The king alſo diſliked the injuſtice of the motion, and charged the Commons not to preſume ever to offer him again any ſuch bill.

But, during the ſuſpenſe and hopes of the Lollards, a great brewer of the town of Dunſtable, named Murle, had fixed his eye on this abbey; and already had ſwallowed, in imagination, the eſtates, building, church, and all; declaring that no trade could thrive while the monks gave away ſo much beer. Though he was diſappointed in making prize of the monaſtery, this incident ſhews what great temptations theſe places held forth to the covetous and rapacious. A few years after, namely, in the beginning of Henry the Vth's reign, Sir John Oldcaſtle put himſelf at the head of theſe Lollards, and was contriving ſedition and rebellion. He had drawn in many perſons to ſide with him, and, among the reſt, this rich brewer; who was promiſed by Oldcaſtle to be knighted in the field of battle, and to have conferred on him the lands and abbey of St. Alban. But, Sir John being taken priſoner and confined, his chief followers ſhared the ſame fate, and Murle was arraigned, convicted, and executed, for high treaſon (a).

When we view the life and tranſactions of Wickliff, we cannot but ſee how ſtrongly it is verified, that the paſſions of men are among the great inſtruments of Providence, in effecting its purpoſes and deſigns. Reſentment in this man, as afterward in Martin Luther, produced that active contradiction to the higher powers, which will diſtinguiſh thoſe men to all poſterity. About 1371, Wickliff was

(a) Coll. Eccl. Hiſt.

removed,

removed, by Iſlip, the archbiſhop, from his place of prior in Canterbury College, at Oxford; and, from that time to 1389, his preaching and publiſhing new doctrines of civil polity, as well as of religious faith, kept the nation in a continual ferment: and, though he died in that year, a peaceable rector of Lutterworh, after he had ſeen his doctrines ſpread in Bohemia, to which country they were carried by ſome Bohemian ſcholars, who had ſtudied at Oxford; yet the truth, that was found in his opinions and doctrines, continued to operate towards a future reformation in religion. But, not content with combating the doctrines of the Church, he attacked the ſtate alſo; and (which demonſtrates the near affinity and connection of Church and State) he taught new duties to the magiſtrate, and new rules of obedience to the ſubject; in ſhort, the liberty, which he inſpired, of queſtioning the doctrines of the church, went alſo to excite queſtions in the laws of the ſtate. The liberty he taught tended to create univerſal diſcontent in the lower ranks of men, and was the chief cauſe of that inſurrection, already mentioned, which was headed by Wat Tyler, in 1381; and which diſcontent, ſupported by new notions of equality, and plans of levelling the rich and great, and projects of reform, raiſed many inſurrections in the reign of Henry V. until Parliament made an act for burning heretics, and till the Lord Cobham (Sir John Oldcaſtle) was made, in 1418, the firſt great example of the laws ſeverity.

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Hereſy, neither in the Scripture, nor in common acceptation, is deemed a capital ſin; until it becomes mixed with the motives of carnal ambition, and employs itſelf in creating parties, and procuring to itſelf ſecular numbers and worldly ſupport. This peſtilent hereſy troubled the land about 50 years, when its civil principles were duly reſtrained; and its few ſeeds of religious truth grew and proſpered, till they matured in the Reformation.

But, becauſe the abbey afforded ſome ſtout defenders againſt the hereſy of Wickliff, I will be more particular in deſcribing his doctrine, &c.

It was at the latter end of Edward the Third's time when the hereſy of Wickliff began to appear, and to be conſidered as a nuiſance and peſtilence that required correction. As he had been put out of his office of ſecular canon at Canterbury College, and monks admitted into his room, he took up no ſmall enmity againſt all the orders of religious; and, as the archbiſhop, the head of the Engliſh ſeculars, had thus offended him, his anger and reſentments not

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only were extended to him, but had a great ſhare in moving that diſſenſion which agitated the nation for 40 years. He continued in his office of divinity profeſſor, and rector of Lutterworth; and this was a degree of eminence, which, added to his learning, cauſed great reſpect to be paid to his doctrines.

Though he was a ſecular divine, and ſubordinate to the biſhop of Lincoln; yet, with all that courage which a conſcious rectitude inſpires, he inveighed againſt the riches and poſſeſſions of the Church, the diſcipline and government of it, the perverſion of its power, and the worldly principles which actuated the general body of Churchmen. And this was reckoned, by them, a more dangerous act than if he had denied, and preached the denial of, ſome of the fundamental doctrines of the Saviour. Edward the Third had filled all the great offices of State with churchmen; and this circumſtance might excite much envy, and cauſe many obſervers to impute all the civil acts of theſe men to the principles of their religion, and thus create a temper of hatred againſt the church.

The doctrines of Wickliff were, 'That the Church of Rome is no 'more the head of all churches than any other church; and that 'St. Peter had no greater authority conferred on him than any other 'apoſtle. That the pope of Rome had no more juriſdiction in the 'exerciſe of the keys than any common prieſt. That temporal lords, 'being patrons, ought to be diſſeized of that right; and ſuch church 'diſpoſſeſſed of its lands, tithes, and revenues; and that a temporal 'lord or prince, when conſcious of miſrule in the church, is bound, 'on pain of damnation, to diveſt her of her property, and caſt her 'out of his protection and law.'

He taught alſo, that 'the goſpel is a ſufficient rule and direc-'tion for the life and conduct of a Chriſtian; that all ſupplemental 'rules, though inſtituted by holy men, and practiſed in the monaſ-'teries, give no more improvement to Chriſtianity than whiteneſs 'doth to a wall. That no pope or prelate ought to have priſons, 'for puniſhing offenders againſt diſcipline; but every ſuch perſon 'ought to go at large, and be at liberty both in motion and prac-'tice (a).'

It may be clearly diſcerned, by theſe charges, that there was much corrupt government in the Church; and that proſecutions in matters of diſcipline were frequent and ſevere: and it cannot be doubted,

(a) Walſingham, Hiſt. Ang. 191.

that

that the author and preacher of ſuch charges would find many bitter enemies. But he declared alſo a diſbelief of their favorite doctrine of tranſubſtantiation (a); for, he held that the Euchariſt, after conſecration, was not the true body of Chriſt; but only an emblem, or ſign of it. Now, to controvert this eſtabliſhed doctrine was a moſt heinous offence; and Wickliff was ſummoned to appear before a ſynod, convened by the archbiſhop at St. Paul's, to give an account of his faith. He appeared, accompanied by John, duke of Lancaſter; and Percy, the lord marſhal of the king's court. Hiſtory preſents us with the dialogue that followed, between the biſhop of London and the two lords (b). And a tumult ariſing, no buſineſs or examination took place; and the accuſed was diſmiſſed with an injunction of ſilence. This ſynod had met by virtue of a bull from the pope to the archbiſhop, requiring him to convene the profeſſor, and examine his principles and faith: and this tranſaction happened a few months before Edward's death, in 1377. William II. the 32d abbot.

About this time the pope ſent a bull to the univerſity of Oxford, complaining of their favoring the doctrines of Wyckliff, with a rebuke for ſo long permitting him to propagate his errors, without correction. Walſingham, who lived within 50 years after, ſays, they debated long whether they ſhould receive the bull or not. He mentions not their final reſolution; but no ſtep was taken, on their part, in obedience thereto. The pope ſent another bull to the archbiſhop and biſhop of London, charging them to preſerve the young king and his court from Wickliff's infection—' for, theſe novelties were

(a) If we look into the origin of this monſtrous doctrine, we ſhall find it to be no earlier than a Council of Lateran, in 1215, held by Innocent III. where the canons made are introduced by a very ſolemn form of faith, in which it is ſaid, ' There is ' but one Catholic Church of the faithful, out of which none is ſaved; wherein Jeſus ' Chriſt is both prieſt and ſacrifice, whoſe body and blood are contained really, in ' the ſacrifice of the altar, under the ſpecies of bread and wine; the bread being ' tranſubſtantiated into the body of Jeſus Chriſt, and the wine into his blood, by the ' power of God; that ſo, to render the myſtery of the unity perfect, we might receive ' of his nature what he received of ours.' And from theſe words alone, cheriſhed, improved, and enlarged, and not from any bull, canon, injunction, or reſcript, did that monſter grow. Now theſe latter words are ſuch as conciliate and explain; and the author's meaning, by *tranſubſtantiated*, was the ſame as being ſpiritually changed and taken; for, the reaſon holds not good, if we take any thing of the ſacrifice but the ſpiritual part; as he took nothing of ours but the bodily and material; and the myſtery of the unity is not perfect and complete, but by our taking his ſpiritua part, as he took our carnal.

(b) Fox's Acts and Mon. Harpsfield in Vitâ Wycklif, p. 683.

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'not only points of ſpeculation, and errors of faith, but dangerous 'alſo to civil government.' Another bull was ſent to the archbiſhop, charging him to proceed. Anſwer was made in the moſt compliant promiſes, and Wickliff was ſummoned to Lambeth; but ſome tumults aroſe without, while Wickliff was explaining his doctrines within; however, he gave ſome ſatisfaction, by a commodious way of interpreting, and qualifying his doctrines to the taſte of his judges. He was diſmiſſed, and ſilence enjoined him. This lenity was thought to have ariſen, from perceiving the intereſt he had at court, and the great ſupport from the lower orders of men; yet, in ſpite of the ſilence enjoined him, he went on publiſhing his notions and opinions, and adding thereto other new errors, or contradictions to ancient doctrines.

In this condition was the controverſy with Wickliff, when, in 1381, the great inſurrection broke out under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw; who, together with their companions, were men of the loweſt race, and meaneſt education, without letters, or any marks of diſtinction. They had been inſtigated to this proceeding by the preaching of one Ball, a ſecular prieſt; who, for 20 years, had been teaching the peaſants and farmers of Norfolk; that, as all men were born equal, ſo they ſhould live equal; that ſervitude and villanage never were intended by nature, and were only the contrivance of the rich to keep under the poor; and that Chriſtians ought to aſſert their native liberty: that the rich had an overplus of wealth, beyond neceſſaries; which they ought to relinquiſh for the uſe of thoſe who had nothing, and thus bring mankind to an univerſal level. That they were under no obligations either to Church or State; for, they could do well without the inſtruction of the former, and the protection of the latter, being, as they conceived, competent to all things, and ſelf-ſufficient of themſelves. This peſtilent advice he mixed with ſome of Wickliff's more plauſible opinions. Though the parties were ripe for ſedition and rebellion, yet they might not at this time have ariſen and taken arms, had not Ball been impriſoned by the archbiſhop, after having been excommunicated; and, by refuſing to comply or ſubmit to petition for abſolution, had become liable to impriſonment. On this the rabble of Kent broke out, and reſcued Ball from the priſon at Canterbury; where he declared that he was perfectly eaſy, and knew that 20,000 men would come to ſet him at liberty. The peaſants of Norfolk and Suffolk had received the like infection; and, aſſaulting the abbey at St. Edmund's Bury, they burnt

burnt all the charters and records, murdered the prior and Sir John Cavendiſh, chief juſtice, and ſet up their heads on poles in the market-place. Theſe inſurgents were afterwards met, at Barton-mills, by Henry Spencer, biſhop of Norwich; who, with a ſmall armed force, encountered them; and, ſlaying ſome, put the reſt to flight. As for Ball, he was ſoon after taken priſoner at Coventry, brought to the town of St. Alban's, tried before Sir Robert Treſilian, convicted of ſedition and treaſon, and hanged for example. William II. the 32d abbot.

By this time the ſeditious were all quelled, and many of thoſe taken were executed: but it no where appears that Wickliff held any communication with them; for, had he done ſo, theſe rebels would not have treated the palace of his friend and patron the duke of Lancaſter, ſo ill, as to burn it. However, the next year (1382) the king impowered the biſhops to arreſt and impriſon the followers of Wickliff; and he was queſtioned again before the biſhops, and would have been totally cruſhed, had he not been ſupported by the duke of Lancaſter. Wickliff gave account of his faith; and ſome articles were condemned by thoſe preſent as heretical, and others only as erroneous. The king ſent an order to Oxford, to charge the chancellor to diſcourage all the tenets of Wickliffe; but there were ſome found, who went farther in their oppoſition and diſſenſion than Wickliff had done. And now began to be heard the term of Lollard; which ſeems to have begun here at Oxford, and which ſerved as the watch-word for doctrines of reform againſt the grandeur of the prelates and clergy. It was a kind of under part to Wickliff; if not contrived on purpoſe to draw off the public eye from obſerving him, and, by raiſing a new duſt, give him opportunity to eſcape.

At Oxford were ſeveral of the doctors and leading men, who ſtrongly eſpouſed Wickliff, and theſe all fell under cenſure, and were obliged to recant or to fly. And, to ſecure the univerſity from a latitude of opinion, all the graduates were obliged to ſwear a renunciation of Wickliff's concluſions, as cenſured at Lambeth. Now, the Lollards, though ſupported and countenanced by many men of rank in Oxford, and by many gentlemen in the country, yet they conſiſted of low mechanics and the moſt inferior ranks of men; and the tenets they profeſſed tended to inveigh againſt the eaſe of the clergy, the wealth of the laity, the mean appearance of the friers, and their affected ſanctity. Thus did they unite themſelves to the Wickliffites, and, if they agreed in deriding the Church and contemning the miniſtry, they cared not in what reſpects they might differ from each other.

Now

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Now this ſort of preachers and hearers gained the name of Lollard, not from any leader of that appellation; but it was a kind of cant term given to theſe pretended ſaints, from their reſemblance to ſome other ſects on the continent, who were much occupied in ſinging their devotions, and making a *lulling* kind of tone, ſuch as is calculated to put children to ſleep (a). In Flanders and Germany there were many congregations of theſe Lollards, and it is probable they came into England in the time of Edward III. when the woollen manufacture quitted thoſe countries to ſettle in Norfolk and Suffolk; though they did not appear here in bodies and become public preachers. In Bohemia the like tenets and opinions were holden, and, in a few years, broke out into formidable rebellions, headed by John Huſs and Jerom Prague. And in many countries, and in different ages, we can diſcern ſects of this puritanical ſort, who affect ſuperior holineſs, and a more pure form of devotion. It is well known, that among the Greeks there exiſted a ſect who called themſelves *Cathari*. The Waldenſes and Albigenſes were a plain uncorrupt people, and ſtrove to attain a more perfect holineſs, and a more pure faith, than they thought were poſſeſſed by the Romiſh clergy. There were, likewiſe, in the ſouth of France, ſects of Religious, who put themſelves under monaſtic rules, and were incorporated by the pope, and diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Bons Hommes*.

It matters not whether one can diſcover the pedigree and deſcent of theſe ſects; or in what country they ariſe, and how they paſs to another; for, in every country, where the diſtance between the rich and poor is very great, the latter will naturally, and perhaps juſtly, murmur againſt the former; the laborious will envy and malign the eaſy; pinching want will grow adverſe and hoſtile to affluence and voluptuouſneſs; the lower ranks of men will look out for helps, to abate their weakneſs, and procure comforts, which are denied to them, and, from ſatiety, ſlighted by others. The human mind will exert and ſtruggle; and the bold and profligate will ever aid the confuſion that may chance only to bring them ſome advantage. Whenever theſe men are thus agitated, and their minds ſharpened by want, they ſoon find matter of reproach againſt their betters; and every ſuperfluity of the latter becomes a ſource of deſire and temptation to the former. Theſe principles may be thought to lead only to ſeditions in

(a) Lullward—ſo the Begards, or Begward, from their piteous begging whine. Moſheim Ecc. Hiſt.

the

the ſtate; but hereſies, and oppugning the doctrines of the church, ariſe from the like ſpring, or fountain, with thoſe which diſturb the ſtate, differing only in the object againſt which they point their enmity. The like temper and inclinations ſet the mind to work; and it depends only on the grievance, whether it be civil or religious, that the man is determined to be ſeditious and traiterous to the one, or an heretic and apoſtate to the other. And, as a proof of this truth, it may be obſerved how generally it happens, that the ſame temper of animoſity and contradiction makes the poſſeſſor adverſe, at the ſame time, both to Church and State; and it is ſeldom or never ſeen that an enemy to one is any other than an enemy to both. Is this ſo, becauſe the two are ſo allied, and connected, and interwoven in the ſame fabric, that the lot of both is to be alike combated and maligned? No: it is becauſe the mind of man, when heated by imaginary injury, will bear no reſtraints; and as freely leaps over all the ordinances and commands of God as over the laws of man. William II. the 32d abbot.

It is not, therefore, to be wondered, that ſects ariſe: eſpecially in Popiſh countries; where ſo much objectionable matter preſents itſelf every moment to our view; where the devotion and worſhip are without inſtruction and edification; and where the miniſtry are not examples of a real unfeigned humility and piety, and of incorruptible integrity.

Wickliff was no more perſecuted; and, in 1387, died a quiet and peaceful pariſh-prieſt, rector of Lutterworth. In his aſſertions he had opened many of the doctrines of the Romiſh Church, and expoſed the evil principles both of that and its clergy; and theſe dwelt in the minds of thoughtful men, eſpecially his notions of the Euchariſt, in a manner to prepare the way for the Reformation 150 years after; yet he was juſtly charged with many, not only irreverend notions towards the Church, but many impious opinions in matters of faith. He explained predeſtination and reprobation in ſuch ſevere terms as to eſtabliſh a ſtoical fate, and make all things proceed from abſolute neceſſity. And, perhaps, this taking away all free will was one great reaſon why he was not more eſteemed or followed by the reformers.

It was now the ſecond of Henry the IVth's reign, when the Lollards were ſo conſiderable for their numbers, and ſo powerfully ſupported, that the King and Parliament paſſed the famous act, *de Heretico comburendo* (a), in order to ſtop this contagion. This was thought

(a) See the ſtatute in Coll. Eccl. Hiſt. I. p. 614.

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ſevere; but the ſafety of the ſtate, which was now involved in the common danger, required a ſharp remedy. Burning had ever been the puniſhment of hereſy at common law, ſays Briton, 1. 9. But then the accuſed was not convicted before his dioceſan; whereas, now he was brought to a more learned tribunal; and then to be delivered over to the ſecular power; and the king might pardon if he thought fit. Therefore, this act manifeſted more lenity, where there was room for it; and the proceſs was conducted with the conſent of the regal power as well as that of the Church. The act charges theſe perſons with 'making unlawful conventicles and confederacies, holding and exer-'ciſing ſchools, writing books wickedly inſtructing and informing 'people, exciting and ſtirring them to ſedition and inſurrection, and 'making ſtrife and diviſion among the people, and other enormities 'horrible to be heard, daily to perpetrate and commit.' Soon after, one Sawtre, was convicted of hereſy, in denying tranſubſtantiation, and executed; and, in 1409, a ſmith, named Badby, underwent the like trial, and refuſed mercy, even in the midſt of the flames, when offered, on condition that he would retract his denial, and agree to that doctrine. And, in this year, did the Lollard intereſt in Parliament petition the king, as above related, to diſſeize the Church of its temporalities. The king rejected this petition with anger. Then the Commons moved a bill for altering that ſtatute, and making the offence bailable, or that the offender ſhould be kept in the king's priſons, and not in the biſhop's. The king refuſed, and ſaid *he would rather heighten than abate the rigor of that law.* The next year (1410), the univerſity of Oxford, in a full congregation, condemned 200 concluſions, found in Wickliff's books; and ordered the cenſured books to be burnt. The king dying, in 1413, the Lollards again raiſed their heads, and uſed many threats, by papers ſecretly affixed to church-doors, in London, that they could bring into the field an hundred thouſand men in arms; and now began to appear Sir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, as their leader and head. This man had been an officer, and much valued by the late king for his military talents; but, the Convocation now ſitting, the biſhops ſummoned him as an inflexible heretic, to appear and give account of his faith, before the archbiſhop. Oldcaſtle refuſed. The archbiſhop cited him again in form; he refuſed again. The archbiſhop excommunicated him, and ſummoned him to appear on St. Matthew's day, and ſhew cauſe why he ſhould not be pronounced guilty of hereſy and ſchiſm. The knight, ſtill denying any compliance, was ſeized and brought by the lieu-

lieutenant of the tower before the archbiſhop on the day appointed. He then read, from a written paper, the ſubſtance of his faith; which, in the main, was good; but, on the article of the Euchariſt, he declared expreſsly againſt the Church's doctrine; ſaying, it was a modern deciſion; and that the church thought otherwiſe at firſt, and did not vary until ſhe had been poiſoned by being endowed (a). His contumacy herein, and inflexible temper, cauſed him to declare, that he would not recede from this confeſſion of his faith. On which the Court proceeded to ſentence, and the archbiſhop, with great regret, declared him an heretic convict; and left him, as ſuch, to the lay power. The archbiſhop, reporting this to the king, begged a reſpite of 50 days; this was readily granted, for, both were very deſirous of preſerving the criminal. Before the 50 days were expired, he eſcaped from the Tower, and his followers aſſembled, in great numbers, in St. Giles's in the Fields; but, being oppoſed and routed by the king, they diſperſed, and Cobham wandered about the country, and was reduced to extremities; and his friends (among whom was Murle the brewer) convicted of ſedition and treaſon, and hanged. It was now the year 1416, when Cobham was nearly ſurprized, at a farm-houſe near this town of St. Alban, belonging to the abbot; but his vigilance ſaved him from being taken; and the purſuers found only religious books, which the Lollards, in their ſuperſtitious zeal, had defaced and mutilated, by cutting off the heads of the virgin and the ſaints. However, it was not long, before he was apprehended in Powis Land, in North Wales, and brought up to the Houſe of Lords then ſitting; where his indictment for levying war againſt the king, found two years before in the King's Bench, being read to him, and the queſtion put, whether he made any objection to the proceedings, he anſwered, 'that he could not acknowledge them for 'his judges, ſo long as his ſovereign lord, king Richard, was living 'in Scotland.' On this declaration, a warrant was ſigned for his execution, with an order that he ſhould be hanged, and then burnt; the firſt part of the ſentence being adjudged for his treaſon, and the laſt for his hereſy. Any farther proceedings of trial were thought unneceſſary, becauſe he had been out-lawed, for not appearing to the indictment for levying war, in St. Giles's Fields.

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This inſtance of ſeverity happened in 1417, and it was ſo ſeaſonable, that we read no more of the Lollards. But it is probable that,

(a) Walſ. Hiſt. Ang. 384.

 although

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although they might poſſeſs ſome opinions of undeniable truth, yet they retained them in private, and had learnt the danger of diſturbing the public peace, and civil repoſe of the nation, by affecting to eſtabliſh their notions by force, or mixing any queſtions of a civil nature with their opinions of religious matters.

The doctrines of the Lollards were probably derived from thoſe of the Waldenſes and Albigenſes; though, in any part of the world, hereſies muſt ariſe among any people who had learning to enable them to compare the Romiſh faith and diſcipline with that taught by the apoſtles. And it is to be expected, that more goſpel truth, and a *more pure faith*, ſhould be found in the ſouthern provinces of France than in any other country; becauſe, in theſe were anciently planted many of the firſt churches; here dwelt many of the Latin fathers, and, in the early ages of the goſpel, here were founded many of the moſt eminent inſtitutions for preſerving and propagating the Chriſtian faith. And, although the doctrines, or at leaſt the publication of the doctrines, entertained by the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, were ſtopped and reſtrained by the artifices of the popes, and a formidable tribunal erected to extirpate their opinions; yet more true Chriſtian doctrine hath ever ſhewn itſelf in that country, than in almoſt any other; and may be traced thence to many other countries of Chriſtendom (a). And, as one eminent inſtance of the pure faith of that country, we may note the peculiar good morals which have ever prevailed there. A ſimplicity of manner, uncorrupted by an intercourſe or knowledge of the world, with a great portion of humble induſtry and patient content, has diſtinguiſhed thoſe people; with a decent piety even to the Romiſh worſhip, and a prudent concealment of any principles or opinions, that may offend others. Yet, in their zeal for their religion, they have at times mixed their ſentiments of government, and engaged in contentions of the ſtate; and, from theſe diſſentions, have they drawn down upon them all the horrid perſecutions which ſtain the annals of their hiſtory.

In theſe countries were found the *Bonnes Hommes*; who, though planted in monaſteries, bear teſtimony to a character of diſtinguiſhed piety and holy living; and, when brought into this country, ſtill preſerved the ſame good fame. And here I will conclude this long digreſſion with a ſhort account of the *Bonnes Hommes* of Aſhridge.

(a) See Quick's Synodicon, ſub initio.

ASHRIDGE COLLEGE, FOUNDED IN 1283, THE 11th YEAR OF EDWARD I.

Berkhampſtead, both the manor and the caſtle, had belonged to the Crown, in the time of the Saxon kings; was frequented by William the Conqueror, and at this place he received the ſubmiſſion of abbot Frederic of St. Albans, and many others of his new ſubjects. This place continued in the Crown, and was the reſidence of ſome of the kings, and often of their near relations, &c. and, at length, was the abode of Cicely, the old dutcheſs of York, mother of king Edward IV. and Richard, his ſucceſſor; and at this place ſhe lived to extreme old age, in the time of Henry VII. before ſhe took her leave of all worldly vanity, in the year 1497. This place was the reſidence alſo of Richard, duke of Cornwall; and who, in 1257, was elected king of the Romans; and, by the intereſt of the elector of Cologn, intended to be placed on the Imperial Throne of Germany. This Richard had choſen the ſpot at Aſhridge, in the midſt of woods, for a houſe of pleaſure; and perhaps as commodious for the ſports of the field: and it thus became an occaſional reſidence. And in the year of his election he placed ſome religious here, in honor of his ſon Edmund, then 7 years old. At this time Henry III. built a royal manſion at Langley, and abode there very often; the place being not only extremely pleaſant, but alſo in the vicinity of his brother Richard, duke of Cornwall; between whom there ſubſiſted a moſt endearing affection; and, as a mark thereof, the king, on going abroad, generally made him regent of the kingdom. This Richard died at Berkhampſtead, on the 2d of April, 1272, about ſeven or eight months before the king.

Richard left a younger ſon, named Edmund; his elder having died before him. And this Edmund was the ſon of Cynthia, one of the daughters of Beatrice, counteſs of Provence; Henry, the king, having married another. The court of England had been frequented by crowds of the nobles and gentry of Provence, and of Anjou and Poictou. And it is probable, that Edmund, now duke of Cornwall, brought this religious order, and placed them at Aſhridge, in compliance with ſome pious requeſt of his mother; or, by the intereſt and influence of ſome of the Provenſals. My reaſon for this is, becauſe

they were brought out of the South of France; in which country a ſect then prevailed, who called themſelves *Boni Homines*, and were called, in the Gaſcon dialect of the vulgar, *Los Bos Homes*. They were a ſect of myſtics; approaching, as ſome thought, to Manichæiſm, and by ſome confounded with the Albigenſes; but, in truth, a remnant of the ancient Paulicians (a).

They were brought to Aſhridge, in 1283, by Edmund, earl of Cornwall; probably out of regard to their ſingular piety and good name; and to perform for himſelf and his mother, who lived now at Berkhampſtead, all the holy functions then in repute. And, as a farther proof that theſe new monks were near akin to the Albigenſes, I muſt remark the old paintings on the walls of the cloiſters; where it is viſible, though the figures are now much decayed, and but one piece remains intire; yet there is ſufficient argument to ſhew, that the ſubjects were all made in extreme deriſion of the frier preachers and frier minors; for, theſe two orders, having been introduced into England about the year 1221, had affected ſuperior holineſs and purity, and pretended to abſolute poverty and ſelf-denial, though they built nobly and lodged ſuperbly. They had drawn on them the odium of all the ancient orders, and were ridiculed on all occaſions, where carving or painting could exhibit their true colours. And eſpecially did theſe orders receive a double ſhare of ridicule and contempt from the Albigenſes; becauſe, againſt them, and to preach down their antipapiſtic doctrines, had theſe orders been at firſt inſtituted and encouraged.

This Edmund, earl of Cornwall, gave to the rector of the *good men* the brothers of the church founded at Aſſerugge, in honour of the precious blood of Jeſus Chriſt, for the maintenance of 20 brothers clerks, whereof 13 at leaſt to be prieſts, the following endowment; viz. his manor of Aſſerugge, with Pitheleſtone, and all other its appurtenances; alſo, the manors of Little Gateſdene, with that of Hamelhamſtede; except the advowſon of the church; with all privileges and immunities belonging to the ſaid manors. He alſo allowed them common paſture in his wood of Berchameſtede, called Le Frythe. The earl, by another deed, gave alſo to the brothers aforeſaid the manors of Ceſtreton, (now called Cheſterton, a ſmall vicarage belonging to New College,) and of Ambroſden, (another ſmall vicarage,) together with the advowſon of the churches of the ſame (b).

(a) Moſh. Eccl. Hiſt. 11 Cent. (b) Dugdale's Mon. vol. I.

And

And theſe grants and donations are all confirmed, and all the privileges annexed to the above manors, by a charter of Edward I. in the 14th year of his reign.

Only one more priory of theſe Bonnes Hommes was founded in England; and that was at Edingdon, in the county of Wilts, by William de Edingdon, biſhop of Winton, in the year 1352, in the reign of Edward III. to whom the ſaid biſhop was lord treaſurer and mint maſter.

The above mentioned Edmund, earl of Cornwall, was a man of ſingular piety: for, in his caſtle of Wallingford, then a part of his poſſeſſions, he gave, in the 10th year of Edward I. and confirmed, a maintenance in his chapel of St. Nicolas, in the ſaid caſtle, for a dean, 6 chaplains, 6 clerks, and 4 acolyths, or taper-bearers, the ſum of 40l. a year, to be paid out of his yearly revenue of lands at Waterbury, or Waterperry, and Shillingford (a).

The principal, or ruler, of this houſe, or college, was called a rector. And Browne Willis has collected the names; thus,

Richard de Watford, reſigned in 1296
William de Harwold, who died in 1335.
Richard de Serret, who died in 1346.
Gilbert de Bowelles was then elected.
Ralph de Aſton died 1396.
John de Trenge, or Tring, is then mentioned.
Robert ——— occurs in 1428 and 1431.
John ——— occurs in 1435 and 1452.
John Berkhampſtead reſigned 1521.
John Maldon died 1529.

Thomas Waterhouſe, who ſurrendered at the general diſſolution, and had a penſion for life of 100l. a year, and 50 loads of wood out of the woods of the late ſaid Houſe. He died about the end of Mary's or beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and was buried in Little Berkhampſtead, or North Church.

Part of the gardens, and the outhouſes, ſtand in the pariſh of Little Gaddeſden, in the county of Hertford; but the houſe and church, which latter has been demoliſhed many years, ſtood in Pitſton pariſh, in Bucks.

In the augmentation-office is a penſion book, comprehending the names of all perſons to whom penſions were to be paid. The firſt

* Dugd. vol. I. p. 347.

portion

Portion to be paid at the anniverſary of our lady, in the 31ſt year of our ſovereign lord king Henry VIII. And from that book the following is an extract.

To Thomas Waterhouſe, 100l. a year, and 50 lodes of wode.

	l.	s.	d.
To Thomas Hyll,	10	0	0
To Michael Draper,	10	0	0
John Hatfelde Senex,	8	0	0
To Robert Hychyn,	7	0	0
To Richard Sowders,	5	6	8
To Richard Canon,	6	0	0
To John Slepnothe,	8	0	0
To Richard Gardyner,	7	0	0
To William Knyghton,	6	0	0
To Richard Bedforde,	6	0	0
To Roger Byrcheleye,	6	0	0
To William Yonge,	6	13	4
To William Downham,	6	13	4
To William Broke,	5	6	8
To Edward Peacock Novyce,	2	13	4
	100	13	4

Per nos { John Tregonwell, John London, William Cavendiſh, } Auditors,

Theſe monks had a kind of governor or viſitor, as other orders had, called a provincial, the laſt of which was one Paul Buſh; whoſe works, yet extant, ſhew him to be learned in divinity and in phyſic. He was made the firſt biſhop of Briſtol; and conſecrated in 1542; and was deprived by queen Mary for being married (a).

This houſe had been viſited in the 26th of Henry VIII. by the king's commiſſioners, prior to the firſt act of diſſolution, which paſſed in the 27th; when the valuation was thus:

In Temporals.

	l.	s.	d.
By farms in Hemelhempſtead,	137	10	7

(a) Dug. Mon. I. 144.

By

	l.	s.	d.
Brought forward,	137	10	7
By farms in Bovingdon, - -	69	9	3
Cuſtomary fees in Gaddeſden Parva, -	7	7	10
——————— in Frytheſdon, - -	6	13	10
Rent of tenements in Berkampſtead, -	1	0	0
Fee farm rents in Aldbury, - -	2	13	4
Rents and farms in Ceſtreton, Oxon, -	27	13	2
——————— in Ambroſden, - -	31	5	10
By Rents in Pitſton, - - -	16	2	6
Lands in the hands of the rector, and belonging to the college, 104 acres; lying in 5 cloſes, viz. in Parkfield, 32 acres; Honing Arc field, 30 acres; Durmer, 21 acres; Looſefield, 10 acres; and Toſehill, 11 acres; at the rate of ſix pence per acre, are worth - -	2	12	0
By paſture, - - - -	3	2	0
By ſale of the woods, - - -	13	6	8
Fines for heriots and perquiſites of courts,	2	0	0
By fines and releaſes, - - -	2	0	0
Amount of Temporals,	322	17	0

In Spirituals.

The rectory of Hemel Hempſtead, -	42	3	0
Rectory of Blackthorn, in Oxon. -	30	1	8
Rectory of Cheſterton, - - -	8	0	0
Rectory of Pitſton, - - -	30	10	10
By fines and releaſes of the rectories, -	1	6	8
By retaining their own tenths, - -	0	15	8
Groſs amount,	435	14	10
Deduct reprizals,	31	1	8
Total valuation,	404	13	2

This pious earl of Cornwall did alſo, in the year 1281, found and endow an abbey for Ciſtertians, at Oſney, near Oxford, valued at the ſuppreſſion at 174l. a year, and now in the poſſeſſions of Chriſt Church. In 1720 the arms of the ſaid earl were viſible over the gate, viz. in one ſhield his paternal coat, a lion rampant in a border of be-

ſants;

ſants; and in another, the black eagle of Germany ſpread and diſplayed.

Some of the blood of our Saviour was ſaid to have been brought over by the firſt *Bonnes Hommes*, and kept in this church. The founder was buried in it; and his heart, with that of Thomas Cantelupe, biſhop of Hereford, and chancellor of England, and who died in 1282, were depoſited on the north ſide of the altar; though the body of this latter was interred at Hereford, and a high tomb of marble, ſtill to be ſeen, placed over it.

This college of Aſhrugge, in the beginning of Edward I. had acquired the patronage of the church of Hempſtead, and of its chapels, from the prior of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield (a).

Soon after the diſſolution, the ſaid late rector, Waterhouſe, together with one Combes, rented the impropriation of Hempſtead, and lived there in the Bury; paying rent to the office of augmentation, 42l. 3s. 0d.

(a) Records Tower MSS. 28.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VII.

JOHN OF WHEATHAMPSTEAD.

THIS abbot, one of the moſt famous and illuſtrious in the annals of the abbey, was born at Wheathampſtead, and of a family named Boſtock. The firſt mention to be found of him is, that he was trained up at Gloceſter College, in Oxford, and was prior there when he was elected to the rule and government of St. Alban's Abbey. It has been noted, that Gloceſter College had been the place of his education, to which all the young monks were ſent, from all the principal Benedictine houſes in England, and eſpecially from this of St. Alban; there to be inſtructed in ſuch reputable learning and knowledge as was not taught in their reſpective monaſteries. This college had been the dwelling of Gilbert Clare, earl of Gloceſter, (A. D. 1260), who married a daughter of Edward I. and who probably built this houſe, or conſtructed the hall and the window therein; for, in the ſaid window are his arms now viſible (a) in painted glaſs, viz. Or, with 3 chevrons Gules. It became forfeited to the king by the treaſon of that earl, and in 1283 was founded, by John Gifford and the abbot of St. Peter's Abbey, in Gloceſter, for the monks of that houſe; and enlarged, by licence of Mortmain, for other houſes of the

John VI. the 33d abbot.

(a) That is, in 1722, when Stevens compiled the Addenda to the Monaſticon.

John VI. the 33d abbot.

ſame order; that the novices might be trained up in arts and ſciences. And the arms of the ſeveral abbeys who had colonies here, or of their benefectors, are ſtill to be ſeen, cut in ſtone, over the ſeveral doors in the quadrangle; with the arms of St. Alban's Abbey (together with thoſe of Taviſtoke, Burton, and Chertſey) over the outward gate. The college, though conſiſting of youth from divers abbeys, was ruled by one head over the whole, called the prior. In this headſhip was John Boſtock, when choſen to be abbot; and his ſucceſſor in the priorate was John Amerſham, his faithful friend and follower: for, a few years after, he quitted the office of prior, and went to live as a monk in this abbey; and compoſed a hiſtory of the life and principal events of abbot John. This Gloceſter college received great and liberal contributions from John, afterwards, in the rebuilding of their chapel (a); on the windows of which he beſtowed much coſt, furniſhing the ſame with the pictures of the Crucifixion, of the Virgin Mary, and of St. John; with certain Latin verſes beneath. He contributed alſo to the rebuilding of the library. and gave divers of his own books; prefixing in the front of each, for their better ſecurity, verſes ending thus:

Quem ſi quis rapiat raptim, titulumve retractet,
Vel Judæ laqueum, vel furcas ſentiat amen.

About the ſame time, Humphrey, duke of Gloceſter, then a ſtudent in Oxford, became acquainted with John; and gave books, in like manner, to this college, and laid the foundation of the public library, and ſent to it many volumes of great price and eſtimation. This college had its fall at the general diſſolution, and was valued, if rented, at 26s. 8d. and, when king Henry VIII. erected a biſhop's ſee in Oxford, he ordained this for the biſhop's dwelling and palace. Then, the ſee being void, the place fell to decay, and Sir Thomas White purchaſed the ſame, and united it to St. John's College, founded by him before, viz. in 1557.

The firſt thing that employed the attention of John was the ſtate and condition of the abbey-church; which, through the neglect of his predeceſſors, had fallen into decay, and now ſtood in great need of repair. To this purpoſe he collected many ſums from the lay gentry, who were well diſpoſed towards the monaſtery; and he encouraged an old practice of admitting into the fraternity many gentlemen and ladies

(a) Rebuilt, and much altered, ſince that time.

of

of high rank and quality. They were ſometimes ſaid *ſuſcipere in ſe fraternitatem*; and at others *admiſſi ſunt ad fraternitatem*: but the meaning of both phraſes is the ſame. In the number who entered this year were Roland Penteſhall, knt. and many others who were of rank and eminence for fortune, knights alſo; and one of them is ſtyled *Dapifer Reginæ*. Another, who entered, was Thomas More, formerly dean of St. Paul's; whoſe executors, ſome years after, gave 26l. towards the repairs. In 1423 there were admitted the illuſtrious Humphry, duke of Gloceſter; and Jaquelina, ducheſs of Holland and Haynault, his wife. Theſe two perſonages, having kept the feaſt of the nativity, or, in modern phraſe, paſſed the Chriſtmas holidays, in the monaſtery, conferred, at their departure, two purple robes. This admiſſion into the fraternity gave no new civil privileges to the perſons; nor laid on them any new duties or burdens: they were not compellable to undergo the ſtrict and rigid way of living, obſerved by the monks; neither to riſe early, nor to eat the bread of carefulneſs. But it was a token of their eſteem and honour for religion; and they were allowed to vote in the chapter: ſo that it was a wiſe policy to encourage the rich and great to become thus intereſted for the ſafety and proſperity of theſe inſtitutions. In 1428, above 30 perſons took on them the rule of the fraternity, as appears by the liſt. And one of them was Sir Henry Beauchamp; probably the ſon of Henry Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. All theſe contributed to the works of the church; but the coats of arms, which are fixed on the tops of the pillars, which ſupport the roof over the ſteps and the communion-table, belong to the contributors in the laſt century. Beſide the neceſſary repairs, the abbot cauſed many embelliſhments to be made; the principal of which was the cieling, or lining of the roof, throughout the length of the body.

John VI. the 33d abbot.

My author records many trifling events about this time; which, though not intereſting at preſent, might be ſo to the body, and at that time: as that, in the laſt year of Henry V. a great fire happened in the town, and conſumed the houſe of Lawrence Weſt; that the next year a fire conſumed the houſe and goods of John Hale, a carpenter in Sopwell lane; that the ſame year came the archbiſhop, Henry Chichley, to Barnet, and was there met by the abbot, who attended his grace in order to ſupplicate that the excommunication might be taken off: of which we at preſent can learn nothing more.

In the 5th year of John's promotion, and the 4th of king Henry VI. one Thomas Heynes begged leave of the abbot to cut turf, or clods, on Barnard wood or heath; for the purpoſe of making butts (*metas*

John VI. the 33d abbot.

ſagittarias) at Halywelle, for the entertainment of ſojourners, and the exerciſe of the youth, in the military art. In the 6th of this king's reign, came a crafty knave to London, pretending that he was ſent as embaſſador from the emperor to our king, that he was the baron of Clacmare, and alſo very ſkilful in phyſic. But, his fraud being diſcovered, (and no higher crime is charged upon him,) he was beheaded; his head fixed on the tower, and his four quarters ſuſpended on gibbets in the city, in order to deter others from committing frauds. In this year, the ducheſs of Holland (a) (and wife of Humphry duke of Glouceſter) rode through the great court of the abbey, attended by 24 horſemen, in her way to the royal manſion at Langley: and, next day, the duke followed her, accompanied by Sir John Roberts, his maſter of the horſe, and 10 horſemen. In autumn, the abbot ſet forth to make a viſitation of all the cells; and at his return repoſed himſelf at Tyttenhangre after his great fatigues.

In 1428, John Croſby was buried in the north aile, towards the chapel of St. Andrew: and the biſhop of Winton, Henry Beaufort, having been at Berwic to attend a conference with the king and queen of Scots, returned this ſummer; and, after making ſome ſtay at Aſhridge *(loco ſibi dilecto)*, he came to this monaſtery, and ſtayed ſome days. At his departure he was attended with a ſolemn proceſſion to the outer gate; the abbot and officers clothed in their ſcarlet copes.

In 1429, the lady Margaret Wynt made regular profeſſion, and was admitted to the rule at Sopwell; and preſented a girdle, or band, richly adorned with precious ſtones, of the value of 10 marcs. This was done by moſt perſons on their profeſſing the rule, as a token of renouncing all the vanities of the world. And, on the ſame day, after the veſpers, or evening ſervice, at 6 o'clock, the lady Margaret, ducheſs of Clarence, (widow of Thomas duke of Clarence, next brother to the late king, and ſlain in Anjou, in 1422,) was received into the fraternity; the convent being dreſſed anew, and all the muſic playing *(cum organo* and *cum organis*, ſays my author,): and after preſenting

(a) This lady had been the daughter of the duke of Bavaria, and being his only child, was heireſs to the dutchies of Holland, Haynault, Zealand, and Frizeland. She firſt married John, a prince of France; and, he dying, was left a widow, in 1416. She then married her couſin, the duke of Brabant: but ſhe left him; and, on ſmall invitation, united herſelf and poſſeſſions to the Engliſh intereſts: and the duke of Glouceſter eſpouſed her, and brought her to England. The pope would not diſſolve her marriage with Brabant; and, about 1428, her eſtates and honours being ſeized by the duke of Burgundy, ſhe was forced to leave Humphry, and ſubmit to ſuch terms as Burgundy impoſed. And, ſoon after, Humphry married the daughter of lord Cobham, who had ſuffered death in the cauſe of the Lollards, in 1416.

in

in the chapter two cenſers for burning frankincenſe, and ſaluting thoſe preſent with a farewel benediction, ſhe returned to Sopwell, and lived in perfect conformity to all the rules and auſterities of the houſe. At this time there were 15 ladies of rank, at the head of whom was this ducheſs of Clarence, and the lady Elizabeth Hoby who had been admitted to the fraternity; and 18 men, the principal of which were John the baſtard of Clarence, and Sir William Hoby. John VI. the 33d abbot.

In this ſame year, 1429, was ſolemnized the coronation of the young king, ſcarcely 8 years old: in which my author ſays, that Chichely anointed the royal perſon; that thouſands and thouſands aſſembled; that one prieſt was trampled to death, and one woman; that many pickpockets *(ſciſſores loculorum)* were taken, and had their ears cut off: a very conciſe account of ſo grand a ſolemnity.

In 1430, died Matilda Flamſtead, ſtyled *domina*, or lady, prioreſs of Sopwell; who had lived in the rules of the religion 60 years and 18 weeks; and, in the whole, 81 years and 8 weeks. In this year, a certain prieſt, who had long been degraded for his impieties and depravity, in profeſſing the Lollard doctrines, was burnt in Smithfield; the duke of Gloceſter, then protector of the realm, being preſent, and thouſands more to behold the dreadful ſpectacle. A fire happened this year at Langley, *grande et damnoſum*, ſays my author: a plague broke out at Codicote; and a great fire at Walſingham, which conſumed 4 inns, ſuppoſed to have been done out of malice by the pilgrims. About this time, alſo, the abbot cauſed ſome footways to be ſtopped or turned, through places whereof no memory remains; as, Ropeſtake-lane, Monkwode, Flamtonwode, and Wangate (a). Theſe are very trifling occurrences: but they ſhew the quiet and undiſturbed ſtate in which the abbot and monks lived, and with what uniform regularity all their affairs were conducted, when ſuch trifles were thought worthy to be recorded by their regiſter and hiſtoriographer.

Our abbot, being ſummoned to Parliament, found himſelf much mortified, and degraded, he thought, in ſeeing the abbot of Weſtminſter take a ſeat above him; but, learning that Weſtminſter had long uſage to plead, he forbore to make any claim, but ordered it to be regiſtered, how and in what manner the abbot of St. Alban, who had been dignified with precedence, and ſtyled the firſt abbot in place and honour, had loſt this pre-eminence. And it was after this manner: in the reign of Richard II. who was a great fautor and promoter of

(a) Harl. MS. 3775.

the

John VI. the 133d abbot.

the abbot of Weſtminſter, the Parliament then ſitting, John Moot, at that time abbot of St. Alban, took his proper ſeat, viz. the firſt and uppermoſt. The abbot of Weſtminſter coming in late, made ſome eſſay to ſit in that place; but was hindered by Moot: and this attempt was repeated many times after, and as often repulſed by Moot: and Weſtminſter took another ſeat. But, one day, Moot being abſent, and his place ſupplied by his prior, Weſtminſter came, and a great diſpute aroſe; the abbot claiming, the prior defending. Henry, earl of Northumberland, (perhaps on reference to him,) ſaid, 'That the 'late abbot, Thomas de la Mare of St. Alban, (who died in 1396,) 'having been abſent for 10 years by reaſon of infirmity, had loſt all 'right, and that others had ſat above him *ad libitum*.' The prior appealed to the lords who had ſeen theſe things 10 years before; and theſe were, the duke of Buckingham, the lord Scroope, and William of Wykeham. Theſe noble lords, unwilling to offend the King by determing againſt the abbot of Weſtminſter, referred it to his Majeſty, with a requeſt, that he would ſave harmleſs all the rights, privileges, and immunities, of his ancient and royal monaſtery of St. Alban. The king decreed, that the two abbots ſhould take the ſeat alternately, day by day. But the abbot of St. Alban being often abſent, by reaſon of diſtance, and Weſtminſter being near at hand, he took the advantage, and ſeated himſelf at pleaſure; and William Heyworth, who ſucceeded Moot, contenting himſelf with a conſciouſneſs of having moſt learning, never *aſſerted his ancient right*, nor moved the queſtion more.

When John had cauſed the cieling and roof to be repaired and beautified, as before related, he gave orders that the walls ſhould be well whitened, and the floor made clean, and kept ſo: and, in particular, that the grave-ſtones, of the ſeveral perſonages buried in the church and other places, ſhould be waſhed and kept as clean as poſſible; which, in ſuch a conſtant reſort of ſuch and ſo many perſons, was ſcarcely poſſible to effect. On this occaſion, my author gives an account of the ſeveral grave-ſtones then brought to light and purity, part of which I will inſert in his own words.

'In the Preſbytery, which was on the north ſide of the great altar, 'and where the prieſts and clergy were ſeated, above the upper ſteps 'and near the altar, four abbots had been buried under ſtones of marble; 'viz. Hugo Everſden, Richard Wallingford the clockmaker, Michael 'Mentmore, and Thomas de la Mare. And near the Great Chande-'lier (*candelabrum*, which was a large frame for holding many

'lights, and ſtanding in the middle of the choir) lie three others; as John VI. the 33d abbot.
'their ſepulchral marbles and inſcriptions do teſtify, viz. John Ma-
'rinus, John Berkhampſtead, and Roger Norton. The rage and fu-
'rious ſpirit of the Normans had deſtroyed all memorials of the
'graves and tombs of the Saxon abbots; but tradition ſaid, they had
'been buried in the chapter-houſe. In the very door of this chapter-
'houſe was John Moot laid, under a flat ſtone, decorated with his
'figure and an epitaph. Then, towards the eaſt front of the chapter-
'houſe, there lie, in order, the bodies of four abbots, under ſtones of
'marble adorned with images and inſcriptions, viz. Dom. Guarinus
'(or Warren) of Cambridge, Ralph Gobion, William Trumping-
'ton, and John de Hertford. And toward the weſt lay the bodies
'of ſix abbots, in regular order, *(ſeriatim,)* viz. Paul de Cadomo (of
'Caen) a Norman; Richard de Exaquio, a Norman; Geoffrey de
'Gorham, a Norman; then Robert de Gorham; next, was that of
'Simon; and, laſt, that of John de Cellâ, or of Studham. Their
'epitaphs contained praiſes and bleſſings, ſuch as would merit
'Heaven. In the middle of the chapter-houſe, toward the ſouth,
'lay Adam Wytnam, formerly ſteward, woodward, and prior of
'this monaſtery; and oppoſite to him lay Adam Rous, formerly
'ſurgeon to king Edward III. On the ſame ſide, namely, northward,
'lay maſter Adam, the ſteward, who had been nicknamed Lion,
'under a marble. Near his grave, there ſtood, riſing out of the
'pavement and thus proving often a ſtumbling-block to paſſengers,
'a very old ſtone; which was uſed to be chipped into little pieces;
'and theſe being reduced to powder, the ſame was adminiſtered in a
'drink to the monks, as being thought very conducive to their
'health (a).

'In the middle of the cloiſter, and nearly oppoſite to the door of
'the chapter-houſe, was depoſited the body of Barthol. Wendover,
'formerly rector of Shangton, in Leiceſterſhire, a great benefactor
'to the repairs and improvements of the cloiſter. Over him was a
'flat ſtone, ſetting forth his merits, in this epitaph:

'Bartholomæus in hoc de Wyndover monimento
'Clauditur; hoc clauſtrum decoravit qui pavimentum:
'Cum Reddetur ei Supremæ vitaDiei,
'Fac ut, ſumme Deus! convivat Bartholomæus.

(a) Probably this was ſlate, or had all the virtues of teſtaceous powder.

'In

John VI. the 33d abbot.

'In the ſame cloiſter, and juſt before the loweſt ſtep of the door 'going into the chapter-houſe, lies William Trent, formerly prior 'of Hatfield, ſub-almoner, and a profound inſtructor of the monks.

'In the ſouth wing (or tranſept), and juſt before the image of 'the virgin, which is called *Pulchra* (a), lies William Heron, for- 'merly prior of Wallingford: near this grave, and toward the ſouth, 'lies Nicholas Radcliffe, a doctor of great fame, and a ſtout defender '*(expugnator fortiſſimus)* againſt the heretic John Wycliffe. And 'adjoining to this grave lay Robert Norton, in the habit of a monk, 'engraven on his ſtone, as under a tabernacle *(infra tabernaculum)*, 'w ho had been prior under the abbot Michael.

'Near the middle of the chapter-houſe, and oppoſite the chapel 'o St. Symeon, were buried William Heyworth, formerly abbot; 'and Thomas Albin, *confeſſor et cancellarius*, under a flat ſtone with- 'out any inſcription. Near them lay Thomas Bewyk, formerly 'ſteward; and Adam Howton, burſar to Thomas de la Mare. Op- 'poſite the door of St. Symeon's Chapel lay John Guldeford, for- 'merly prior of Wymondham, and then *Cuſtos Monialium de Sopwell:* 'interred in this place by leave of John Wheathampſtead, our moſt pious father, in conſideration of the merits of the deceaſed.

'In the ſouth aile of the church, which was uſed for walking *(pro ambulatorio)*, oppoſite the ſhrine of Alban, (and now the en- 'trance of the ſouth door), under a long ſtone, decorated with a 'ſhield of arms and an inſcription, lay Sir Walter Sottingham, knt. 'Under the arch, or vault, of the ſaint's ſhrine (as we have heard 'from our anceſtors): at leaſt incloſed under the pavement, and in the 'ſaid vault, lies Sir William Clynton, formerly earl of Huntingdon, 'whoſe image is very handſomely figured, or repreſented, in very 'coſtly work, beneath the the ſaid vault, (*infra dictum fornicem*), 'and whoſe actions in the ſervice of the ſtate, and deſerts towards 'this monaſtery, place him in the liſt of our benefactors (b).

'In the ſame ſouth wing, and near the loweſt ſtep of the altar 'of St. Mary, on a ſmall ſtone, is the figure of abbot Roger. His

(a) See the plan of the Church.

(b) This Clinton we find was one of the ſix knights who were made earls by Edward III. in 1337, on the day when the king created his ſon prince of Wales; and this man muſt have died before the year 1377; becauſe in that year the family was extinct, and Richard II. conferred the title of earl of Huntingdon, on a Frenchman named Guiſcard d'Angoulême, his governor: and Dugdale, in his Baronage, confirms this

'body

'body was buried as above, in the middle of the choir; but his heart was depoſited at the foot of this ſhrine; probably at his own requeſt: for, his devotion had been for many years peculiarly directed to the Virgin; and he had performed maſs four times every day at her altar, without intermiſſion, for a long time (a). John VI. the 33d abbot.

'In the Chapel of the Virgin, (now called St. Mary's Chapel,) on the north ſide thereof, and near the altar, under ſtones of marble, lie St. Alphonſo de Vere and Joan his wife: and near the door, which leadeth from the ſame chapel, towards the ſhrine of Amphibal, (which had been moved from the choir to the north aile, in the time of abbot William,) lies John Weſton: *Cujus animæ propitietur Deus* is inſcribed on his grave-ſtone. Between his grave and the ſhrine of Amphibal, under a ſtone of marble, decorated with his figure, lieth Thomas Thornburle, formerly ſeneſchal of this monaſtery (b), and recorder of London.

'Near the ſame place, and next the altar of relics, is buried Robert Trynoth, *feretrius*; who has procured many relics, and inſtituted that altar, and conferred thereon many ſacred gifts and other ornaments; as is recorded at large in the book of our benefactors: and, near the altar of the four wax candles, is buried William Weſtwyck, who had procured other relics of St. Amphibal, as mandubulum, or a glove, richly adorned with ſilver and precious ſtones. There was buried alſo William Shepey; and in the ſame grave the two following; viz. Joſhua Savage, under-ſteward and woodward; and William Alnwyck, archdeacon of this monaſtery: as their images, or figures, and elegant inſcriptions in verſe, do ſetforth. In the north aile were buried many perſons of note: as, before

(a) How praiſeworthy had been this zeal and worſhip, had it been directed to a more exalted aud proper object! but it was a very common thing for devout perſons to chooſe ſome peculiar object for their patron, protector, mediator, and interceſſor, in Heaven; and to pay to that ſuppoſed guardian all their worſhip, adoration, and prayer: and, indeed, this homage was generally paid to the Virgin Mary or ſome ſaint, to the total excluſion of God the Creator, and his Son the only Mediator. Thus William of Wykeham, as we learn from Lowth's Life of him, paid peculiar reverence and devotion to the Virgin; and William Waynfleet choſe for his patron and interceſſor Mary Magdalen; and every altar that was erected was for the worſhiping of ſome ſuppoſed powerful friend, who, though departed from earth, was thought to poſſeſs ſtill a power to aſſiſt others; or an intereſt with God, to ſway and prevail on him: a cuſtom and notion all this, that ſeems borrowed from the Pagan idolaters, who worſhiped men for Gods, and made or ſuppoſed a deity for every occaſion.

(b) That is, properly, judge of the Hundred Court, for the abbot.

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'the altar of St. Patern and the apoſtles, lies Alan Ryxton, a great 'friend to this monaſtery. Here alſo was buried, near the middle 'altar, Sir William Blyth, knight, of the county of York; who, on 'his journey to Calais, fell ſick in this town, and, after a ſhort illneſs, 'died; and whom John Moot, then abbot, ordered to be interred in 'an handſome manner. Oppoſite the firſt door, and in the north aile, 'below the ſhrine, lies Thomas Fayrend, and Alicia his wife, for-'merly bailiff of this town, with a figure of him on the ſtone; and, 'cloſe to his grave, maſter Adam Atwell, *dapifer reg.* Henry IV. of 'great deſerts towards this monaſtery. In the north wing, alſo, 'lieth maſter Nicholas Newerk, with an epitaph inſcribed; alſo, 'under a marble there, lieth Sir William Nederton, a zealous pro-'moter of the public good, and very profitable to this his monaſtery. 'In the ſame north wing lieth Sir Hugh Langley, under a ſtone 'adorned with his epitaph: of great merit in providing relics and 'holy phials. Near this grave, and oppoſite the altar, under the bare 'pavement, lies our brother, William Stubbard, formerly of great 'praiſe in the art of cutting ſtone; *in opere Latomiæ* (a). He made 'and contributed the ſeats in the cloiſters (b), near the doors, and 'divers other works; he erected ſundry works in a laudable man-'ner at Redburn, and others at Beaulieu; ſuch as will exalt his ſkill 'and fame *ad celeſtia.* And oppoſite to him was interred maſter 'Thomas Golbython, who excelled wonderfully in carved work and 'ſculpture. In the cloiſter alſo, toward the altar, lies Richard Rew; 'formerly a ſcribe of this monaſtery; and weſt of him lies John 'Holton, the upper ſcribe. Below or beyond him lie the following 'memorable perſons, Nicholas Flamſtead and Thomas Pyſborle, 'doctors of theology; and Thomas Alliſbury, A. D. who cauſed the 'windows and arches to be made in the veſtry. Lower ſtill, and 'within the ſaid cloiſter, lies William Gobion; at whoſe town (c) 'there had been appointed a more ſolemn ſervice, *miſſa major.* And 'under two marbles, towards the North, lie Adam Paulyn, and

(a) Our author beſtows on him the following diſtich, as if he wiſhed to have it inſcribed on a ſtone:

William Fratris Stubbard lapis hic tegit oſſa.
Suſcitet è foſſâ quæ vox Dulciſſona Patris.

(b) Probably of ſtone.

(c) Which was Higham Gobion, in Bedfordſhire; and which rectory at this time paid 20s. yearly to the cell at Merkyate-ſtreet.

'Alice

'Alice his wife; who, among other benefactions, had cauſed to John VI. the
'be ſuſpended over the ſhrine a ſilver baſon for receiving alms. Near 33d abbot.
'their tomb lies Joſhua Quintin, formerly maſter of the refectory;
'under a plain ſtone, without any epitaph. Lower, toward the
'weſt, lie William Ffymer, formerly Marſhall to Thomas the ab-
'bot (de la Mare), and John Whytwell, the ſeneſchall; Thomas Are-
'thon; William Burcote, a famous notary; Thomas Hoſteler; and
'Thomas Syward. Then, more toward the weſt, lie, under ſtones,
'with epitaphs, Joſhua Whytley, and Agnes, his daughter, for-
'merly the wife of William Parker, Eſq. in the time of Thomas the
'abbot. Lower ſtill lies Alan Pyron and his wife, with an epitaph;
'by the ſide of them lies Geoffrey Hereward. Then, as far as the
'weſt door of the church, (for, ſo far did the cloiſters extend,) lies
'John Kyrkby; buried there, in the time of his being a learner of
'the law, *Juris Apprenticius*. Farther on, toward the north, is
'buried, under the pavement, William Herewyck, formerly maſter of
'the infirmary; and alſo Ralph Garden, official. Lower alſo, on
'the ſame weſt ſide, and oppoſite the door of the parlour (*locutorii*
'*oſtium*), under a ſtone decorated with a figure, lies Sir Thomas
'Hoo, a man of high rank and excellent character. More ſouthward,
'under the pavement, lies the lady Iſabella, wife of Thomas
'daughter and heireſs of Sir John St. Leger, whoſe benefactions
'found well in our records. Oppoſite to this, and in the entrance
'of the middle door of the nave of the church (where the ſhrine
'makes a ſtop in proceſſions), is buried Elizabeth Pays, mother of
'maſter John Pays. And in the ſame nave of the church, oppoſite
'to the iron gate, which incloſes the Chapel of the Bleſſed Virgin,
'cloſe to the pillar, lies Sir William Wyntyſhall, formerly almoner
'of this church, chaplain to four abbots, and croſs-bearer; a man of
'great learning, and an attendant at the altar of St. Lawrence: he
'furniſhed St. Mary's Chapel with books, veſtments, and other
'ornaments, and the whole apparatus of the altar. Moreover, in
'the north aile, oppoſite the chancel of the chapel of St. Andrew,
'lie Thomas Ryden and his wife, under a ſtone carved with their
'figures and epitaphs. Nearer the nave lie Thomas Hoſteler and
'Elena his wife; who conferred on this church one houſe adjoining
'to the Maltmill of Sir John Groby, *ſcutiferi* Henry IV. In the
'nave lie William Wych, clerk and regiſtrar; John Clobb and his
'wife; John Breton, marſhall in the time of two abbots; and John
'Wood and his wife. All theſe have ſtones and inſcriptions.

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'In the other wing toward the ſouth, oppoſite the door which leads 'into the chapel of Thomas the abbot, before the altar of the Bleſſed 'Virgin, lies Geoffrey Stukele, formerly armiger of Edward III. and 'Tryfona his wife; under one ſtone, decorated with their figures. 'Nearer the altar lie John , and his eldeſt ſon; under a 'ſtone, adorned with their images. Lower to the weſt, lie, under two 'ſtones, Robert Thyvalt and John his relation, *armigeri* (a) to the 'abbots of their time and to king Edward III. In the midſt of 'the nave lie Ralph de Veer and Robert his ſon, covered by the pave-'ment only. In the Chapel of St. Mary, within an incloſure of iron, 'between the pillar and the wall, lies Sir John Rowland, formerly '*juris apprenticius præcipuus*, afterward rector of Todyngton. Near 'the middle of the weſt door, toward the chapel of St. Andrew, and, 'before the image, or ſtatue, of Reginald (b) biſhop of Chicheſter, 'lieth William Wyghtman, who bore ſome office in the royal kitchen, '(*coquinarius*,) under kings Henry V. and VI.' Thus far my author.

The Chapel of the Virgin Mary had been built, together with its choice and ſplendid altar, by one Reginaldus of this town, an advocate in the Court of Rome; who managed appeals and ſuits made to the Papal Conſiſtory: this pious work was completed in the abbacy of Hugo Everden, who had been elected in 1308. Thomas Weſtwode, chantor of this church, procured much help from the pious and faithful; and was made *cuſtos capellæ*; and one William Boyden was the principal builder, *latomius præcipuus*. And, indeed, its dimenſions and proportions are ſo juſt and beautiful, and its few decorations ſo ſimple and elegant, that the deſign would have done honour to a more improved age. Its length is 55 feet, its breadth 25, and its height 30; having ſeven beautiful windows, rich and elegant in their form, even in their preſent decayed ſtate. It had a turret at each corner, and in one of theſe was fitted up at firſt (but ſince aboliſhed) a ſmall chapel (*intra turreterium*), ſays my author, where maſs was ſaid for the dead. At the bottom of the chapel (probably on the left hand of the entrance) was an altar of four wax lights; where two maſſes were conſtantly and

(a) Or the men of arms who were bound by the tenure of their lands to ſerve the king in his wars; as we have ſeen in the life of abbot William.

(b) This man had been an early confident, and faithful friend, to duke Humphry; had been his chaplain, and in 1444 preferred by him to the biſhopric of St. Aſaph; and in 1450 promoted to Chicheſter. But his ſtatue had been erected early. Perſecuted for his doctrine, he died here.

daily

daily performed by the church; and other maſſes alſo, as purchaſed by the deceaſed. There were alſo provided four proper wax candles, to be lighted every day by four officers appointed to this buſineſs; and at all times when other maſſes were ſaid in memory of the abbots, John, Roger, and Hugo; which laſt has contributed to this pious work. There had been alſo an altar erected to the honour of biſhop Blaze, near the ſteps of the north entrance: which entrance was a kind of anti-chapel to the church, and alſo to the Virgin's chapel; being more ſpacious than at preſent, and opening at each end into the north and ſouth ailes of the church. This altar had been erected, by the appointment of Geoffrey, and William, and other abbots. But, though maſs had been celebrated here many years, yet the whole ſervice, together with its altar, was aboliſhed, when my author wrote, viz. about 1440. John VI. the 33d abbot.

He ſays alſo, I will again uſe his own words, 'there are now, in the 'ſouth wing, two chapels and two altars; one in honour of St. John 'the Evangeliſt, in which are conſecrated, and preſerved, an image 'of St. Martin, of St. Stephen, and of St. John the Baptiſt. In the 'north part of the church, viz. in the aile, are three altars: one to 'St. Scytha, a virgin; where is dedicated and ſet up an image of St. 'Apollonia, a virgin; and a picture (a) repreſenting the Bleſſed Mary, 'with St. Edmund kneeling to her, in the habit of a biſhop; on this 'altar are the images of St. John the Baptiſt and of the Evangeliſt: 'another altar is to St. Wulphſtan; and the third to St. Sebaſtian, 'and St. Radegund, virgin and queen. To this altar formerly be-'longed a fraternity of 200 men and women of the poorer ſort; who 'were furniſhed with books, ſhoes, garments, and all neceſſaries, 'purchaſed with the money here given; and diſtributed by a prieſt, 'and a boy here attending. There was alſo a fraternity of more able 'and ſubſtantial perſons, at St. Peter's Church; and another of both 'ſorts, called by the name of St. Alban, who belonged to the altar 'of St. Mary, in the ſouth wing. But theſe fraternities, by reaſon of 'the frequent frauds committed by ſome, and the ingratitude of others, 'and their univerſal variance (*diſtidium*), were diſſolved and broken 'up (b). There is alſo another altar erected in the north aile, by our 'brother William Wyntyſhall, in honour of our Saviour, the Holy 'Virgin, St. Lawrence, and Blaze. In the front of the north-eaſt 'wing, there is an altar erected to the honour of the apoſtles, all the

(a) Some remains of this picture are to be ſeen at this time on the weſt ſide of one of the piers.

(b) *Sic redit in nichilum, quod fuit ante nichil,* is the remark of my author.

'angels

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'angels and arch-angels: from which altar moſt of the windows had 'been glazed, and afterwards, by means of John Hatfield, doctor in 'decretis, and arch-deacon, the hiſtory of St. Catharine had been ſet 'up in the glazing. At this altar are the images of St. Patern and 'St. Michael, which are borne in proceſſion on their feſtivals. There 'is alſo an altar in the preſbytery; another at the head of the abbot's 'ſhrine (a), being an altar of relics, collected and placed there by the 'induſtry of Robert Thynoth, *olim Feretrarius*, or keeper of the 'ſhrine; dedicated in honour of St. Hugo, biſhop of Lincoln (b); and 'a third dedicated to St. Wulphſtan, called *the Altar of Salutation.*'

'In St. Mary's Chapel, beſide the forementioned, were three more 'altars; one of St. Amphibal; another of St. Edmund, king and mar-'tyr, on the north ſide; and one of St. Peter, on the South ſide; 'with their images and hiſtories painted; and to theſe is a great reſort 'of devout perſons on their feſtivals, when the ſacriſt directs the maſs. 'In the body of the church are three altars, ſituate in a row, one to 'the bleſſed Virgin, and all the apoſtles and confeſſors; the next to 'the bleſſed St. Thomas, the martyr; and the other to St. Oſwyn, 'removed once, when decayed and worn out, but renewed by the 'induſtry of the ſacriſt, Thomas Houghton. There is an altar be-'fore the image of the Virgin Mary (in the ſouth wing), erected at 'the expence of our brother William Wyntyſhall; and, during his 'time, very handſomely kept up, as appears in the roll of our bene-'factors. In the chapel of St. Andrew (near the weſt door) are three 'altars of ſtone; one in the middle, to the honour of St. Andrew the 'apoſtle; another to the Virgin; and the third to the holy Reginald. 'In the chapel of Thomas, lord abbot (c), (in the ſouth wing,) there 'is an altar to the honour of the Virgin; conſecrated on the day of 'Vincentius the martyr. Here are images of the Bleſſed Virgin and 'of Mary Magdalen, with pictures of them hung up. Here is alſo 'an altar to St. Simeon, the biſhop, with his figure in the glazed 'window on the eaſt ſide of the ſaid chapel. In the door of the con-'vent, leading to the cloiſter, is an altar to the honour of St. Cuth-'bert, placed by Hugo biſhop of Lincoln, above called St. Hugo, 'in the time of the firſt William the abbot (of Trumpington) in ho-'nour too of John Baptiſt, and St. Agnes the virgin; with their 'images repreſented in the glaſs.'

(a) Set up probably by Robert of Gorham, then abbot.
(b) Who died in 1200, and whoſe life is recorded in Goodwin.
(c) Now a dirty receſs in the wall.

Theſe

Theſe altars, as to materials, were generally no other than tables made of wood (a); but they acquired a ſanctity, and inſpired a veneration, by being the places where the preſence of God was thought more immediate and viſible. For, here the devout poured forth all the thoughts of their hearts, and profeſſed the moſt humble ſubmiſſion, and moſt perfect obedience, to the will of God. This manner of devotion, or communing with God, could not fail of producing good effects. But how ſeldom was this worſhip paid to the ſupreme Power! to God our governor, or Jeſus our redeemer! and whenever it was directed to inferior beings, as it was and ever will be, where men are not taught to abſtract their minds from earthly objects, this practice muſt lead to groſs error and ſuperſtition. Small chapels, fitted up with altars, were calculated for privacy; and liable to leſs interruption in theſe ſolemn addreſſes to a ſuperior Being; inaſmuch as they give opportunity for pious reflections and all the operations of conſcience. The reformers rejected theſe when they rejected altars, as if they were equally culpable; hoping that pews would anſwer the ſame end in public worſhip, and the cloſet in private. And indeed, with perſons well inſtructed and rightly diſpoſed, theſe latter might ſerve all purpoſes of devotion; but the generality, who are untaught, ſtand in need of other helps; and nothing would contribute more to fix a ſenſe of duty, and give ſtrength to all good motions and ſuggeſtions of conſcience, than a frequent retiring from the world, and employing the mind in that ſolemn contemplation, which ſolitude in a holy place muſt ſuggeſt. The Papal Church relied on externals too much: the reformed rejected them too much; as if all men were as wiſe as themſelves. If the Popiſh worſhip laid too much ſtreſs on externals, the reformers abſtracted too much: whereas mankind ſtand in need of ſundry helps, and even ſome ſenſible objects, in proportion to their ſpiritual underſtanding. And the reformed religion, as it proceeded on the foundation of better inſtruction, and higher mental improvements; ſo muſt it be continued, and be made to proſper, by the like means of ſpiritual edification. We ſee here ſix chapels; and, within and without, twenty-three altars: theſe were all acceſſible at all hours of the day and night; and were doubtleſs frequented by numbers of devout perſons. But the worſhip they offered was more like the dictate of fear, than the free adoration of love and reverence. Theſe perſons were liable to great error and ſuperſtition; being taught only by a prieſt as ignorant as themſelves, and more ſelf-intereſted.

John VI. the 33d abbot.

(a) See an inventory of an altar's furniture in the Appendix, N° VII.

The

John VI. the 33d abbot.

The Romiſh Church furniſhed no catechiſm; the preaching was declamation in favour of ſome ſaint or pretended miracle; and the prayers were uttered in a tongue not underſtood. What progreſs, therefore, is likely to be made in ſuch a church, either in learning the true faith, or in following the right practice? Altars and chapels might be made great helps to a proper devotion; but here, for want of early inſtruction, they ſerved only to increaſe error and ſuperſtition; and ſubject the votaries to a baſe ſubjection, and ſervile fear of their ſpiritual guides: whereas, the reformers provided a rational worſhip, founded on a knowledge of divine truth.

Soon after John's election, the biſhop of Lincoln made ſome claims of ſubordination and obedience on the new abbot (a); on pretence that his interference was neceſſary, in order to remedy ſome faults in the government of the monks: but John refuſed compliance: and, the biſhop calling to him for advice, Thomas Polton, biſhop of Chicheſter, and king's proctor in the court (b); William Chicheley, archdeacon of Canterbury, and prothonotary to the pope; William Makworth, dean of Lincoln; Peter Parwick, doctor in theology; and Rawdun Cordon, doctor of law; on conſultation, the biſhop made ſome apology, and forbore his claims; and reconciliation was made. In the ſecond year, viz. 1422, he directed the accounts of all the cellerers, both of the abbey and of all the cells, to be inſpected, and audited by the reſpective priors; which was now thought the more neceſſary, becauſe it had not been done ever ſince the death of John Moot. And it was now enjoined to be done yearly.

John of Amerſham thought he poſſeſſed not only a genius for hiſtoric compoſition (for, theſe acts are written in very tolerable Latin) but alſo a talent for poetry; and at the end of every year he recites ſome verſes alluding to the ſubject in proſe; of this I will give one inſtance, as a ſpecimen of my author's taſte and ſkill:

Ex his jam geſtis, paſtores! ſcire poteſtis,
Quam pecori grata ſit cum ratione quotatâ
  Sarcina ſubſidii taliter impoſiti.
Non ſine lite prius humeris componere pondus
Vult querulus dubium, qui juribus hoc ſciat equum;
  Ferre ſupra vires quilibet odit onus.

(a) Extracted from Cotton MS. Claud. containing the acts of John Wheathampſtead during his firſt rule to his reſignation in 1440. Compiled by John of Amerſham, who was a monk here during the life of John the abbot.

(b) Perhaps of the legate, or papal officer.

In this year there came to the abbey one William Shepey; who had formerly been chaplain of honour, that is, bore the title of being chaplain to the pope; but who had wandered about the world for forty years, after flying from this monaſtery. He came now in great contrition, and begging to be pardoned and re-admitted: he made ſubmiſſion, read his recantation in public, was ſeverely reprimanded, and re-placed. Soon after a young monk procured leave to emigrate, and ſettle in the Auguſtine Abbey at Canterbury: he was a ſcholar in the art of muſic, and therefore the more acceptable. On this, the abbot enjoined an oath to be taken by every monk for the future, that he would never depart from the monaſtery without licence from the abbot. John VI. the 33d abbot.

In the third year of his rule, a ſynod was holden at London, for electing ſuch biſhops and others as the kingdom of England ſhould ſend to the Papal Council, then about to be holden at Sienna; when eleven were appointed. The archbiſhop named our abbot, as the man moſt proper to complete the number: and, after ſome expreſſions of excuſe, he conſented; and prepared, with the reſt, to proceed on the journey. During his abſence, the prior and rulers of the houſe thought proper to amend ſome irregularities. They ordained that all the officers of the monaſtery ſhould attend in the choir, and be preſent during the whole ſervice. They directed, that in the veſpers, on all the great feſtivals, the monks and officiating perſons ſhould be clothed, for the greater ſolemnity, in the moſt coſtly and ſplendid garments. Thirdly, they ordered, that, whereas it was unſeemly that on Sundays, and at all times when a great concourſe of people were preſent in the choir, any young man, or one of a weak voice, ſhould lead the choir; now, as the chantor, or præcentor, was not obliged to lead, the ſub-chantor ſhould ſupply his place as far as the greater maſs, and the weekly chantor ſhould withdraw from his office of leading. Fourthly, they directed that the young men ſhould carry themſelves as became monks (*monachaliter*); not to withdraw themſelves from the eye of their elders, nor paſs behind the great altar, *pro illum. torticiorum*, that is, on pretence of lighting the torches; but proceed directly to the reſpective wax-lights, holding them in their hands until the clerks of the church ſhall, juſt before the moment of elevation, approach them with their torches: it was ordered alſo, that, in carrying wax-lights before the abbot, they ſhould avoid any inclination or bending of their body; but walk upright, in order, when in a great crowd (*cum frequencia fit*), to avoid delays. Fifthly,

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it was directed that there be every day ſeven ſingers, in the chapel of the Bleſſed Virgin, at the maſs: and never fewer than two. That, from the lands of Bigging, within the pariſh of Rikeſmerſworth, there be allowed fifty ſhillings to defray the charge of wax candles, and twenty more, in maſſes for the dead. That, if ſingers cannot be had or hired (*conduci*), the money ſhall go to the common cheſt. 'We injoin, alſo, that the maſter of the chapel ſhall have and pro-'vide for the chapel one reputable clerk, both for miniſtering and 'ſinging with the ſingers; and the maſter ſhall cauſe all the ſurplices (a) 'to be waſhed as oft as needful. Sixthly, we ordain, that ſuch as 'ſhall be preſent at the maſs of the Holy Virgin, do, on the princi-'pal feſtivals, repair to the private chapel of St. Stephen; and, that 'the ſub-prior do provide one guardian, or elderly perſon, to perform 'there divine ſervice. Seventhly, it is ordained, that the young men, 'whenever they are ſitting in the cloiſter, ſhall put aſide all other 'occupations, and attend to reading the Scriptures. But, whenever 'they meet for the purpoſe of converſation (*in parliamento*), that they 'conſider our conſtitutions, learn our uſages, and behold our obſer-'vances; and be not interrupted by the reſort or noiſe of paſſengers. 'Eighthly, it is ordained that a maſter be provided for the inſtruction 'of the young men; and, that he may not diſdain the duty, but, 'that a certain pay (b) may compenſate his labours, it is directed that 'he be paid 13s. 4d. a year.' Ninthly, 'it is ordered that no brother 'do ſhew the treaſury to any ſtranger or gueſt, whether clerk or lay, 'without the licence of the prior. Finally, it is directed, that, whereas 'the manor of Gorham, together with the increaſe of the woods, did 'yield a rent of 30l. yearly, the ſaid ſum ſhould be applied, after al-'lowing out of the ſame 5 marks for the common cheſt, in this man-'ner: for providing ſo much wine as the convent ſhould need, either 'for holy offices or for the health of the ſick; and the remainder to 'be diſpoſed in pittances, or ſmall proviſions, during the Lent faſt, to 'be given to poor perſons.'

In the fourth year of John's election, the tenants of the town, and of all the neighbourhood, ſupplicated the abbot for leave to paſture their cattle in the roads and by-ways round the town; claiming a right to the paſture of the highway from Stone Crouch to Nodſaſh, and to Myleſaſh; and on Barnet-wood, and Frithwood, and Dern-

(a) *Super pellicia*, or garments with hoods of lamb-ſkin.
(b) *Certitudinaliter*.

well-

well-lane; and in the whole path, leading from Oiſterhill as far as Kyngeſbury; then in the road leading to Hertford, as far as the end of Gonnelſwood-lane; and then, in all the ways on the eaſt of the town, and in the road leading through the middle of Eiwood, as far as Park-ſtreet; and in another way leading from Parkſtreet, by the houſe of John of Eiwood, and of Roger Howne, as far as Stankfeld-mill; and through one highway, leading from Faunton wood to Red Croſs, through the middle of Cell barn (*orreum de Celle*). They ſay 'theſe rights have been taken from us, *minus juridice*, and we 'pray to have them reſtored.' The abbot gave anſwer, that, for the part they had taken in the inſurrection, in the 5th year of king Richard, during the rebellion of Jack Straw, the parliament had paſſed an act to deprive them of all theſe rights: but, on condition that they or any of them would give ſecurity, not to offend again in the like manner, he would petition Parliament to reſtore them to the enjoyment of theſe rights. John VI. the 33d abbot.

In the 5th year, a conteſt happened between the archbiſhop and our abbot. The archbiſhop had granted a licence to ſome forward and enterprizing prieſt, to farm the tenths of all the clergy in the counties of Hertford and Buckingham: and, this man exerciſing his power with great violence and injuſtice, the abbot oppoſed him, and expoſtulated with the archbiſhop on his wrong proceeding. The archbiſhop, who was Chicheley, anſwered, that he meant not to infringe the rights of exemption, or derogate from their privileges, or bring on them any injury or prejudice. *Given at my inn at St. Albans, January* 28, 1425.

Theſe eccleſiaſtical dues, as tenths, procurations, and ſynodals, were called, in the language of the church and canon law, *Reverentialia*. And great arrears of theſe happened in the courſe of a few years; and then a commiſſion was iſſued from Rome, through the archbiſhop, as legate, by which he was at this time ordered to recover; and this was done by the rules of the canon law, and by proceſs exerciſed by ſome of the church, without the leaſt aid or intervention of the civil power. Whereas, now, and ever ſince the act to aboliſh thoſe payments to the pope, the new law provides a method of enforcing the payment, in the ſame manner as any other debt due to the crown, viz. by the ſheriff, &c.

In the next year, John viſited the cells of Wymundham, Bynham, and Tynmouth. After ſpecial and minute enquiry into every part of their behaviour, and of their government, he required each of

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the priors to make oath of fidelity to their lord abbot, and to rule without waſte or alienation of the goods or land belonging to the priory; and left ſome ſpecial rules and directions how to govern; and confined their oath to the obſervance of theſe; and injoined, that every officer ſhould, once a year, account to the prior; and the prior ſhould come, every third year, and account in preſence of the abbot.

In the ſeventh year, our abbot thought fit to call all his clergy to a ſynod, in the church of St. Peter. This ſeemed neceſſary, becauſe he had heard, that there lurked, in the pariſhes and churches ſubordinate to him, many heretical and depraved characters; which he conſidered but as Sampſon's foxes, with firebrands tied to their tails, who would probably do much miſchief in the eccleſiaſtical corn-fields, and could not poſſibly ſerve to any good.

In ſynod aſſembled, which conſiſted of few beſide the vicars, he put them in mind of their ſtrict oath of reſidence, and enquired how punctual they were in the obſervance thereof. Being anſwered, he aſked who were allowed and permitted to preach ſometimes; and who were, in their reſpective pariſhes, ſuſpected of heretical opinions, and poſſeſſed any books written in the vulgar tongue. Three perſons of the laſt deſcription were named. Theſe were ſummoned to appear; and, being charged with this crime, two of them cleared themſelves very well; but the third, named William Redhed, a maltman of Barnet, made full confeſſion that he had a book written in the vulgar tongue (*idiomati*), and which he had often read, and taught others to read; but that the book did teach hereſy. The abbot injoined (though his confeſſion might merit only a rebuke, and his crime required only advice and admonition) this ſentence; that he ſhould, once every year, for ſeven years, viſit the martyr's tomb, and approach the ſame barefoot; and, paſſing through the middle of the choir, ſhould offer on the great altar a wax candle, of one pound weight; that, for three days ſucceeding every ſuch viſit, he ſhould paſs round the church-yard, every day, in the front of a proceſſion, ſtripped of all his garments; and that, at his return to the pariſh-church, he ſhould approach the great altar, bearing in his hand a wax-candle, and preſent the ſame on the altar, with bended knees. As a final remiſſion of this offence, it was enjoined him, that he ſhould bring the ſaid book to the Great Croſs (in the church), and there, with ſome dry faggot wood, conſume the ſame to aſhes. It is not mentioned what ſubject this book contained; but it is probable that it was one

of Wycliffe's tranſlated Bibles. The abbot diſmiſſed the ſynod with exhortations to the clergy to be aware of the Lollard heretics. And with tears, ſays John Amerſham, he uttered theſe words: John VI. the 33d abbot.

Quis cohibet lacrymas, quis genas non genit udas;
Cum Lollardinam ſectam plus Tigride ſævam
Cernit, et inſanam mentem vitamque prophanam!

In the eighth year, our abbot brought to a concluſion a ſuit in the Arches Court, which had hung there ſome years, and was like to be reckoned *inter cauſas mortuas*; wherein one Cheſelden, the rector of Horpoll, in Lincoln dioceſe, had ſued for a portion of tithes unjuſtly taken from him. The abbot entertained the judge of that court, who was Thomas Bekyngton, Dr. of Laws; and, on his repreſenting the delays and the injury to the rector and to this church, (which was in the abbot's patronage), the judge revived the ſuit, and gave ſentence in favour of the rector.

In this ſame year, another litigation was determined. There had been a very ſerious diſpute between abbot William, the predeceſſor of John, and John Knollys, a citizen of London, and lord of Myms, concerning the ſtraying of cattle into the ſhrubs or wild ground of Tydenhangre (a). The predeceſſor of each had made it a practice to keep the ſtray cattle rather than derive any other advantage from them: and this had been done for ſome years paſt by turns, for one year alternately. The abbot now claimed every year's cattle, and would allow no partnerſhip; for, that the common, or waſte, in queſtion, was wholly in the lordſhip of Tydenhangre; and put Knollys in mind, that he, the abbot, and ſervants of the abbey, had a right of way through the fields and incloſures of the ſaid Knollys (b), to the manor of Northaw. And the abbot propoſed to relinquiſh all claim of a road, or common highway, through the lands of Knollys, provided he would grant leave to the abbot to incloſe that part of the common. To this Knollys aſſented; and an indenture was drawn to this effect (c). This conteſt being happily terminated, and all demands thus ſettled, the abbot ſtraight cauſed the ground to be cleared, and the buſhes, &c. ſtocked up; and on the eaſtern ſide thereof he cauſed a good ditch to be made, and ſet up a ſtrong pale

(a) *Pro fugatione animalium in Bruerâ de Tydenh.*
(b) Who then lived where the preſent duke of Leeds inhabits.
(c) See Appendix, N° VIII.

fence,

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fence, to the utter excluſion of all cattle: then he gave attention to the weſtern ſide of his incloſure; and, by clearing the ground, he made it, from bearing nought but weeds, and thiſtles, and briers, to become very good paſture. He then conſidered the ſtate of the meadows and paſtures ſituate near to the manſion-houſe; and, calling to him all the tenants, who by copy of court-roll held thoſe meadow and paſture lands, he perſuaded them to give up their reſpective rights for a compenſation; which being paid them, he made a ſtrong fence of hedge and ditch round the ſame, and thus rendered the place of his abode and delight more ſafe and pleaſant as well as more ſecret and private for walking; and, moreover, ſtocked the new incloſed land with deer (a).

In the year 1431, another conteſt was determined, which had perplexed the abbot and convent for many years. They had a tenant of their manors at Rickmerſworth, one William Fleete; who had declined or refuſed to pay quit-rents, or perform the accuſtomed and covenanted ſervices for ſome years; and who went on ſlighting all demands, &c. The abbot claimed homage and fealty for the manors of the Moor, Aſheles, Bitwell, and Batchworth; which he aſſerted to be holden of him, in right of his church, by military ſervice; and the ſervice of paying annually to the church twenty-one ſhillings and ſix pence; that is to ſay, for the manor de la More, 10s. 10d. for Aſheles, 7s. 4d. for Britwell, 1s. 8d. and for Batchworth, 1s. 8d. and, by the ſervice of one Heriott, for the manor of La More, to be paid after the deceaſe of every tenant holding the ſaid manor; and by the ſervice of finding for the abbot, and his ſucceſſors, one nag-horſe, to carry him to Tinmouth, whenever he or they ſhould viſit that cell. On the other hand, William Fleete claimed to hold, as parcel of his manor of La More, one meſſuage, and two acres of land, with their appurtenances, in Rickmerſworth, which belonged to the office of ſacriſt in this church. He demanded alſo, in lieu of 12d. paid yearly to the abbot in his view of Frankpledge, for Blakehide, in Rickmerſworth, the ſaid hide of land; and one acre of meadow in Aldeburymede, in Watford, called Blakettes, of 6s. 8d. rent; with all appurtenances iſſuing out of forty acres of land, and one toft, in Crokeſley; and 12d. rent, iſſuing out of a certain parcel of meadow in Brytwell Moor; which the ſaid William claimed againſt the abbot. So long ago as the 5th year of Henry VI. the parties

(a) Cotton MSS. Claud. D. I.

had

had conſented and agreed to refer the matters in diſpute to the judgement and deciſion of William Babington, knight, chief juſtice of the Common Pleas; who, taking with him another judge of the ſame court, named John Coteſmore, came down to the abbey, in the week after Trinity Sunday; and, aſſembling all parties and witneſſes to the Chapter Houſe, there ſat in ſolemn form; and, after due hearing, gave judgement, and adjuſted all the claims of each party; but with exceeding joy to the abbot and convent on having judgement againſt Fleete, and in compelling him to acknowledge homage and fealty for the four manors aforeſaid. This homage Fleete was obliged to pay to the abbot, in the preſence of Sir William Babington, and Thomas Aſhwell, D. D. with orders to pay the aforeſaid quit-rent, and other ſmall acknowledgements on other accounts. John VI. the 33d abbot.

About this time, the abbot appointed, that a certain cheſt ſhould be provided, and to be kept in the care and charge of three choſen brethren, for the reception of all odd ſums and ſmall donations. This was intended to be laid up, and to be conſidered as a kind of ſacred depoſit, not to be uſed or applied to any ordinary occaſions. To this fund was aſſigned all ſum or ſums which any monk might poſſeſs at his death; and the tenth penny of all donations above a certain value; alſo 3l. 6s. 8d. from the manor of Gorham, to be paid annually by the bailiff of the ſame; alſo, all the rents and profits of the united cell of Beaulieu; the rents of all the lands of Legattes, in Walden; of Runſel, in Hexton; of Pekfitheles, in Barnet; of Squillers, in New-lane, in this town; of Butterwyk, in Sleap; and of Harpsfield, in the lordſhip of Park; and the rents of a houſe in Alderſgate-ſtreet, belonging to one Alan Bryt. Theſe ſums were to be applied to repairs: and he ordained a new officer, for the purpoſe of ſurveying and inſpecting their buildings, to be called the *maſter of the works*; whoſe duty it ſhould be to ſupply and provide all materials and labour, under the direction, and by the leave and conſent, of the three keepers of the cheſt. In the rules laid down for this maſter of the works, he is firſt charged to complete and finiſh four ſuits of copes, of white, and green, and red, for the credit of the church; and to provide all ſilver or gold veſſels or utenſils, needful for the convent; then to provide, yearly, twelve ſmall torches, to be borne on the Feaſt of the Holy Communion (*Salutaris viatici*); and twelve larger torches, to be borne before the ſhrine of Alban, in the proceſſion made on his day; and twelve wax-lights, to ſtand on the ſepulchre of our Lord, on the day of his paſſion, and there to

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remain burning. He is then directed to add to each monk prieſt one penny to their former ſalary of 40 pence; to the end that, in their prayers for the former abbot John, they might have a more eſpecial remembrance, and uſe a more intenſe recommendation of his ſoul to the Throne of Grace. This was to be done on the Feaſt of the Reſurrection, and on the day of St. Michael the Archangel; and on the ſame day pittances of wine and meat ſhould be given to the convent; and alſo to the poor at the gate one penny each: and, that there be paid, on that day, to the nuns of Sopwell, 43s. 4d. in full diſcharge of the annual penſion given to them by the ducheſs of Clarence. Then it is directed, that ſome relief be given, if needful, to the poor priors in their cells, or to the ſcholars in their ſtudies, if they wanted ſupport and encouragement. And, having comprized all his orders in ſeven rules, the abbot directed the book containing them to be laid up in the archives, and to be ſealed with ſeven ſeals; and denounced *anathema* on any perſon who ſhould hereafter violate or infringe theſe laws: and the cheſt was delivered to the cuſtody of the three guardians. This tranſaction is dated the 1ſt of March, 1430.

In the next year, our abbot received much grief and vexation from a proceeding of William Alnwyke, biſhop of Norwich, and collector of the pope's tenths. He had now demanded tenths of the prior of Bynham; and, being alſo keeper of the king's privy ſeal, he had an intereſt and authority that made him very potent, and, of courſe, very formidable. The prior refuſed to pay, or even to receive the collector into his cell. This enraged the great courtier, and threats followed. The abbot, being informed, took part with his prior, and juſtified the refuſal on the ſcore of exemption. However, the biſhop would accept no apology or plea, much leſs any rational or legal ground of excuſe on account of privilege; and ſued the prior in the Exchequer. He made alſo the archbiſhop of York a party with him: and more than a year paſſed before any determination could be had, the biſhop trying, by all poſſible pretence or ſemblance of law, to overthrow the Convention. And to this purpoſe the biſhop, though employed by the pope, and governing himſelf by the laws of the church, as would be ſuppoſed, founded his pretenſions and claims on the law of the land; and contended, by theſe means, to ſet aſide the exemption: and John defended the exemption by the authority of the church law. Much writing paſſed between the parties, and much argument was delivered in court; but no determination

mination was given. And the biſhop tried another method to gain his point; which was, by cauſing a man of Rickmerſworth to be proſecuted, for defamation, in the archdeacon's court; whence he moved an appeal to the court of arches, and hoped to obtain ſuch a ſentence as ſhould overthrow the exemption, preſuming that he could govern the conſcience and ſentence of that judge: and, in this appeal, he had made the vicar of Rickmerſworth a party, and ſubjected him to infinite trouble, vexation, and expence. This biſhop then procured himſelf to be made archdeacon of the exempt monaſtery of St. Alban,—probably by ſecret influence at Rome; and, in that character, tried the defamer and his wife in his court. He then gave ſentence of excommunication againſt the woman; and publiſhed an univerſal order to forbid her entrance into any church; but citing her to appear peremptorily before him, in his conventual church of St. Alban, on the 9th of December, 1433, to ſhew cauſe why more grievous penalties and cenſures ſhould not be inflicted. He then procured the dean of the arches, (whoſe name was Lynfelde,) as vicar general to the archbiſhop, to excommunicate the vicar of Rickmerſworth, named Henry Burwaſh. The firſt man, the defamer, had been excommunicated, and had fled. But Alnwyke procured the king's writ for his apprehenſion, and lodged him in Hertford goal. Here he lay a whole year; when at length he craved mercy, and was forgiven. But the biſhop no more urged the queſtion about the exemption: and thus ſaved his credit, as he hoped to perſuade others, by taking revenge on a poor helpleſs wretch; in proſecuting whom, his firſt demands and claims were ſunk quite out of ſight, and loſt.

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The low and impoveriſhed ſtate of the cell of Beaulieu, ſituate in Bedfordſhire, now called forth our abbot's attention. The number of monks therein were but four, and their yearly income was no more than 8l. on which the abbot thought of uniting this cell to the abbey, and bringing away the monks to his monaſtery: but, to this purpoſe, it was neceſſary to have the conſent of the firſt founder; and this being Reginald Grey, lord Haſtyngs, he no ſooner learned the intentions of the abbot than he conſented; and the following deed was ſigned by him. 'Know, all men, by theſe preſents, that I, 'Reginald de Grey, Lord of Haſtyngs, Weifford, and Rythin, have 'remitted, forgiven, and entirely, for myſelf and my heirs for ever, 'have quitted claim to the abbot of St. Alban, and the prior of 'Beaulieu, (a cell of the ſaid abbey,) and their ſucceſſors, all right,

 'title,

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'title, and claim, which I have or might have, in the patronage or 'advowſon of the above-mentioned cell. So that neither I nor my 'heirs ſhall ever in future be able to require, exact, or vindicate, any 'right or claim in the ſame; but that we may be for ever ſhut out 'from all action of right, title, and claim, by theſe preſents.

'In witneſs of which tranſaction, I have affixed my ſeal unto 'theſe preſents (a). Given at Wruſt on the 12th day of May, 1435.'

The abbot and convent ſtipulate, on their part, to ſolemnize an anniverſary to pay for Reginald, and to ſet apart the 16th, 17th, and 18th, days of March, to be obſerved with *cum placebo et dirige*; and, on the next day, with the maſs *de requie* at the great altar. And to give 20s. yearly to Reginald, as an acknowledgment to the lord.

But, before the abbot could finally complete this little work, he thought it neceſſary to conſult the pope. And this ſhews, not only his prudence in guarding againſt the malice of enemies, but alſo how ſtrong an hold the pope poſſeſſed in all eccleſiaſtic property and rule in this country. In the letter on this ſubject, the abbot ſays, that he had conſulted the *juriſperiti*, and ſought to know whether *Inconſulto pontifice Romano, prelatus ordinarius, dummodo ſtaret cum eo etiam patronus, eccleſiam unam annectere alteri, vel unire, poſſet?* and promiſing that, out of the ſlender rent of 8l. a year, the penſion to the young ſcholars at Oxford ſhould be augmented. To all this the pope conſented: but ſoon after a popular clamour roſe againſt this act, ſaying, that it tended to overthrow religion, and exterminate devotion. And, in a ſhort time, the king's eſcheator came down, and required the abbot to ſhew his title to the land; and obliged him to ſhew his title of right by giving anſwer in the king's exchequer: and, as nothing more is ſaid of this ſuit, it is probable the eſcheator dropped it.

In the 17th year, our abbot had a very vexatious ſuit with Richard, abbot of Weſtminſter: which, though it aroſe about trifling loſſes, yet ſerves to ſhew how much it was the cuſtom and uſage of the time, for men to ſeek redreſs of grievances from the lord of the fee, againſt his tenants, rather than by complaint to the civil power, and proceeding to a trial at law before a jury.

The abbot of Weſtminſter aſſerted and complained, that ſome tenants of the abbot of St. Albans had ſtopped on the highway, in

(a) Writing being an art little known, and ſeldom acquired in theſe times, the teſtimony was given by a ſeal; and this accounts for the high honour, credit, and proper aſſurance, given to armorial bearings.

the pariſh of Aldenham, 28 horſes, laden with malt, and travelling with the ſame to the convent at Weſtminſter; and had thrown down the ſacks, and damaged the goods, and injured the horſes, to the damage of 100l.; that his tenants had been arreſted in the town of St. Alban, and 8 horſes ſeized, detained, impounded, ſtarved, and injury done to the amount of 40l.; and that the tenants of abbot John, from his manor of Sandrugge, had torn down, deſtroyed, and carried away, ſundry ſtakes and rails, and other boundary-poſts, on the common, called No-manſlond, which Richard aſſerted to be in their pariſh and manor of Whethamſtead; and that his tenants had ever enjoyed there a right of common. Abbot John anſwered, that the horſes had been ſtopped, and the goods diſtrained, becauſe the drivers had refuſed to pay the accuſtomed toll; that he and his predeceſſors had ever received one penny per quarter of the buyer, and one penny of the ſeller; and this by the grant of Henry I. who had allowed and permitted the abbot to hold a market; and that, at Nomanſlond, the men of Whethamſtead had been intruders and treſpaſſers; for, that the place was in the pariſh of Sandrugge, and in the manor there belonging to St. Alban. Theſe reaſons gave no ſatisfaction to Richard, and he threatened a ſuit at law againſt the offenders: on which John brought an action in the Common Pleas, in vindication of his right to toll. John VI. the 33d abbot.

The next ſpring and ſummer proved ſo injurious to the crops of corn that a famine was apprehended, and the price roſe very high; and the common food of bread was made of beans, peas, barley, and oats. The abbot had ſuffered alſo great expences in their manor of Burſton and of Radwell. And theſe circumſtances induced John to ſtop here, and urge the ſuit no farther; and thus it ſtood, ready to be proſecuted, in caſe the tenants of Weſtminſter would not comply to the demand of toll. John reſigned in 1440; but he renewed not this ſuit, though his tenants were ſtill vexed, as will be ſeen in the ſequel.

Many donations of lands had been made in late years to the abbey by pious perſons, ſuch as Newlane, conſiſting of 1 meſſuage, 3 tofts, 169 acres, and 10s. 3d. rent in money; and lying in Childwyk, Park, Sandrugge, and this town; by John Bernwell, Edmund Weſtby, and Matthew Bepſet; the eſtate of Squillers, containing 120 acres, ſituate in this town and in Childwyk; the manor of Betturwyk; the manor of Legattes, in Walden; and of Haunſelles, in Hexton. But, by reaſon of the ſtatute of Mortmain, the gift could not be completed, nor could a good title be made by the receiver; for, the

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king's eſchaetor was always watchful and ready to take advantage of theſe ſham conveyances; and, by thus recovering for the Crown, (for, all ſuch eſtates were forfeited, and he could at pleaſure call any man to prove his title,) he not only made a good profit for himſelf, but derived credit to the crown by defending its privileges. How then could our abbot avail himſelf of theſe pious donations? He ſuffered them to be forfeited, and ſeized by the eſcheator; and begged them as a donation from the king; and now, in the 18th year, he got the royal grants of all theſe eſtates; and the deeds were executed in the preſence of Sir William Babyngton, chief juſtice of the Common Pleas; Sir John Croſſy, knight; John Hotoſt; Thomas Frowyk (a), Eſq. and many others aſſembled for this purpoſe. And the king's grants conclude in theſe words, *Statuto, de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito, non obſtante. Teſte meipſo.* The abbot thought himſelf not ſafe, although he had obtained the above grants, (by his intereſt probably with the duke of Gloceſter, then protector,) and therefore he beſought the king to grant him a full pardon. This pardon was granted in the Parliament then ſitting;

(a) This was a family of great repute for many years; and had their dwelling at the Old Fold, in the pariſh of South Myms, and oppoſite to Hadley. The firſt of the name whom I find mentioned is as early as the reign of Henry III. when the frier minors were ſettling in Newgate-ſtreet, and the citizens were building their church, &c. The conduit was built at the charge of Henry Frowyk and Henry Baſynges, knight.

The next who is mentioned was Thomas de Frowyk *(MS. in lib. Ben. Col.)*, clerk of the market at Barnet (and probably ſeneſchal and ſteward of the manor) in the time of Thomas de la Mare, anno 31 Edward III. and an inquiſition taken before him apud Chepyng Barnet.

There are more of them mentioned in the reign of Henry VI. as witneſſes and arbitrators between John Whethampſtead, and Thomas Knollys, of North Myms, ſon of Robert Knollys. A daughter of the ſaid Robert was married to Henry Frowyk, in Richard the IInd's time; and their daughter was married to John Coningſby, and brought the Myms eſtate to the family of Coningſby. Thomas Frowyk, ſon of Henry, was called to the degree of ſerjeant at law in the time of Henry VII. and in the 21ſt of Henry VII. was chief juſtice of the King's Bench.

In the time of Henry VIII. the family of Frowyk were ſtill in repute and high rank in South Myms, Henry Frowyk having built one of the windows of that church, in 1526, as appears by the painted glaſs in the window, wherein is repreſented this man, his wife, and children, kneeling; and this inſcription, *This made Henry Frowyk*, 1526. He was buried in this church; with a character, &c. in Latin.

In the time of Henry V. Henry Frowyk poſſeſſed the manor of William, lived there, and married Anne, the daughter of Robert Knollys, of North Myms, as above.

In 1589 Henry Frowyk was made ſteward of the new corporation; and, in 1600, Henry Frowyk repreſented this town in Parliament. See a Pedigree in Chauncey.

and

and probably could not be granted without the conſent of Lords and Commons. But John certainly meant not to be pardoned in ſo many crimes as are herein mentioned; and it hurt him more to be pardoned for great crimes, and ſuch as he was conſcious he had not committed, than to have ſtood condemned, or accuſed at leaſt, of ſome ſmall ones. However, the pardon muſt be received, as he had ſought it; and the tenor of it ran thus: 'We have pardoned unto the ſaid John, 'abbot of St. Alban, the ſuit of our peace, which belongs unto us, 'againſt him, for all treaſons, murders, rapes, rebellions, inſurrec-'tions, felonies, conſpiracies; and other tranſgreſſions, offences, 'negligences, extorſions, miſpriſions, ignorances, contempts, con-'cealments, and deceptions, by him in any wiſe perpetrated before 'the 2nd of September, in the 20th year of our reign; and alſo any 'outlawry that ſhall have been publiſhed againſt him on theſe oc-'caſions. Provided, nevertheleſs, the ſaid abbot appears not to be 'converſant in the myſtery of coining, nor be a multiplier of coin-'age, nor a waſher of gold and ſilver, nor a clipper of our money, 'nor a common approver, nor a notorious thief, nor a felon who had 'abjured the realm. But ſo, that he ſtand *rectus in curiâ noſtrâ*, if 'any one ſhould queſtion him in the premiſſes.'

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The abbot had alſo received, in 1425, as a legacy from one Alan Bret, in London, a malthouſe and mill, ſituate in Alderſgate-ſtreet. The manor of Harpsfield had been ſeized by the eſcheator, on the death of John Harpsfield the father, and the infirmity of the ſon, who was an ideot; and, in this caſe, the king was heir (a). But, in the 8th year of his reign, he had ordered his eſcheator to releaſe and ſet at liberty his eſcheat, and ſurrender the ſame to the abbot; to whom, as lord, the ſaid manor had and did belong. It is deſcribed as containing one hide and 43 acres of land. This latter part was called le Braches.

He had received alſo an eſtate in Barnet, that had belonged to John Pekeſythell, in the 10th of this king's reign; and he had lately obtained the king's grant of this eſtate, to the utter excluſion of the heir and all the relations.

In the 16th of Henry, the abbot had obtained the manor of Burſton, by procuring the king to give licence to Sir John Ffray, chief baron of the Exchequer, to concede and grant this manor of Burſton to the abbot and convent of St. Alban for ever.

(a) Ratione fatuitatis et idiocie.

This

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This manor was held of this church by the ſaid baron, and now he was prevailed on by the king to give it back, and relinquiſh all right and title therein, provided it did not exceed 20 marks in value per annum, above repriſals; and the conſideration, on the abbot's part, was, that prayer ſhould be made for the good health of the king during his life, and for his ſoul after death! and alſo for the ſupport of certain ſpiritual burdens and duties, for the ſouls of the ſaid Ffray, his parents, and friends. And the grant concludes that this ſhall be done, *ſtatuto de terris et tenementis ad mortuam manum* non obſtante; *and provided that, when our eſcheator ſhall make inquiſition in that county, it ſhall be accounted and deemed, that the ſaid manor is not held immediately of us.* Witneſs ourſelf at Eltham, December 20, 16 *regni.*

In the 17th of Henry, our abbot obtained the manor of Radwell, by the like intereſt with the king, and of the ſame baron, Sir John Ffray. This manor is ſaid, in the grant, to contain 3 meſſuages, 260 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, and 1 acre of paſture; and to be holden of John Barre, Eſq. by fealty and ſervice of paying to him 2s. 11d. yearly. The ſaid Ffray grants alſo at the ſame time 13 acres lying in Norton, and holden of this abbey; 'the value of the ſaid 'manor with the meſſuages, and all the ſaid lands, not exceed-'ing 15l. a year, as it was found on the inquiſition of our eſcheator, 'Nicholas Morley, and returned ſo to our chancery.' Theſe grants were made on the like conditions of prayer, &c. as if ſuch holy ſervices could not have been performed for Ffray, and others, unleſs he ſurrendered his leaſe; and not for the king, unleſs ſome of his ſubjects purchaſed them at their private coſts.

Theſe grants and liberalities to the abbot had been effected by the favour of Humphry, duke of Gloceſter, and his ſecret influence with the king, his council, and parliament. But the abbey bore more oſtenſible marks of the ſaid duke's generoſity to John; for, in the courſe of a few years paſt, he had given many very coſtly veſtments for the uſe of the choir; as a frontal, or large hanging, to be ſuſpended over the altar; and another frontal, to be hung lower, having its field of gold, with divers images and very precious pearls interwoven. There was alſo one complete ſuit, or apparatus, for the prieſt, the deacon, and the ſub-deacon; likewiſe one upper frontal of a gold field, in which was interwoven the hiſtory of the Holy Ghoſt, with images of divers ſaints; alſo one large hood, of a golden field, in which is interwoven the hiſtory of Chriſt's Baptiſm, attended by many of the ſaints. There was alſo another complete ſuit for the prieſt,

prieſt, deacon, and ſub-deacon, with five hoods belonging to it of tiſſue cloth, of red crimſon velvet; all which had gold fringe interwoven with embroidery. There was alſo a complete ſuit for the prieſt, of the white cloth of ſatin, interwoven with the ſun and roſes, and powdered with figures (a) and embroidery. John VI. the 33d abbot.

The biſhop of Lichfield, William Heyworth, who had been John's predeceſſor in the abbatic chair, had given to this church divers books; as one large miſſale, beginning in the 2d page, *aquæ dignanter*; and ending in the laſt page with *ſecula ſeculorum, amen*; to lie in ſuch part of the church as had the greateſt reſort of ſtrangers and of neighbours. He gave alſo a large portable miſſale (b); and 10 hoods, a chaſuble, and tunics.

The ducheſs of Clarence, named Margaret, and who was one of the pious ſiſters at Sopwell, had given two thuribles, for burning incenſe and perfumes; and one complete ſuit for the altar, ſo large, that it ſhould be able *adornare tam ſubtus quam infra ſatis honorifice.* This was accompanied with 1 chaſuble, and 3 hoods, and two tunics for the dreſs of the prieſt. John Cornwaille alſo, lord of Wauchope, had given one chaſuble of a gold cloth, with a ſtrong green ground, and having a gold fringe; alſo 2 tunicles, in which the prieſts uſed to ſtand at the altar, and 3 hoods for the ſingers in the choir. Theſe donations were always accompanied with a deed in form, (ſigned by the donor, and atteſted,) ſignifying the articles of his benevolence, and the reaſons moving him thereunto. And Cornwaille ſays, 'that out of the mammon of plunder which he had taken 'in the war, and by violence, from our enemies, he preſented theſe 'things for the ornament of our churches;' and dates his gift at his manor of Ampthill, in Bedfordſhire, September 4, 1430. And in 1431, the Lady Anna Tirell, of Stokebrewern in Suſſex, gave a golden cup, enriched on the foot with various gems and pearls; praying, in the grant, that ſuch a 'ſacrifice may be made in the ſame '(being intended for the Euchariſt) as may be acceptable to the holy 'abbot, and obtain for her remiſſion of all her ſins.'

Our abbot had expended much money in repairs and decorations of the abbey, beſide the neceſſary buildings to be erected or repaired on the eſtates of the abbey. And his hiſtorian recounts, in the 19th year of his rule, many of his principal works, as follows. He had laid out, in beautifying and new-painting the Virgin's Chapel, above

(a) Opere plumario. (b) Portiforium.

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40l. In the church, and near the ſhrine, he erected a ſmall chapel, (the ſame in which he was afterwards buried,) and fitted up the ſame for the celebration of the maſs; and herein he expended, as it is ſaid, above 74l. In the weſt end of the choir he ſet up a kind of wooden gallery for the reading of the goſpel; and this coſt above 73l. In the choir alſo he erected 4 ſteps; and raiſed the ground above, and where the altar ſtood and the ſhrine; and this coſt above 20l. In writing books for the antiphonars, during his time, he expended 4l. He provided alſo a new ſet of organs (a), which coſt 17l. At the weſt end of the church he cauſed a certain ſtone window to be cut out from the north ſide, and to be carried away, and the place to be walled up; and this coſt 27l. And, that this church might ſtand at the right hand of her ſpouſe, like a queen in a veſture of gold, he had expended, in hoods and chaſubles, in baſons, cups, and thuribles, in a mitre and ſtaff, and various other ornaments, above 640l. He cauſed great repairs and new works in the glaſing, and this to the amount of 10l. He built the infirmary *de novo*, and repaired the chapel adjoining; and theſe works had coſt 564l. He built alſo that handſome chamber which extends from the ſaid chapel to the paſſage leading from the kitchen to the prior's chamber; and in this work expended 300l. In the refectory, and in the clock-houſe, he expended, in plates, cups, (whereof one was myrrhine,) and in ſalts, and ſpoons (b), 26l. In new covers for the beds he had expended 5 marks. In improving the chamber between the chapel and the hall, and amending the paved walk from that chamber to the hall, in enlarging the abbot's ſtudy, in better ſecuring the wardrobe, and in widening the inner court, he had expended above 126l. And, in furniſhing the ſaid wardrobe (which was only a ſtore-room), he had expended 100l. in baſons, cups, ewers, boiling-pots, porringers, and plates. And, for the uſe of the abbot's private chapel, he had provided one pontific habit; which had coſt 7 marks. Beſide this, he had repaired the ſtone gate oppoſite the great croſs; and built 6 houſes in the vintry, and 3 more oppoſite the great gate, or goal, and 3 more in Fiſhpool-ſtreet; and this had coſt 565l. He built alſo 2 barns, and 1 pigeon-houſe, at Wynſlow; a third new barn, and a large houſe for laying up malt, he built at Newnham; a fourth new barn and a ſtable he built at Legattes; a fifth barn he built at St. Machates; a new barn (the 6th), and a cow-houſe, he built at Harpſ-

(a) Par organorum. (b) Cochlearia.

field;

field; and a 7th new barn he built at Squillers. In these and other repairs at Tydenhangre, Threhowses, Radewell, and Rickmersworth, he expended 580l. In London he had repaired their hostle, and also the building in Aldersgate-street; and this had cost 85l. At Oxford he had built a library, and erected a chapel for the use of the young monks there in their studies, and also enclosed their garden: and this had cost 108l. John VI. the 33d abbot.

The abbot and all his predecessors, had kept the vicarage house at Redburn for the dwelling of the priest who officiated there; though it is uncertain at what former time that vicarage was constituted and endowed. But they had made the same a place of resort for sick monks, to receive the benefit of ease and fresh air. And it was now ordained, by John, that four monks should always be dwelling here; and be attended by two priests who could chant (a); that the four should take it by turns, and be relieved by other four; and so give a respite (such as it was) to the whole choir. Their duty was, to do more ample honour to Amphibal, by celebrating a degree of choir service every day to his memory. It was appointed, that these four should be allowed for their week's service, and to purchase provisions, &c. the sum of 9s. for their common table, to be paid by the master of the works, who probably lived at Redburn, and had lately repaired the church. And the two priests were unlimited in their salary; and to be paid by the usual allowance given to travelling members.

When the men of Wheathamstede committed the trespass aforementioned on No-Mans-Land, and the steward and servants of the abbey remonstrated against the deed, the aggressors still persisted in the justness of the fact; and, in justifying themselves in the outrage, they threatened to do the like; and still asserted the place to be comprehended within the limits of their parish and their manor. And moreover, the abbot of Westminster ordered the servants of John to be indicted in the court of the Marshalsea; and, in June 1442, (the 20th of John's rule,) the cause came to be heard before William earl of Suffolk, steward of the king's household; and John duke of Norfolk, marshal of the same household. It was adjourned to Ware; and, on June 28, a jury gave verdict for the defendants; and said, that neither Robert Bellamy, nor Matthew Bepset, (who had pulled up or cut down the stakes, and carried them away,) were in any re-

(a) Bene cantantes clericos.

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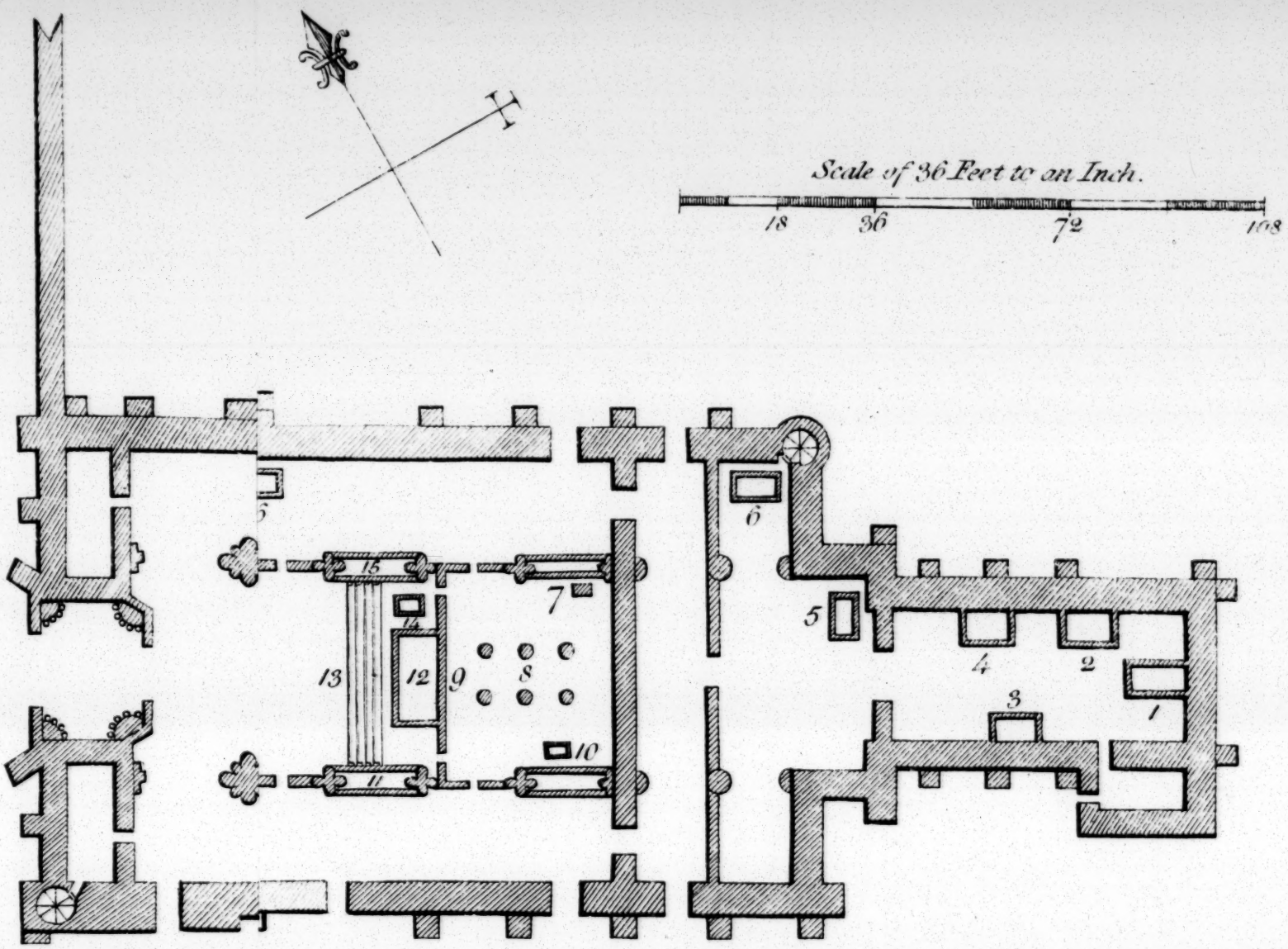
ſpect culpable; and that the ſtakes were not of the value of 2s. as laid in the record. But neither judge nor jury preſumed to ſay in which pariſh the land lay, and who had a right to fix ſtakes and boundary-marks. And the ſame name it formerly had was now more juſtly continued; although the lord of Whethampſtede might have brought that queſtion to a determination, had he ſo pleaſed. But he did not vindicate his pretended right to the land, by pleading that it lay within the bounds of his manor, and was part and parcel thereof; but by aſſerting his right to fix bounds between the 2 manors, and to deſtroy all ſuch marks as any other might judge to be juſt and true.

While this ſuit was depending, the abbot thought that he might poſſibly be able to repel all the darts and arrows, which malice and envy had often ſhot againſt him, by procuring a renewal of the grant, or charter, which conſtituted the liberty, and made him the hundreder, and his ſeneſchal the judge, and his abbey intituled to the fines and forfeitures. And this grant he got renewed, with all the powers contained therein, which Henry I. had granted to abbot Geoffry. And the ſame is inſerted at length by Amerſham, in a MS. marked Cotton—Claud. D. 1.

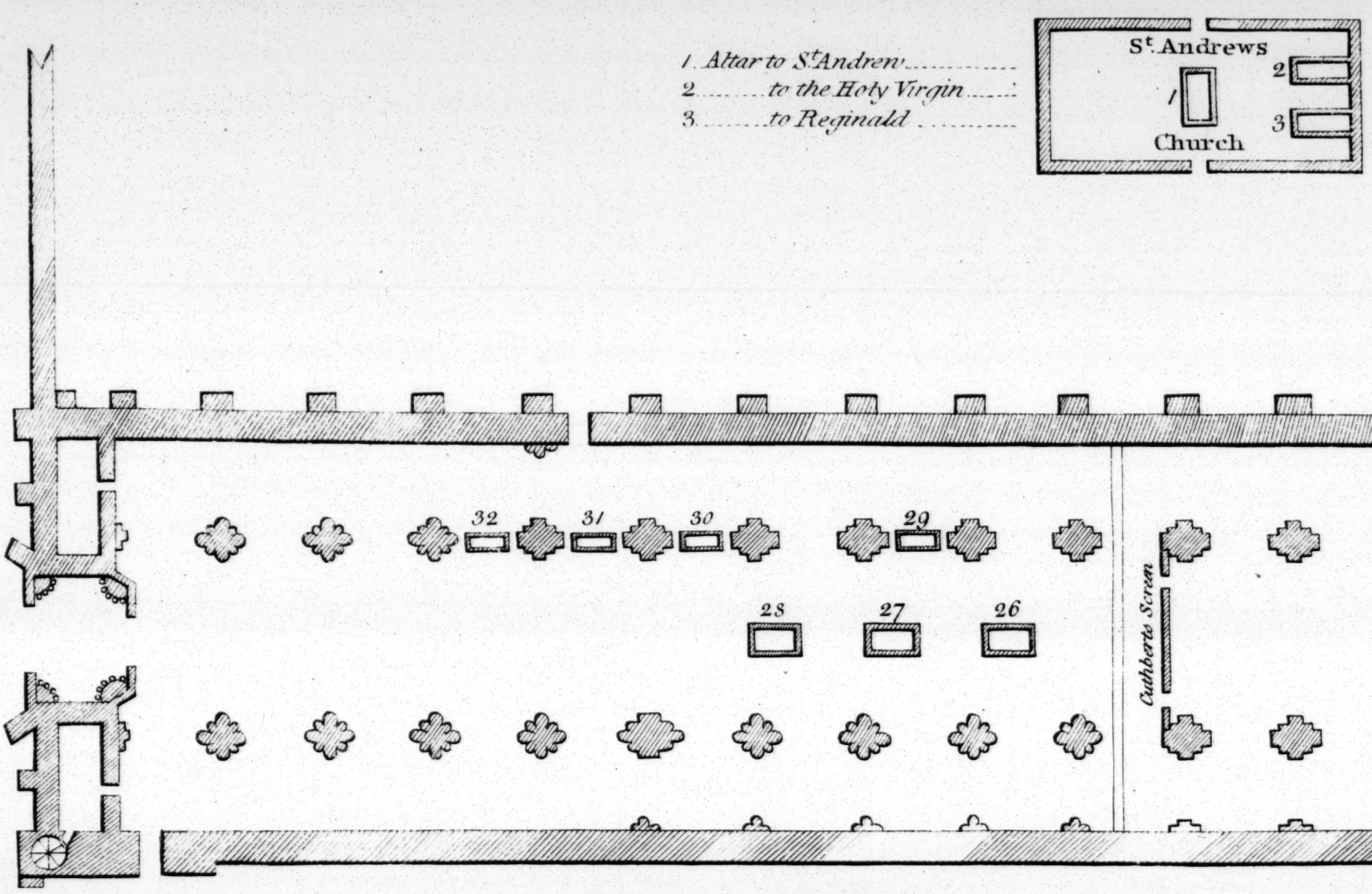
He had now ruled the abbey 20 years; and began to think of reſigning this high office, induced by divers conſiderations. He firſt complained of ill health, and a worn out conſtitution: he found alſo, that theſe frequent litigations had conſtantly given him immenſe care and fear; and, though ſucceſsful, he had ſuffered great expence, and had ever conſidered a law-ſuit as a matter of mere chance, and its iſſue to be among the ſports of fortune. He found himſelf alſo the pointed object of envy; and, perhaps, his great friend at court, the protector, had loſt ſomewhat of his popularity, and might decline in power. He reſolved therefore to reſign the rule of this abbey: when he ſignified his intentions to the officers and brethren, they uſed many arguments to diſſuade him; but he had formed his reſolution, and ſtill deemed it prudent; and, on the 26th of November, 1440, ſigned a paper to that effect, in preſence of a certain clerk, named Matthew Bepſet, and the other officers of the houſe.

That the intereſt of the duke of Glouceſter was declining at court is abundantly proved by the hiſtory of thoſe times: for, in this year of 1440, it appears, that the unnatural enmity of his uncle, the biſhop cardinal, was able to prevail againſt him in the king's council; and he procured the releaſe of the duke of Orleans, (who had been made priſoner at Agincourt, and confined in England ever ſince,) againſt



GROUND PLAN
of the
ABBEY CHRCH of S.T ALBAN,
with the Altars and Chapels
as it was in the time of
HENRY 6.th

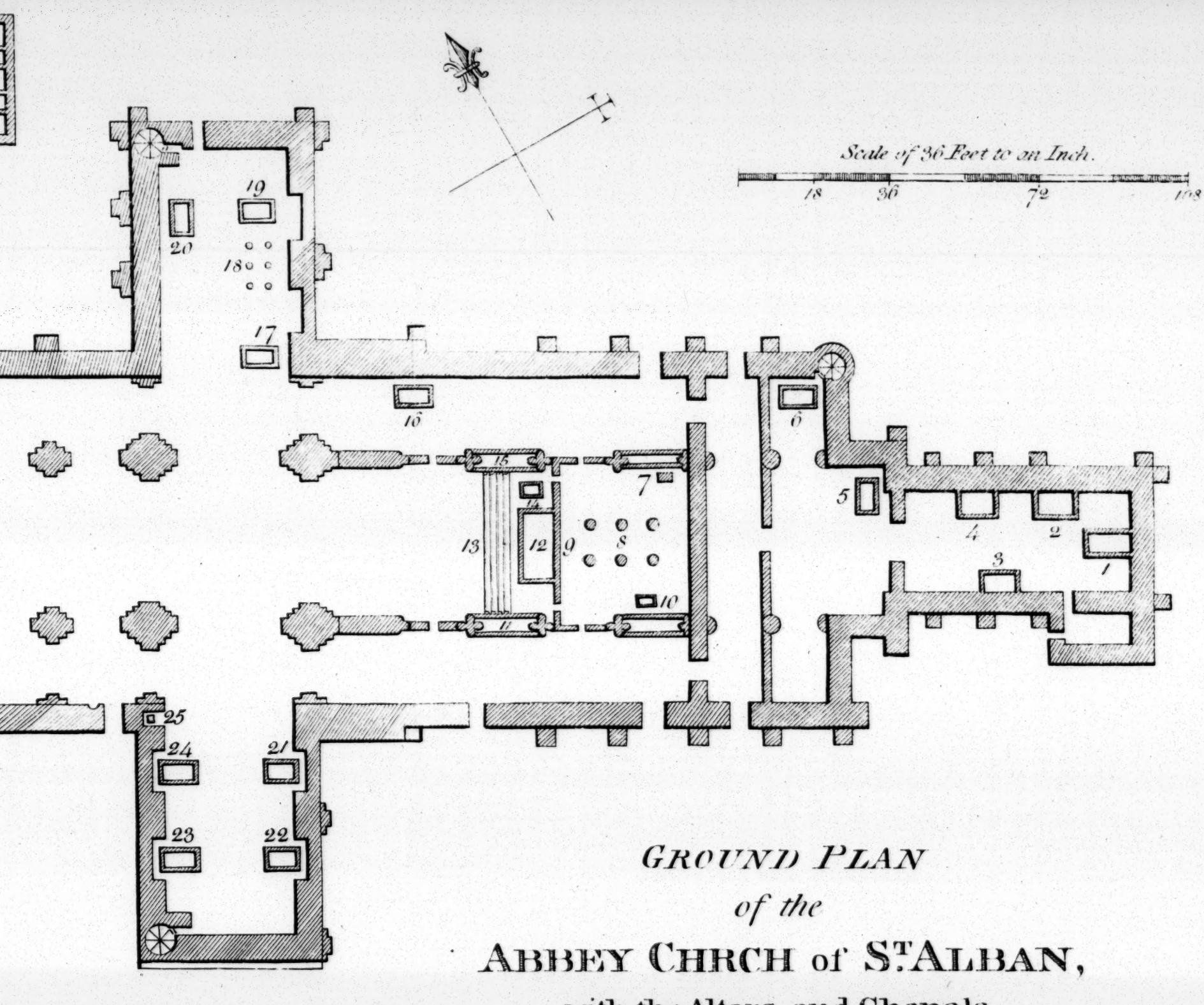
F. Vivares Sculp.t



References to the Plan.

1. Altar to the Virgin Mary
2. to Amphibal
3. to St Peter
4. to St Edmund
5. Quat. Cereorum
6. Ded. to Bishop Blaze
7. Rood Loft for the Watch Monks
8. The Saints Shrine
9. Where the Screen was built in Edw. 4th time
10. Tomb & Vault of Duke Humphry
11. Tomb of Wheathampstead Erected in 1459
12. Great Altar
13. Steps leading to it
14. Altar in the Presbytery
15. Tomb of Thos Ramridge, who Died in 1523
16. Altar to our Saviour
17. Altar to the Apostles
18. Shrine of Amphibal
19. Altar to St Hugo
20. to St Patern
21. Chapel & Altar to the Holy Mary
22. to St Simeon
23. to Abbot Thos De la Mare
24. to St John
25. Chamber for the Watch Monk
26. Altar to the Blessed Virgin
27. to St Thomas
28. to St Osmyn
29. to St Scytha
30. to St Wulphstan
31. to St Sebastian
32. to St Catherine

End of Wheathampsted



GROUND PLAN
of the
ABBEY CHRCH of S.t ALBAN,
with the Altars and Chapels
as it was in the time of
HENRY 6.th

F. Vivares Sculp.t

the advice and remonſtrance of duke Humphry. From the ſame ſource of enmity ſprang a charge and proſecution of the ducheſs in 1441; wherein ſhe was accuſed of uſing ſorcery and witchcraft, to ſhorten the king's life, and thus make way for the duke's advancement to the throne. She could not be convicted of this ſpecies of high treaſon; but was ſentenced to undergo certain penances in St. Paul's church: and ſome of her pretended accomplices were really put to death. Hiſtory ſays, that the ducheſs was examined on this charge by ſome of the biſhops (who were deemed the beſt judges of witchcraft) in St. Stephen's chapel at Weſtminſter. John VI. the 33d abbot.

In proportion as the duke's intereſt declined, that of the biſhop advanced with both king and council; inſomuch, that the council was filled with the creatures of the latter. Then was introduced William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, at the recommendation of the biſhop: and this man ſecretly negociated the marriage of the king with Margaret of Anjou; the daughter of a mere titular prince, without territory, court, or revenue. But one condition of the match was, that Henry ſhould yield up to the French king the whole county of Maine; which had ever been conſidered as a barrier of ſecurity to Normandy. Gloceſter oppoſed this ignominious alliance, but to no purpoſe; for, the cardinal and council carried the ſame into effect; and the young queen came over, in 1445. This addition to the cardinal's intereſt enabled him and Suffolk to determine to get rid of the duke; and, in the year 1447, he was charged with high treaſon, in conſpiring the king's death, in order to ſeize the crown: but, inſtead of a trial, he was found, next morning, dead in his bed. This happened in the abbey at St. Edmundſbury, where the court had choſen to aſſemble, as in a more private place than at London. The nation clamoured: but the power of the great defied the complaints and the juſtice of man. However, Providence ſeems to have revenged his death, in that utter ruin which fell on the king, queen, and all the nobility: for, Gloceſter being dead, the people caſt their eye on the duke of York, as being the next legitimate heir; ſpoke of his merit and ability; aſſerted his right; and thus raiſed up a terrible enemy, and a moſt deſtructive civil war.

This beginning of troubles was well diſcerned by our abbot. And he had reaſon to think, that the duke's foes would carry their malice to the injury and ruin of his friends: and, as he manifeſtly ſhared in that benevolence and goodneſs which the duke bore to all good men, he feared he ſhould be expoſed to that ſame virulence which had

John VI. the 33d abbot.

trampled on him. It was therefore very prudent to retire, like the yielding bull-ruſh, from the fury of the approaching ſtorm. And, deſcending to the condition of a private monk, he ſaw with deep regret and indignation, (though with ſafety to himſelf,) the ſtorm I have deſcribed break on the head, and overwhelm the life, of his deareſt friend, lord, and benefactor.

John Stoke.

John VII. the 34th abbot.

The ſucceſſor whom the convent choſe in his room was John Stoke, prior of Wallingford, of whom not a line of regular hiſtory remains, nor I believe was written; although they had in their company many men, at this time, of competent learning, beſide Walſingham, who was the hiſtoriographer. But, as nothing good or praiſeworthy could be ſaid of him, they probably forbore to record any thing. And by the choice of this man, who was the very reverſe of Wheathampſtead, I think they meant to ſhield themſelves from the like envy and odium which his virtues had excited. If he had with courage recovered their rights, and baffled the power and uſurpations of the great, and had given the world an idea of ſtrength and pre-eminence in this church, they thought it prudent to check that riſing opinion; and, inſtead of greatneſs, to appear low and depreſſed; and, in theſe days of danger, forbear to have an active head and leader.

It is poſſible that the prudence of Wheathampſtead might ſuggeſt counſel of this ſort: and they could not have found a man more fit and proper for this ſilent and quiet conduct; for, Stoke had ſeen nothing of the world, nor been in the leaſt degree converſant in its buſineſs, but had paſſed his days in the rule of a ſmall priory. He was, therefore, not only without experience, but without inclination or capacity, for the buſineſs of ruling and exerciſing high authority. He ſeems to have had no crimes or evil propenſities; but his indolence, or ill judgement, or ſubmiſſive behaviour to the officers whom he found here, ſeem to be the ſource of his ill government. We are in-

informed of all this by what appears in the ſecond rule of Wheathampſtead when he ſtrove to rectify theſe irregularities, rather than by any ſpecific charge brought againſt Stoke. He ſuffered the officers to defraud, cheat, embezzle, contract debts; and, by his negligence, the cells were ready to caſt off all allegiance; and this did actually happen at Wymondham: all diſcipline was at an end, and the monks ran away. He threw all concern and care of management on the arch-deacon, as thinking him the moſt at leiſure, and of high authority, to govern all the reſt, and overſee their conduct: this was William Wallingford, who came afterward to be abbot; and this man Stoke called his official general, a new title when applied to ſecular concerns. John VII. the 34th abbot.

One of the principal events of John Stoke's time was the death and burial of Humphry, duke of Gloceſter, in 1447. And that he was interred in this church, the following is a full proof, being an account of their yearly charge, and dated 1450 (a).

'In this ſchedule be contained the charges and obſervances ap-
'pointed by the noble prince Humphry, late duke of Glouceſtre,
'to be perpetually boren by the abbot and convent of the monaſterie
'of St. Alban. Firſt, the abbot and convent of the ſaid monaſterie
'have paid for makyng the tumbe and ſepulture of the ſaid duke,
'within the ſaid monaſterie, above the ſum of 433l. 6s. 8d.

'Item, to 2 monks prieſts daily ſerving meſſe at the auter of ſe-
'pulture of the ſaid prince, everich of them taken by the day 6 pence;
'ſum thereof by the hole yere, 18l. 5s. 0d.

'Item, to the abbot there, yerely, the day of anniverſary of the
'ſaid prince, attending his exequies, 10l. 0s. 0d.

'Item, to the prior there, yearly, attending the ſame day in lyke-
'wyſe, 10l.

'Item, to 40 monks prieſts yerely, the ſaid day, to everich of them
'the ſame day, 6s. 8d. Sum thereof, 13l. 6s. 8d.

'Item, to 122 monks, not prieſts, the ſaid day yerely, to everich of
'them, 3s. 4d. Sum, 20l. 6s. 8.

'Item, to the autreſſes at St. Peter Church, and St. Michael, the
'ſaid day, yerely, to everich, 20s.

'Item, in money to be diſtribute to pore people there, the ſaid
'day, 40s.

'Item, to 13 pore men, beryng torches about the ſepulture, the
'ſame day, 2s. 2d.

(a) Vide Cott. MS. Claud. 8.

'Item,

John VII. the 34th abbot.

'Item, for wax brennyng daily at his maſſes, and his ſaid ——— 'and of torches yerely, 6l. 13s. 4d.

'Item, to the kechyn of the convent there yerely, in relief of the 'grete decay of the livelode of the ſaid monaſterie in the marches of 'of Scotland, which before time hath be appointed to the ſaid 'kechyn, 60l.'

JOHN OF WHEATHAMPSTEAD re-choſen (a).

John VI. re-choſen.

John the VIIth (Stoke) died in 1451, and was buried in a very honourable manner on the north ſide of the preſbytery. Some propoſed William Albon, the prior, as a man of letters, and of civilized manners, and hoſpitable. Others propoſed William Wallingford, as being a man who had ſerved all the great offices, as burſar, cellerer, and foreſter; and was then archdeacon. On application to the king for leave to elect, they obtained the ſame; and the 17th of January was appointed, and the following perſons were then preſent, in chapter:

William Albon, *prior and doctor in decretis.*
John Whethampſtead, *ſac. paginæ profeſſor.*
John Peyton, *doctor in decretis, and prior of Wallingford.*
Robert Ware.
William Dunſtaple.
Robert Baener.
Peter Waleys.
Thomas Sudbury.
Robert Dunſbey, *coquinarius.*

(a) This Hiſtory of John's ſecond rule is chiefly extracted from a book, called *Regiſt. Rob. Blakeney. Capellanus dom. Tho. Ramridge*, in the library of the heralds office; which begins thus,

Hic prælaturæ Whethamſtede pauca ſecundæ,
More regiſtrantis, ſcribuntur geſta Johannis.

Nicholas

Nicholas Bonde.
Thomas Weſtwode, *prior of Redburne.*
William Wellys, *third prior.*
Nicholas Wellys, *prior of Bynham.*
John Wellys, *prior of Hertford.*
William Bywell, *ſub-prior.*
Nicholas Geywode, *cuſtos feretri.*
Gregory Wynwyk, *prior of Hatfield.*
Richard Ruſſill, *almoner (eleemoſyn).*
John Wylly, *ſacriſt.*
Robert Crofton.
John Langton, *prior of Tinmouth,*
Richard Waltham, *ſub-refectionarius.*
Rowland Breton.
William Blakeney.
Thomas Inton, *præcentor.*
John Eyton.
Thomas Blakenale.
Thomas Albon, *cuſtos novæ ordinationis.*
Thomas Wallingford, *ſub-eleemoſyn.*
Richard Halle, *prior of Beavoir.*
William Wallingford, *arch-deacon.*
William Goodreed, *primus ſcrutator.*
Thomas Sygare, *cuſtos capellæ Beat. Mariæ.*
Thomas Walden, *afterward prior of Hertford.*
Nicholas Litchfield, *ſecundus ſcrutator.*
William Shroveſbury, *ſub-infirmarius.*
John Hatfield.
Geoffry Louth.
John Werter, *ſub-cellerarius.*
Thomas Wareyn, *ſub-ſacriſt.*
William Newnham, *tertius ſcrutator.*
William Hardewyke.
Thomas Newland, *ſub-cantor.*
William Lychfield.
Thomas Roos.
John Dunmow.
Richard Whyttyngton.
William Barnet.
Geoffrey Wyntyr.

John VI. re-choſen.

Roger

John VI. re-chosen.

Roger Torporley.
John Torporley.
William Dixwell, *afterward prior of Hertford.*
Humph. Curteys.
54. John Ponsbury, *in sac. ordinibus.*

Nicholas Bond being sick and languishing in the infirmary, Robert Kent, *notarius in causa*, was sent to ask his vote; and *Veni Creator* was sung. Robert Kent proclaimed at the door, 'If any other prior or monk 'hath a right to vote, let him come forth:' and the prior denounced excommunication on any present who had no right to vote. The king's letters patent were read; then John Peyton, *doctor in decretis*, read a law made in some general council relative to the election of abbots, '*Quia propter per eundem Joannem expositionem cum variis unius electionis* '*satis dilucidè declarata.*' This being finished, William Albon rose, and said aloud, '*I William Albon, prior and prepositor of this monastery,* '*do name, elect, and proclaim, John of Whethampstead, doctor in theo-* '*logy, to be the father, pastor, and abbot, of this church.*' No voice followed, either to second the nomination or to contradict; on which, the chantor proposed to begin the *Te Deum* for such quick dispatch. But the doctors present, namely, John Stokes, and Robert Stillington, *doct. in jure civili*, having the management of the election, would not allow this; and ordered a notary, then present, to go round and ask each one singly: and, when they had all answered, with one voice, John of Wheathampstead, the two doctors ordered the præcentor then to begin the *Te Deum.* He rose and began; and then the prior Albon, and Langton, prior of Tinmouth, approached to the elect; and, taking his hand, led him through the cloister into the choir, and to the great altar; the rest of the convent following. He remained on his knees until the *Te Deum* was finished; when Albon directed him to rise and turn his face toward the choir, that the people might behold him: on which, John Hatfield proclaimed his election. The convent returned to the chapter-house; and John to his chamber, near the infirmary. Albon, Langton, and Wallingford, remained in the Chapter-house; and sent, according to custom, two proctors, to wait on him to receive his consent: the form of which is this following.

'In Dei nomine, amen. Ego frater Johannes Whethampstede, mona-'chus monast. sanc. Albani, Lincoln. dioc. sedi apostolicæ immed. subjecti, 'in abbatem ejus. monast. canonicè electus; et ad consentiendum electioni 'de me factæ et celebratæ per partem prioris et conventus ejusd. sepius

et

'et inſtantius requiſitus; elect. hujuſmodi de me factæ et celebr. in ho- John VI. re-
'norem Sanct. Trin. Glorioſæ Virg. Mariæ, et St. Alban. In cujus honore choſen.
'dict. monaſt. extitit dedic. conſentio et conſenſum meum præbeo in his
'ſuperſcriptis. Acta ſunt hæc omnia et ſingula prout ſupra ſcrib. et
'recit. ſub anno Domini Milleſimo quadringenteſimo, quinquageſimo
'primo. Indictione quinta decima; pontif. ſanctiſſimi in Chriſto pa-
'tris et dom. noſtri dom. Nicolai div. provid. ſub hoc nomine Papæ
'Quinti præſentibus teſt. prædictis. In quorum omnium teſtim. et fidem
'nos prior dictus et convent. monaſt. Sancti Albani prædicti hiis præ-
'ſentibus litteris hanc in ſe firmam electionis continentibus ſigillum
'noſt. comm. appoſuimus.

'Dat. in mon. noſtro de San. Alb. quoad ſig. noſtri appenſionem,
'octavo die menſis Maii anno dom. ſup'dicto.'

John went to London, to be preſented to the king, and to ſwear fealty: but a queſtion aroſe, in the king's preſence, whether taking this oath was neceſſary; thoſe in the negative opinion ſaid, that the ſecond nuptial bed was not bleſſed as the firſt; thoſe in the affirmative ſaid, that the benediction of the abbot, which always followed the oath, could not be given without the oath. On this the elect referred the queſtion to all the doctors of the court of arches: their books determined that the benediction need not be repeated. And he retired to his country houſe, where the abbots uſed to live in the time of vacation; and, when the day of his inſtallation came, he rode on horſeback, and came to the weſt door of the church, where he was received with a proceſſion, and led to the choir: and there he returned thanks.

The prior, &c. informed him, there were three things that wanted amendment; namely, the teaching the young men in the cloiſters, the number of brethren *in ſtudio*, and preaching the word of God by the brethren in pulpits. The next Lent, he ordered a brother to preach every ſunday, *ſemotis extraneis*; for, there was no one ſufficiently learned to inſtruct them in grammaticals, and ſcarce any brother, who was willing to declare, or preach, the word of God before the people: and he ordered the company of ſcholars to be augmented to four times the number.

On enquiring into the ſtate of the abbey's finances, he was informed by the ſteward (or cellerer) that the gifts of the late duke of Gloceſter, of veſtments and trinkets, had not come to hand; and it was feared they would be irrecoverable: as the king, or the barons of the exchequer, in his name, had decreed thoſe goods, &c. to Eton and

John VI. re-chosen.

Cambridge; but a recompense had been required; and the two undermentioned, granted by Henry himself, were quoted and referred to on the occasion. The first charter, after reciting the grants made by Henry I. to abbot Geoffrey, of civil powers, viz. socam et sacam, oustroude et streme, onwod et feld, tol, et them, et Gritbruthe, Hamfethe, Murdre, Forestall, Danegeld, Infangentheof, Utfangentheof, Flemenefrenith, Blodewit, Wrec, proceeds thus, et pro redem. animæ omnes lib. et liberas consuetud. quas regia potestas alicui eccles. conferre potest. omnia bona et catalla ad opus et proficium abbat. et conv. ut idem abb. et con. habeant omnes fines pro transgress. oppression. extorsion. deception. conspirat. concelamentis, begratariis, forestallariis, manutenenciis, ambidextris, falsitatibus, escapiis felonum, et aliis delictis et misprisionibus, necnon omnimoda amercimenta.

This is a renewal of the charter granted by Henry I. and was regranted by Henry VI. at his mansion at Kenyngton, the 30th of April, in the 18th year of his reign, 1440.

The second is the charter of Henry VI. to John Stoke, and granted in the 26th year. Concessimus in perpetuum, quod ipsi et succes. sui habeant cognitionem omnium placit. terrarum et tenementorum infra villas suas de san. Allbano, Bernet, Watford, necnon hundredum de Caysho in comit. Hertfordiæ.

Et coram seneschallo ejus abbatis—vel ut alibi infra libertatem præd. prout et eis. plac. et ne aliquis minister ingrediantur seu seneschall. nec mareschal.

Concessimus etiam eidem abb. justiciarios infra villas et lib. facere ad pacem conservand. et ad omnimodas felonum transg. seneschallus exequatur omnia prout vicecomes aliquis regni nostri. Abb. concess. simus assizas panis et mensuras et pondera vini, casei et omnis victûs.

Then follows a clause declaring the tenants to be free from the king's purveyor.

Testibus, John, archbishop of Canterbury, cancellario nostro. Marmaduke (Lumley) bishop of Carlisle lord treasurer. Adam, bishop of Chichester, custode sigilli privati. Rich. duce de York, and Hump. duce de Buckingham; Sir Ralph Cromwell, and Sir John Stourton, thesaurario hospitii nostri. Dat. ad Westmon. an. 26° regn.

In the 19th year of the reign of Henry VI. he gave to Humphrey the priory of Pembroke, together with the manor; and, in the 21st year of Henry VI. 1443, the duke gave these, together with the church of Tenby and Manerbier, to the abbey; and, in the 27th year

year of his reign, (after the death of Humphrey), Henry granted the abbey an exemption of all the tenths to be paid for thoſe churches, in conſideration, *that we*, ſays the king, *are indebted to the abbot in 600l. and this grant of 20l. a year, the value of the churches, is to be conſidered as full ſatisfaction for the veſtments and goods given by duke Humphry.* John VI. re-choſen.

By theſe grants, it appears how great the duke's favour was to this church, even after the reſignation of John in 1440; and that he intended to make this endowment, as a recompence for the prayers and charges, to be made by the monks after his deceaſe. And, as all the valuable goods, as movables, were intercepted, it is a proof how ſtrong and prevalent his enemies were, even after his death; and how ſupine a defender John Stoke was of the abbey's rights. But neither of theſe charters or grants availed them a tittle; and the new-elected abbot, who had ſeen the courſe of things ſince his reſignation, was forced to ſubmit to the power of new counſellors, and to ſee theſe valuables paſs to the king's new foundation at Cambridge; and to undergo a mortifying inſult in an act of grace, in 1452, as if this church, by its favour to Humphry, had been guilty of ſome great crime.

An end being put to this conteſt by a decree of the barons of the Exchequer, the author breaks out into theſe words, 'Laud. Chriſ-'tianiſ. principi domino regi Hen. ſexto, cujus gracioſis litteris anima 'abbatis ſicut paſſer erepta eſt de laqueo baronum venantium; laqueus 'quoque contritus, ac ipſe gracioſè liberatus.

'Inter cuncta loca quæ litis ſunt vocitata,
'Eſt ſcacci camera ſine ſpe veniæ reputata.

Edward, the great-grandfather of Henry, granted, in the 29th year of his reign, liberty to hold at the vacancy for 1000 marks; and, in the 4th year of this reign, it was renewed, at the inſtance of John de la Mare, a deſcendant from Thomas the abbot.

In the 30th year of his reign, Henry VI. granted to John, and the abbey, and members thereof, an act of grace, or pardon, for miſdeeds by them committed; and here ends the firſt year of John Whethampſtead's reſtoration.

John Swanburne's land, in and near the town, was ſeized by the abbot, on the death of a young man of that name; on which came one Thomas Barrington, and demanded reſtitution, and proved his re-

John VI. re-chosen.

ation to the deceaſed. After ſome conteſt, Barrington, (who was of Hatfield Brodoke, of Eſſex, Eſq.) conſented to take a yearly rent of 60s. and one gown. And, in the acquittance or releaſe, Thomas deſcribes the houſe as ſituate in the ſtreet, called Hakwell-ſtreet, between the tenement, called Stonehall, and the tenement of Thomas Heynes, called the Bell; with many other tenements. Then the crofts are deſcribed, one as lying near the road leading to Hatfield, and one end near to Smallford; another, as belonging to the manor of Newlane, abutting on a field called Comyn Field, and in another part on Eylgrove; another, as belonging to the manor of Bankeworth; and another, to the manor of Sandrugge; another, of five acres, as lying in the field, called Gylefield; three acres lying in Borughfelde; from all which, he ſays, we exclude ourſelves for ever.

Teſtibus William Laken, ſeneſchal abbatis et conven. Henry Frowyk, Thomas Broket, Barthol. Halley, Edm. Weſtby hundredario. Anno 31° regni.

John Stoke was ſuppoſed to have died very rich, and affluent in money, ſtock, and proviſions, laid up for the monaſtery; becauſe he had ſeen many very plentiful years, ſo that wheat ſold in the market for 4 ſhillings per quarter, and barley at 30 pence; and, next, becauſe he had committed great waſte of the woods; then, becauſe he had been very frugal and ſaving; and, laſtly, becauſe he had been, for ſeveral years, the receiver of the whole rent and profits of the manor of Pembroke, or at leaſt of one half; which moiety amounted at leaſt to fifty pounds a year. He confeſſed alſo, before the prior, the archdeacon, and the ſacriſt and almoner, that he had in his hands one thouſand marks. One year and a half after his deceaſe, it was thought proper to look into the accompts, and ſtate of the monaſtery. And the abbot and principal monks called before them that monk (a), who had had chief rule under the late abbot; and he brought the accounts; in which it appeared, that in the chamberlain's office there were ſo many debtors, that the arrears would fall ſhort 50l. In the office of ſub-ſteward, the demand exceeded the arrears thirty pounds; in the office of burſar the creditors were numerous, yet there were arrears to the amount of 100l. to ſatisfy them. But that no money was to be found in the treaſury; and no corn, or at leaſt a very little, in the granary, for the future ſupport during the approaching year.

(a) My author does not name him; but it was William Wallingford, the archdeacon.

And that, in the other two offices, viz. of the head ſteward and of the foreſter, (offices of leſs charge and of very ſlender receipt,) they ſeemed not worthy to be noted. By all which it appears, ſays my author, what was the good effect and iſſue of all that high talk which prevailed at the death of John Stoke. John VI. re-choſen.

This ſtate appeared extraordinary after the 11 years of fertility, during the rule of Stoke: and it appeared that the money had been either purloined, and ſecretly withdrawn; or that, though the years had been productive, and the rents well paid, yet that the charge and diſburſements did greatly exceed the receipts. And it grieved them to find, that the uſual commodities and relief in theſe caſes, as the ſale of the wood and timber, and the *diſmiſſio nativorum* (a), did now fail and ceaſe; ſo that no ſupply was to be expected for ſome years. On conſultation and advice, the officiarius generalis (for, that was his title) adviſed to have recourſe to the lord Richmond, and the lord Sudley, to borrow money; but, truly, to intercede for him. The officer took up his accounts and walked off; and ſoon made ſuch corrections in them, as to cut off from the ſum due to creditors almoſt 200l. and to increaſe the quantity of grain in ſtore above 200 quarters; and made out that there was 160l. in the treaſury; and, running with his accounts thus amended, cries out, 'Here, my lord, is the talent 'which I had for ſome time laid up in a napkin. I was afraid, be-'cauſe thou art an auſtere man; taking up what thou haſt not laid 'down, and mowing where thou haſt not ſowed.' The abbot read the accounts; and, ſeeing the alteration to be near 400l. in his favour, ſeemed content, thinking that a little patience was the proper remedy at preſent; for, he had reaſon to ſuſpect, from the premiſſes, that connivance at the fraud, rather than a faithful and true account, would be the beſt means of bringing them to a reconciliation. The abbot therefore, with intent to avoid giving ſcandal to the officer, and all the inconveniences of giving the keys to another, called him up, and ſaid, 'Brother, we all know how much you excel 'all your fellows and equals in the wiſdom of this world; and how 'cautious and wary you are in the buſineſs of buying and ſelling, 'and providing every ſingle article in its proper ſeaſon. Be it there-'fore determined, that, under the hope of a more faithful and more 'prudent diſpenſation for the future, you do continue in the exerciſe

(a) Enfranchiſing the villains.

'of

John VI. re-chosen.

'of your office; and especially because we do not much like an ex-'change.' And thus ended this matter.

My author remarks, that, when Stoke lay sick at Thydenhangre, he was visited in his last moments by the prior, treasurer, and chief officers; and by them exhorted to give some account of the 1000 marcs which they knew he had in his hands about that time, or not long before. After much exhortation, therefore, and comparing him to Tantalus, who turned every thing that he touched into gold, he owned that 40 marcs went to pay the charge of making the great bell, and of glasing(a) and paving the cloister: 'and the rest I leave in-'tire to my successor, for his use and profit, and to support the burden 'of maintaining the state and countenance of his abbatical dignity. 'We have, indeed, been prejudicial to the abbey in three things; in the 'waste of the woods; in the *dismissio nativorum*; and in making too little 'provision of grain, against the contingency of extreme dearness and 'scarcity; and, for that reason, we have willed and enjoined, that, in 'recompence of such loss the remainder of the said money should pass 'entire, and without defalcation, into your hands.' The prior, hearing this, wished to gain farther information; and asked him 'How! do you 'say you have the 1000 marks in the treasury? or in arrearages, or in 'the hands of any debtor?' He answered, 'We have, as I told you 'before, 1000 marcs in the treasury in money told.' The prior said, 'But where are these moneys, in your own proper hand, or in the 'custody of any other?' On which the abbot raised his right hand, and, directing his forefinger to brother William Wallingford, then his general agent, *(officiorum suum generalem,)* and to brother Thomas Wallingford, his elder chaplain, cries out thus, 'In your custody, 'and yours, are all these marks; and in a certain chest under the 'dormitory: put there, as ye very well know. Therefore, do you 'dispose of this money as I have just now directed, to the honour of 'your church, and to the use of my successor.' The prior, with great joy and exultation at such news, repaired in haste to the monastery; and, calling the brethren together, related this intelligence, with every word of the abbot's concerning the money. Then, with earnest solicitation, he exhorted them to repair to prayers, and supplicate God for the happy departure of the abbot; for, his hour was near at hand; and, soon after, the abbot dying, and the two brethren above-named being come to the monastery, as by the prior had been

(a) Advitriationem,

di-

directed; they were ordered by him to produce and lay before the brethren, and in his preſence, the 1000 marcs, as mentioned by the late abbot. On which they brought out two ſmall boxes, and the cheſt hidden under the dormitory, ſtrongly cloſed and locked, and affirmed, with the ſtrongeſt oaths, that they had nothing more in their cuſtody, of all that the abbot had depoſed and confeſſed. The prior then proceeded, in their preſence, to open them; but found in the whole no more than 250 marcs. Struck with no ſmall aſtoniſhment, he haſtened to the ſtudy of the late abbot, and to every particular place where he ſuſpected he had uſed to hide his money; and, having found nothing, he called to him the two above-mentioned, and inquired, with great earneſtneſs, where the remaining 750 marcs could be depoſited. They affirmed, as before, with an oath, that they knew of no more. The prior, full of diſappointment and vexation, thought proper to ſuſpend all farther enquiry until a new paſtor ſhould be appointed; who, having more full authority, might be more ſucceſsful in his inquiry, and bring the matter into clearer light, which was now ſomewhat private and concealed. When John VI. (Wheathampſtead) was replaced in the paſtoral care, the prior adviſed ſuch ſteps as have been related; having waited 18 months, in expectation that ſome confeſſion of the parties, or ſome diſcovery otherwiſe, might be made. During this time the ſaid William (a) had confeſſed to ſome, and ſpoken unwarily unto others, that he had in the burſary above 160l.; and this he owned to Robert Beaver, a brother of venerable character and age. On this, the abbot charged him to delay no longer; but, having given him very ſevere rebukes, inſiſted on his producing the money, which by all accounts muſt exceed, he ſaid, 1000 pounds. The abbot, in his rebukes and invectives, told him, that he was famous, even from a boy, of loving money, and making a gain by any means; and of lending money to thoſe who practiſed uſury; and that there never had been a ſale of timber or underwood, or a *manumiſſio nativorum*, a purchaſe of grain, or any other great contract, in which he had not made a profit, and been employed in accumulating more and more to his own private property. 'And for theſe ſpecial reaſons, and others, 'which, in regard to your honour, we forbear at preſent to diſcover, 'we and all your brethren are of opinion, and very confident, that 'you do abound in money and caſh much beyond your written

John VI. re-choſen.

(a) This officer, William Wallingford, had under his charge and care the burſary, or general receipt and diſburſement, the ſub-cellerſhip, and the chamberlainſhip.

'ac-

John VI. re-chosen.

'accounts. Produce then the money; or we will instantly pro-'ceed against you, as the canons and constitutions direct.' The official general was softened by these threats; and, going to his brother the chaplain, told him, that he would endeavour to find money in two or three years, to pay all the debts, and discharge all incumbrances and obligations; and hoped the abbot would receive him into favour; nor suffer his character to be sullied, for the management and œconomy he had used; and that he would, by the end of that time, save as much in the bursary as 2 or 300l. The chaplain related this to the abbot. The abbot added his reproaches and threats, and would promise no favour, nor shew any mercy, until the accounts were set right. On this, the official satisfied a great many debts before and at Michaelmas; beginning with paying what was due to the king, then to the pope, next to the barons of the exchequer, and then to the several private creditors. And, on the issue of this business, it appeared, that William either kept no regular accounts, or had been contriving to make a private purse contrary to the rule; or that he was lost in money matters, like many others, who resolve to go on till their employers compel them to account, without any intention of fraud, but being bewildered with the intricacy of business and commerce.

In this third year of the abbot's restoration, one Henry Halstede, who had formerly been sub-prior to the monastery, but who had gone away from the brethren, and lived in a secular manner for some years, desired to be re-admitted; and, with many tears of contrition, tried the compassion of his brethren. At length he promised to re-build the dormitory at Wymundham, and bestow other benefactions on that cell, if he could be admitted; and, after proof given of his sincerity, he should be happy to be made prior of Binham, now vacant. The abbot interceded in his behalf, that he might procure him a favorable reception; on which he was admitted at Binham, and promoted to be their prior. About the same time, one John Middleton, who had left the cloister, and abandoned the monastic rule and vows, supplicated the abbot to be re-admitted; to which he consented; and, after intreating the consent of the body, he adds the following lines:

Tempore difficiles veniunt ad aratra juvenci;
Tempore lenta pati fræna docentur equi.

In

In the time of John Stoke, the late abbot, many monks had withdrawn and gone away to a ſecular life: namely, Edmund Shenley, by a papal bull *de emigratione*; and Richard Langley, by the like authority. From the cell at Hertford, Richard Aylyſhamſtead departed by virtue of a papal bull *de promotione*. And from Wallingford cell had departed the ſaid Henry Halſted, the prior, by the bull *de promotione*; and alſo another brother, named Robert Morpath, the cellerar, by the ſame kind of bull; and alſo William Wiſbich, by virtue of a bull *de emigratione*. And from Hatfield Peverell there had gone John Whytly, by virtue of a bull *de promotione*. From Bynham, John Middleton, by a bull *de promotione*; and alſo a brother, named William Shawe, *per viam apoſtaſiæ in qua deceſſit*. And ſeveral from Wymondham; but it was on erecting the ſaid cell into an abbey: and theſe were maſter Stephen London, the prior; Thomas Mikkelfield, the ſub-prior; Stephen Nelyng, præcentor; William Canterbury, the ſteward, *(cellerarius)*; Thomas Blakeney, ſacriſt; John Keppys, William Weſtgate, Nicolas Banne, William Dolte, Chriſtopher Merle, John Sabbe, John Byſhop, Adam Norwich, Thomas Baldwyn, and John Galuard, monks. Theſe all receded from the church and obedience to the abbot; but it was ſuppoſed to ariſe from the inſtability and miſconduct of the head, John Stoke. John VI. rechoſen.

The reaſon and cauſe why the whole cell of Wymondham withdrew from their duty, and the obedience due to the abbot, was this: John had conceived a great diſlike againſt the archdeacon, William Wallingford, and wiſhed to provoke him to quit the monaſtery; at length, the old prior of Wymondham being perſuaded to reſign on account his imbecillity and age, the abbot offered this vacant honour to the archdeacon, and complimented him on having a man ſo learned and worthy to place in ſo proper a degree of preferment and honour. The archdeacon went, and for one year ruled well; then, on ſome occaſion, the abbot commanded him to return to St. Albans; on which the new prior, now ſupported by the patron of the cell, refuſed, and undertook to appeal to the apoſtolical ſee. The bill of ſupplication mentioned, that the cell had been for 300 years *ſerva et ancilla*, but now was fit *ut filia haberetur, et etiam domina in honore; et haberet ſponſum in rectorem, qui gauderet nomine abbatis*. The meſſenger haſtened with this to Rome, and returned with ſpeed; having procured, and carried with him, the king's licence to favour this work. This happened in 1449. And the pope's bull, after reciting that John Stoke had acted contrary to the pious intention of the founder, the moſt holy

John VI. re-choſen.

prelate to the univerſal church did yield to the vows and inſtances to him made, and did confirm, by a new charter, that the ſaid priory ſhould be erected into an abbey. And this tranſaction was accompliſhed, in ſpite of all the pleas and oppoſition made to it by John Stoke, in the ſpace of two years following; and, in 1450, the ſame was compleatly ended.

It is proper to mention, that, in the 2d year of John's reſtoration, a certain knight of Middleſex (a), named Thomas Charlton, gave great trouble to John, by endeavouring to wreſt from this church the manor of Burſton. This man, having authority enough to be choſen ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, tried to recover this manor; though his father had ſold it, and his mother had levied a fine on the ſame. But the lord Cromwell *(dominus de Cromwell)* took the abbot's part, and defeated the projects of the knight. In the fourth year of John's reſtoration, there died in the monaſtery one Matthew Bepſet, a chaplain of the abbot's; who, on his death bed, ſent for William Blakeney, the elder chaplain, and wiſhed to confeſs to him all his ſins; and begged the abbot to take all his goods and effects, and diſpoſe of them to the uſes he would point out. The abbot, overjoyed, and knowing him to be poſſeſſed of 1000 marcs, imagined the legacy was coming all to the ſtrong box of the church. But the dying man told him, that he had in the town a wife and ſeveral children. This was a ſurprize that was not ſoon or eaſily recovered. However, the dying requeſt was made, and promiſe given to comply with it; and the abbot determined to apply the money to the uſe and emolument of the family; but he kept, for the uſe of the church, and to be applied *ad incrementum ſuæ novellæ ordinationis*, two little parcels of land, left by the deceaſed, and one pigeon-houſe. Theſe were ſituate near the toft of Squillers, where the abbey had other lands of their own.

It was now the year 1455, when the firſt battle of St. Alban's happened; the cauſes of which it is unneceſſary to relate: ſuffice it to ſay, that the king, attended with his nobles, or ſuch as were of his council, and a number of armed troops, came down from London; and probably with a view, that a treaty with the duke of York might be carried on with leſs interruption or danger from the military. The duke was coming from the north; and brought with him 3000 men of that body which he had raiſed there, and took

(a) Effectus utique prolocutor et regimen domus inferioris in ſe ſuſcipiens,

poſt in the great field on the eaſt ſide of the town, called Key-field. The king's men had barricadoed all the avenues on that ſide. The cry among the Yorkiſts was, Give up the duke of Somerſet; but, no conceſſion of this ſort being made, the duke's men broke into St. Peter's-ſtreet; and, being there met by the royaliſts, a dreadful conflict enſued; where, after many were ſlain, the king's party loſt courage and fled, leaving their ſovereign alone, and ſtanding under his ſtandard. He, perceiving himſelf thus deſerted, walked away into a ſmall houſe (of a baker); and here the duke finding him, led him out, and conducted him to the abbey; there he firſt placed him, cloſe to the ſhrine, whether for ſafety and ſanctuary, or to induce him to return thanks for his ſafety; he then conducted him to the royal apartments, and the next day to London. The effeminacy of the king's men, and to which is aſcribed the loſs of the battle, is thus deſcribed by our author, who ſaw both parties, and writes of them thus,

John VI. re-choſen.

> Quicquid ad Eoos tractuſque regni tepores
> Vergitur; emollit animos Clementia Cœli: et
> Omnis in arctois ſanguis quicunque pruinis
> Naſcitur; indomitus bellis, et mortis amator.

The duke's men fell to plundering the town; but, by the commands of the duke, they abſtained from doing any injury to the abbey. And the abbot thought it neceſſary to ſend out to them great quantities of victuals and wine; and this, together with the protecting hand of the martyr, as my author aſſerts, preſerved the abbey and church from any injury by ſpoil and depredation. The ſlain lay thick in the upper ſtreet, and at the diviſion of the ways about the market. And among them were ſeen the dead bodies of Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerſet; of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland; and Thomas Clifford, lord Clifford. But, becauſe they were perſons well known to be hateful to the duke of York when alive, none ventured to prepare for their funerals, or ſhewed any decent regards to their dead bodies. On which abbot John addreſſed the duke, and begged him to ſpare the vanquiſhed, and ſuffer ſome honours to be paid to theſe deceaſed,—not enemies will I call them, ſays he, but your relations by blood, and fellow-patriots. And, ſaying more to recommend moderation in his victory, the duke commanded him to take the bodies and provide for their funerals. The abbot cauſed

John VI. re-choſen.

ſome of the brethren to go forth and take up the deceaſed. This was done, and the dead bodies received into the church, and laid out in decent order; and in a few days the funeral obſequies were performed, and the bodies had interment in the chapel of the Bleſſed Virgin. They were laid in the ground *in lineali ordine, juxta ſtatum, gradum, et honorem, dignitatis. Unde de his dominis et de eorum ſepulturâ ſcribitur in iſta formâ.*

Quos Mars, quos Martis ſors ſæva ſuæque ſororis,
Bello proſtrarunt, villæ medioque necarunt.
Mors ſic occiſos tumulaverat hic ſimul ipſos,
Poſtque necem requiem cauſavit habere perhennem,
Eſt medium ſine quo vult ſic requieſcere nemo:
Hic lis, hic pugna, mors eſt quæ terminat arma;
Mors, ſors, et mavors, qui ſtraverunt dominos hos.

This year, in the Parliament held at Weſtminſter in July, a declaration was put forth, by the conſent of Lords and Commons, in favour of Humphry, duke of Gloceſter; whoſe death had been procured in 1447, and whoſe fame had been tarniſhed by the wilful and malicious charges of treaſon thrown out againſt him ever ſince by the ſame enemies. This declaration cleared his character; and, like a proclamation from the king, was enjoined to be made public in all parts of the kingdom, but eſpecially in the town of St. Albans. It is addreſſed to the ſheriff of Hertford and Eſſex, dated the 31ſt of July, in the 33d year of Henry's reign. And the ſubſtance of it is, to clear the duke's character from the ſlanders and aſperſions that had for ſeven years been thrown upon it; and, as this Parliament was framed to the devotion of the duke of York, it muſt be thought to have originated with him, for ſome private ends, to take up this vindication. The duke alſo iſſued another declaration, to vindicate himſelf, and bear harmleſs all and every perſon who had committed ſpoil, waſte, or murder, in the late battle; by laying the whole blame of that bloody conflict on the duke of Somerſet, deceaſed; Thomas Thorpe, the chief baron of the Exchequer; and William Joſſop, knight and attendant to the king; who were charged with a letter to the king, ſignifying the duty and obedience of the Yorkiſts; but which theſe men did not deliver, and of courſe were the cauſe of the hoſtility and bloody contention.

In

In this year or the laſt, the abbot treated with the owner of Garſ- John VI. re-
ton manor, who was William Halle, of Shidlington, in the county choſen.
of Bedford, gent. for the purchaſe of the ſame; and in concluſion, the purchaſe was completed, and the ſame became the property of the abbey; and one John Wangford, attorney at law, was employed to take poſſeſſion of the ſame.

The abbot alſo purchaſed the manor of Aygnell, in the pariſh of Redburn; in the deeds of which conveyance, next to the name of the owner, Joan Spendlove, is the name of Henry Frowyk, eſq. of South Mymes, as a party; and the witneſſes to the ſame are, Bartholomew Halſey, eſq. Edmund Weſtby, eſq. Roger Witton, eſq. Thomas Atte Hoo, Robert Anable, John Newbury, Rowland Payable, Thomas Clothman, Robert Stodeley, John Hunt, John Chopin, Thomas Peacock, Walter Finch, and many others. The abbot grants an annuity to the ſaid widow, who had ſold; and to John Ferrers, her brother and heir, a penſion of 34s. and 4d. to be paid at Lady Day and Michaelmas, and eight cart loads of fire-wood, from Eywood, yearly, as the ſame ſhall be aſſigned by the foreſter, or woodward, of the abbey; and to be cut and carried at the expence of the ſaid widow and Ferrers. He grants her alſo one croft of land, with a cottage built on the ſame, ſituate beyond the bridge of Haliwell, and belonging to the office of ſub-ſteward, called Duffehowſcroft (Dovehouſe Croft).

The abbot, about 1457, conceived a deſign to viſit all the eſtates and manors belonging to the abbey; and ſet forth with his officers to view and inſpect their eſtate at Rickmereſworth; and there found, that there manor of De la Mare was held under the great manor of Rickmereſworth; and that the dwelling and habitation of their tenant, who was Lord thereof, viz. of the great manor, and named Ralph Botiller, lord of Sudley, argued the owner to be a man of great wealth and power; and thereon they thought it neceſſary to take ſuch ſteps as might ſecure their rights in future times, when this preſent tenant might be gone, and another come, who would diſown their rights, and refuſe any ſubmiſſion or dependence. He held alſo under them the manor of Aſheles, Brittewell, and Baccheworth; and without any yearly acknowledgement; on which they expreſſed a deſire to Ralph Botiller, that he would ſubmit to ſome yearly payment; and, this being directly aſſented to, they made out new grants, with an obligation of one penny for each manor, to be paid yearly at Michaelmas.

In

John VI. re-choſen.

In this ſame year a bill of reſumption was brought into Parliament, in order to annul all the grants and donations, made by the king and his friends, to the Lancaſtrians; with a reſervation of 1000 marks yearly to the queen (Margaret), though the greateſt enemy to the duke of York. This bill ſo far alarmed the abbot, that he ſent the prior to London, to get a proviſo inſerted in the bill, that this reſumption might in no wiſe prejudice the abbot and chapter of St. Alban; and the prior offered this exception, that the ſaid reſumption be in no wiſe prejudicial to the abbey in the court of the Marſhalſea, nor in the court of the clerk of the market, nor his right to ſtop and deduct the ſum of 40l. for collecting and paying to the king the intire tenths of the clergy; and alſo, that the abbot be not prejudiced in any thing relating to the priory of Pembroke, in South Wales; which had been given and granted by the king, or confirmed by him, for, and inſtead of, the legacy and donation of valuables, given to the abbey by Humphry, duke of Gloceſter, but detained by the enemies of that perſon about the court at the time of his death. The prior thought he had done the buſineſs, and that he poſſeſſed no ſmall favour with the king, for ſo ready admiſſion of his requeſt; but, ſoon after, the king's brief is ſent to the ſheriff of Eſſex and Hertford, to this effect, that they take account and value of all honours, caſtles, lordſhips, vills, villages, manors, lands, and tenements; but take poſſeſſion of nothing, or cauſe others to take poſſeſſion, under pretext of an act of reſumption. The abbot was not ſatisfied, but thought ſome abuſe might be made of the powers given by the bill; and, on application to a particular friend, who bore office in the king's exchequer, but is not named, he petitioned the king for a more full declaration of indemnity and ſecurity to all the eſtates and goods of the abbey. The king was abroad, and for other cauſes, *(ob pauperiem regis,)* no progreſs was made, in conſequence, for half a year; when, at length, the king's writ, under his privy ſeal, but with the authority of Parliament, (which was then the practice,) came forth, confirming the former diſpoſal of the *jocalia et ornamenta* which duke Humphry had given, but which the king had preſented to his new college of Eaton and Cambridge. But the writ ſaid not a word of any other poſſeſſions, or implied any ſecurity to them. In this year, the king put forth a proclamation, injoining peace and concord between the relations and parties of the noblemen ſlain at St. Alban; and an agreement took place, with mutual profeſſions of being reconciled. It is a recommendation to *Alienoram duciſſam Somercetriæ*;

cetriæ; *Henricum ducem Som. filium ſuum, et alios natos ſuos*; (where mark, that the counteſs of Saliſbury, and mother of Henry VII. was his daughter,) and Eleanor, counteſs of Northumberland; Henry, earl of Northumberland; her ſon, *et alios natos ſuos*; and John, earl of Clifford, *et fratres et ſorores ſuos*: and the other parties were, Richard, duke of York; Richard, earl of Warwick; and Richard, earl of Saliſbury; *et alios ejuſdem comitis Sarum natos*. And the latter conſented to pay, within two years, the ſum of 45l. to the abbot and monks, and to continue the ſame yearly, *pro miſſis, ſuffragiis, et obitibus habendis, et eleemoſyna danda, pro animabus dictorum, et omnium aliorum ibidem tunc temporis occiſorum*. The king alſo enjoins, that the duke of York ſhall pay to the ducheſs of Somerſet and her ſon 5000 marks, from ſuch aſſignments as ſhall be good and ſufficient, and due from us to the ſaid Richard, *pro vadiis ſuis Hiberniæ*; the ſame to be diſtributed, as we ſhall adviſe, among the brothers and ſiſters of the ſaid duke of Somerſet. *Item volumus, laudamus, et indicamus*, for the conſiderations above-mentioned, that Richard, earl of Warwick, ſhall give to the ſaid lord Clifford 1000 marks, out of ſuch aſſignments or debts as we do owe unto the ſaid earl, to be diſtributed among the ſaid lord, his brothers, and ſiſters: 'And where-'as,' ſays the king's writ, farther, 'Sir Thomas Percy, and Richard 'Percy, his brother, the ſons of our ſaid kinſwoman, Eleanor, 'counteſs of Northumberland, have been caſt in an action of damages 'in the laſt ſeſſion of oyer and terminer at York, before Richard 'Byngham and Ralph Pole, our juſtices, to the earl of Saliſbury, in '8000 marks; and to Alicia, his wife, or counteſs, in 5000 marks; 'and to Thomas Nevill, the ſon of the ſaid earl, in 1000 marks; 'and to the ſaid Thomas (Clifford) and his wife Matilda, in a ſum 'of 2000 marcs; and John Nevil, a ſon alſo of the ſaid earl of Sa-'liſbury, in 800 marks; for great and divers tranſgreſſions laid, and 'found, in the ſaid ſeſſions, to have been perpetrated by the ſaid Sir 'Thomas Percy, lord of Egremond, and Richard his brother, unto 'the ſaid earl of Saliſbury, and Alicia his wife; Thomas Nevil, and 'Matilda his wife; and to John Nevil; as by the records of the ſaid 'ſeſſions appears: We will, ordain, and adjudge, that the ſaid earl 'of Saliſbury, and his ſons, do releaſe unto the ſaid counteſs, and 'her ſons, all ſuch ſums as aforeſaid, and the executions thereof; 'and releaſe, alſo, all claims on Ralph Verney and John Steward, 'the two ſheriffs of London, for the eſcape (a) of the ſaid Egremond.'

John VI. re-choſen.

(a) Propter eſcapiamentum.

But

John VI. re-choſen.

But the ſaid Egremond was compelled to keep the peace, toward the ſaid earl of Saliſbury and his counteſs, for ten years to come; and to enter into a recognizance in the penalty of 4000 marks, towards his ſons, ſervants, and tenants. 'And whereas,' ſays the king's writ, 'divers ſoldiers, eſquires, and others, as well ſervants as tenants, 'belonging to the ſaid earl of Northumberland, and the ſaid lord 'Egremond, on occaſion of theſe debates, have become bound, by 'ſpecial obligations, to ſome perſon on behalf of our ſaid kinſmen, 'the duke of York, the earl of Saliſbury, or his ſons; we will and 'adjudge, that the ſaid obligations be given us before the feaſt of 'St. Peter, at our city of York; or, that they have ſufficient releaſes 'of the ſame.' And other matters are enjoined, in order to reſtore peace between the contending parties; who, on both ſides, are ſtyled the *conſanguinei* of the king, dated March 24, anno regni 36.

In this ſame year, a termination was put to a diſpute, which had been kept up many years, by Sir John Cheyne, of Iſmanſtede Cheyne, in the county of Bucks. This knight had held a virgate and half of land, under the abbey, ſituate in Chalphunt St. Giles, at a rent of 40s. per annum; but he had refuſed to pay it for many years: and now it was agreed that, on remitting all the arrears, he ſhould pay regularly for the future.

About this time, John Bamborough, the ſub-prior of the cell of Tynmouth, ſent a book to the abbot, containing the life and tranſactions of St. John, the prior of the ſame, who had been the uncle of Wheathampſtead, as well as of ſingular merit in the care and diſcharge of his duty. The abbot was ſo well pleaſed with the work, that he wrote to the author the following letter: 'In Chriſto ca-'riſſime frater, confrater, et conſocia; libellulum tuæ gratuitæ com-'pilationis de vitâ, cura, et converſatione, cariſſimi noſtri avunculi, tui 'prioris, nuper nobis præmiſſum, promptâ manu recepimus; læto 'oculo perſpeximus; &c. Niſi labor iſte tuus fuiſſet, jacuiſſet etiam 'hic noſter avunculus inter oblitos.'

There came, at this time, three monks of the Cluniac order into England; and, finding at London that the king was come down to this abbey, they followed; and, being received, they were entertained by the abbot. They ſaid they had three things to mention, as the cauſes of their journey; as firſt, to declare and ſhew, that the kings of England had been among their greateſt and beſt benefactors, for, that Henry II. had been their principal founder; in the next place, to ſeek poſſeſſion and confirmation of thoſe grants of good, which had

been given to their order by the royal progenitors, but had been withholden and detained; and, laſtly, to obtain full licence, to enter all the religious houſes, belonging to, and dependent on, their abbey; and which had been founded by noble progenitors, and placed under their rule and government. For theſe three reaſons they ſought to be admitted to the king's preſence; who, on hearing their requeſt, ordered them to await his anſwer at London. They then paid their duty to the queen, becauſe ſhe was daughter of the king of Sicily, and *de Gallicanâ Natione*; who recommended them to the abbot for farther entertainment. But, at their departure, the ſenior ſent the abbot a letter of thanks, together with a habit of their order, which he had brought with him; and, after returning thanks for the entertainment received, he ſpeaks of the habit, *utinam eſſet novus, licet ſit miſer, tamen ad tegendam humanam fragilitatem terream aptior eſt et melior. Omnes enim beati patris benedicti noſtri filii hoc habitu tegimur in vitâ, et, poſt mortem, involvimur.* 'I ſend you alſo, 'he ſays, a 'ſmall tract, which I have here prepared, not for the uſe of the clergy, 'but for the king and the nobles. It contains, indeed, no ſcience: 'for, I am not maſter of one book. But it is to inform his majeſty, 'that, having ſpent four months and a half in our journey, and the 'proſecution of our rights with the king and his council, we find our 'ſelves diſappointed, and have obtained nothing. Indeed, we return in 'great grief and ſorrow, finding ourſelves deprived of our manors, and 'ſtripped of our penſions; and, what is worſt, robbed and denied of 'the obedience of all our convents, which are 38 in number. Nor are 'our lawful documents allowed any authority, nor will the teſtimony 'of your chronicles and hiſtories avail us. So that, our affairs being 'in utter confuſion, diſorder, and loſs, and our money all ſpent, 'we are compelled to return empty. After diſcharging our board and 'entertainment, there remains only 5 crowns to carry us 260 leagues.'

John VI. re-choſen.

The abbot wrote a letter of thanks in return. 'In tanto, etiam, duo 'veſtra munuſcula fuerunt nobis acceptiora, de quanto illorum 'unum invitat nos ad bonum, alterum vero inſtruit ad mores et 'ad doctrinationem. Habitus enim veſter ad vitam ſanctiorem 'nos invitat; ſanctus enim eſt, et ſanctum ad ſe trahit, non ſanctum 'autem emendat. Tractatulus quippe plenus eſt pinguedine mora-'lis ſcientiæ; moraliter quoque unumquemque inſtruit qui in ipſo 'vel legere vel ſtudere velit. Valeatis, amen, curſivo calamo et feſtivo (a).'

(a) Here my author cloſes his yearly chronicle with theſe words: 'Finiunt acta anni ſeptimi; finit etiam et labor regiſtrantis.

John VI. re-choſen.

At Eaſter, in the 8th year of John's re-election, in 1459, the king, Henry VI. came down to paſs the holidays. His coming is introduced with this alluſion, that, as Chriſt came at this time, ſitting on an aſs, to eat the paſſover at Jeruſalem, ſo our lord the king came down, at this ſeaſon, *ad manducandum agnellum paſchalem cum ducibus et baronibus.* At the king's departure, he ordered the keeper of his robes to deliver to the prior his beſt robe, which he had worn one day this Eaſter. The treaſurer of the kingdom was preſent, and heard the king's command; and, knowing that this was the only robe fit and ſuitable for the king to appear in, and competent to his dignity, he ſtepped up to the prior, and, promiſing to redeem it for 50 marcs, retained the robe. The king could ſcarcely conſent to this act of prudent œconomy; but ordered the prior to come ſoon to London: which the prior having done, and waiting on the treaſurer, this officer, in preſence of the king, counted out the money; and the king directed that the ſame be laid out in the purchaſe of gold cloth, of great value, and commonly called *crimeſyne thiſſuue*; and this to be made up in one cope, a chaſuble, two tunics, and one complete ſuit for the covert of the great altar. And, this done, the king begged one favour, that the abbot and monks would appoint one anniverſary, to remember him their benefactor; and to fix on the day of his death for this ſolemn memorial, &c. The prior conſented, and the appointment was made, and ſignified to the king in writing; and, in this conceſſion, the abbot ſhews what mention ſhall be made of the king in the office and the form of the collect; and that they ſhould direct ſix poor men to attend the ſervice, and ſit in the cloiſter, and receive bread, and money, and other articles, in relief of their wants; after the manner that was practiſed in the memorial days of other great and noble benefactors: but, in the mean time, that they ſhould be particularly employed in praying for the felicity and proſperity of the king while he remained on earth. 'We alſo promiſe,' ſays the abbot, 'to obſerve and celebrate this obit day with wax 'torches, the ringing of bells, and all other ſolemnities uſed and 'practiſed by us in the obit days of your illuſtrious anceſtors, king 'Henry II. Edward II. and Henry V. of divine memory. And we 'promiſe and engage ourſelves to obſerve the ſame, after your de-'ceaſe, for ever and ever, *(per omne ævum et in ſecla ſec'lorum)*. In 'full teſtimony whereof, and to the full and perfect faith and ob-'ſervance of our premiſſes, we here affix our ſeal, this 15th day of 'May, 1459. Given in our chapter-houſe,' &c.

In the 9th year of John, Sir Ralph Buttiller, and Elizabeth, his wife. took meaſures to mortgage their intereſts in the manor of More, Aſheles, Battchworth, Britwell, and Eſtbury; and this was tranſacted, as the law then required, before the King and Parliament. But which tranſaction had nothing in it worthy of remark; except that the manors contained 16 meſſuages, 12 tofts, 22 cartilages; one thouſand and 90 acres of land, 30 acres of meadow, and 30 acres of wood; quit rents amounting to 22s. and 11d.; with waters, fiſheries, ways, paths, &c. in Rickmereſworth and Watford. The whole intereſt therein, being to hold only during the life of the ſaid Sir Ralph Buttiller and his wife; and then the eſtates to revert to the abbot and monaſtery, on their payment of 3000 marcs in ſix years. The witneſſes to this deed were Robert Whyttingham, John Say, Edmund Brudnell, Robert Knollys, Ralph Gray, and others. John VI. re-choſen.

The year 1460 proved fatal to the duke of York and the Nevills; for, in the conflict, or battle, at Wakefield, the queen routed their army; and the duke, with his ſon, the earl of Rutland, was ſlain. The queen's army then marched ſouthward; and, in 1461, met the forces of the Yorkiſts at St. Albans. The latter came by the Dunſtable road, and took poſſeſſion of the town. The queen's army had marched parallel to the other, came through Bedfordſhire, and took poſt on Bernard heath. The Yorkiſts met the king's troops in the ſtreets leading to the North, and chiefly in the back ſtreet leading from the lower end of the town, and drove them back to the heath; where about four or five thouſand of the king's troops ſuſtained the fight, the whole day; but, theſe having ſuffered great loſs in ſlain and wounded, the whole army of the king, although 20,000 in number, took to flight. The king was conducted by one of his attendants, Sir Thomas Hoo, to the tent of the Lord Clifford, near adjoining the king's camp. To this tent Sir Thomas ſoon after conducted the queen and prince of Wales. Thence the king was conducted with the queen and prince to the abbey, and firſt led to the great altar, as if to return thanks, then to the ſhrine, and laſt to his chamber of ſtate. The monks had met him, on his coming, and formed an irregular proceſſion about him; chaunting and offering prayers for his ſafety. Before he entered the chamber, the old abbot intreated his majeſty to give ſtrict orders, that no ſoldier might preſume to plunder the abbey or town; but no order could avail; for, the northern men thought themſelves intitled to retaliate on all the people ſouth of Trent. And in the rage of their victory as well as

John VI. re-chosen.

thirſt of plunder, they ravaged the houſes, ſtripped the aged and the orphan, and robbed even the poor who were relieved daily at the gates; yet they broke not into the abbey. The prior, the archdeacon, and many of the brethren, fled away through fear, and concealed themſelves in the country. But the abbot ſtood his ground, and remained on the ſpot; and, when in a few days the king, and queen, and prince, were departed, he called together the remaining perſons of the abbey, and inquired into the ſtate of their ſtores: for, out of the monaſtery, ſcarcely any proviſion was to be found in the country, either for friend or foe. The northern men, who had here proved victorious, had committed terrible ravages during the progreſs of their march; and now began to be more inſolent by their victory: they not only were permitted to rob, and plunder, and carry away all proviſions, but to drive away the cattle, and commit the moſt wanton waſte. And the licencious behaviour of theſe northern men was ſo new and monſtrous in theſe ſouthern parts, that the country people fled, and left their homes deſolate and unguarded; the victors refuſed to bury the dead themſelves, and none of the country people could be brought in to do that office. Theſe followers of the earl of March were looked on as monſters in barbarity, when compared with the ſouthern men and the people of the king's party. But the old abbot was enabled to preſerve ſome kind of rule and order, and had influence enough with the conquerors, and thoſe who had the king in cuſtody, to prevent any rapine or violence againſt the monaſtery or great church. And, on the eighth day after the action, the earl of March came. His commander had conveyed away the captive monarch and queen, a few days before, to the tower of London; but, when the earl came, he compoſed every diſorder, and withdrew all his armed men, and marched to London.

It was on the 4th of March, 1461, when the Earl went to the palace at Weſtminſter, and ſeated himſelf in the throne: and (though only 19 years of age) he went abruptly into the Houſe of Lords, the Parliament then ſitting; and, in a ſpeech of ſome vehemence, and with much genealogical knowledge, aſſerted his right to the Crown. It is eaſy to imagine, that any title, ſupported by a victorious army, and the popular favour of the citizens, would be admitted: and, accordingly, he ſhewed how the Henrys had been uſurpers; that, while Richard II. was employed in Ireland, to puniſh and revenge the death of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, then next heir to Richard (being ſon of Philippa, the daughter of Clarence, ſecond ſon of Edward

ward III.); Henry the ſon of John of Lancaſter, who was fourth ſon of the ſame Edward, on a ſudden returned from his exile, and procured an election to the throne by favour of Parliament. John VI. re-choſen.

Soon after followed the coronation of the new king, now called Edward IV. The abbot was told, that a reſumption was made by parliament of their priory of Pembroke, with all its lands, rents, goods, and appurtenances; as having been part of the poſſeſſions of thoſe, who had been the near relations, as well as guardians and protectors, of the Lancaſtrian line. On this the abbot directs one of the brethren, named Archyn, to repair to London, and preſent a bill to the Upper Houſe of Parliament, for the preſervation of this eſtate. This was done, and, by the intereſt of the biſhop of Exeter, then chancellor, and a near relation of the king's, the reſumption was prevented, and the king granted his letters patent, bearing date the 22d of December, in the firſt year of his reign, to confirm the ſaid priory, and all its dependencies, &c. to the abbot and his ſucceſſors. This Parliament paſſed a bill of attainder againſt the heads and chiefs of the Lancaſtrians; againſt Margaret, the wife (*ſponſa* not *regina*) of Henry VI. againſt his ſon Edward; Henry Holland, duke of Exeter; and Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerſet. And never had this kingdom ſeen ſo perfect a depreſſion of one royal family, and ſo ſudden an elevation of another; cauſed by the weakneſs and ill policy of the late prince, the death and extirpation of all his adherents, and the riſing valour, and better pretenſions, of an enterpriſing father and ſon, ſupported by great family connections (a), and leading to battle the hardy and intrepid men of the north.

Though John had lived, during his laſt election, in times of trouble and public dangers, he did not omit ſuch repairs and improvements as were neceſſary, or decent and ſuitable. In the 2d year he thought proper to build a library, which he covered with lead; and, beſide the charge of glazing, plaſtering, and fitting up (b), the plain ſtructure coſt upwards of 150 pounds.

While this work was in hand he rebuilt the bakehouſe, the old one being much cracked, and going to ruin; and a more beautiful or convenient one no monaſtery in England can boaſt: this was conducted by the care of William Wallingford, his principal official,

(a) The Nevills, that is, the earls of Warwick and Saliſbury; the lords Clifford and Fauconberg; aided by the Perceys.

(b) Deductâ vitriatione, creſtatione, et poſitione deſcorum.

John VI. re-chosen.

and cost above 105 pounds. In contemplation of his latter end he prepared a marble bed, or coffin, for his future and final repose; and, during his life-time, erected the present monument and sepulchre, the cost of which, with that of the pavement adjoining, was above 20 pounds. He had laboured many years to complete a picture of the Saviour, seated in the front, and surrounded by various saints and followers. It is not said who was the artist, nor that it was his own work; but, for the enriching the same with gold and silver, and as a reward to the painter, he had expended 157 pounds. He also repaired the parish-church and chancel of Appulton Kydale, in the county of York, and in so strong and complete a manner, that it would want nothing more for 100 years; and here he expended above 25 pounds.

The lands of one John Swanbourne, situated in the town and near it, and which had been alienated by fraud for many years, he now recovered; and, by giving to some claimant a yearly pension of 5 marcs, he has (says Blakney) annexed the same to the church for ever. He obtained also of the lord Hastings, who then dwelt near to the monastery or town, certain very rich and curious hangings (a), wrought with great art, and used on days of solemnity, and which hung up in the said lord's great chamber in the summer season. And for these hangings the abbot was said to remit above 40l. of a large debt, due from the said lord, and thought to be desperate.

He procured also a discharge of twenty pounds a year, due to the king's exchequer, and which now came to 600 pounds, as already mentioned; and these, being contrary to the pleasure of the barons, cost him much trouble and difficulty to obtain: and here he expended above 30 l. He caused also the Life of Alban to be translated from the Latin into our vulgar tongue, and the copy to be deposited on the shrine for edification: and this cost 3l. During his first rule he had left a new and solemn missale in his private chapel (b), for the use of his successor; but John Stoke sold this and 2 phials of silver gilt, to a monk of Wyndham. Wheathampstead, on his return, demanded them, and caused them to be placed in that little chapel, where now his bones rest; assigning them for the use of those who should celebrate mass in that place.

(a) Panni, qui vulgariter ARRAS vocati sunt.
(b) In the abbot's lodging.

His

His predeceſſor had cauſed divers barriers and defences to be conſtructed about town; but had left them incomplete, and the coſts of them unpaid. And, in payments to the workmen in compenſation, he expended above 12l. John VI. re-choſen.

He cauſed an old chapel (dedicated to St. Andrew, and ſituate on the north ſide toward the weſt door, without) to be demoliſhed, and then rebuilt; having procured ſtone from the quarry, and furniſhed ornaments to the value of ten marcs of gold. He alſo cauſed the cloiſter to be new glazed, and with painted or ſtained glaſs, expreſſing a ſeries of ſcripture hiſtories with verſes (a).

In the conteſt which he ſupported againſt Thomas Charleton, knt. concerning Burſton, and in which the knight, though ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, was fruſtrated, he expended above 23l.

A ſpecial aſſize was holden in the town of St. Albans. And here the ſaid knight was compelled to appear at the bar (b), and confeſs his error in the whole claim, and renounce the ſame for ever. He purchaſed, at Barnet, of one John Cowper, a parcel of land, for which he received a yearly rent of 15s. and paid for it above 10l.

The manor of Legates, in Walden, was burdened with a quit-rent of 10s. 2d. payable to the manor of Buſhey, in the pariſh of Kympton. And he procured a diſcharge of this quit-rent, and the lord of Buſhey quitted his claim: the expence incurred exceeded 10 marcs.

He alſo had cauſed a picture of the ſaint, curiouſly enriched with gold and ſilver, and ſuſpended over the ſhrine, to be made at his own expence. It is now and long ſince periſhed; but the ornament exceeded the merit of the artiſt, and coſt above 50 marcs, beſide 795 ounces of plate ſilver uſed in embelliſhing.

The manor of Aygnells, below Redburn, which he obtained from a lady of rank, named Joan Spendlove, as before mentioned, for an annuity of 40s. coſt him a preſent expence of 18l. He cauſed alſo two pſalteries to be made at a great expence. He procured alſo, from the lord of More Park, who was then ſeneſchal, or ſteward of the king's houſehold, a manſion in London on the banks of the Thames; in recompence for the quit-rents and debts due from the ſaid lord to the abbey.

(a) A copy of all theſe is to be ſeen in the Bodl. Lib. Oxf. MS. Laud, E. 4. This practice of adorning the walls with verſe, &c. had begun in the time of De la Mare. Pictures and painting is the firſt mode of inſtruction, and writing is an additional improvement.

(b) Ad barreram accedere.

He

John VI. re-choſen.

He cauſed to be made a pair of baſons of ſilver, gilt, and placed on the great altar, to the no ſmall ornament of that place; and theſe coſt above 7l. He made alſo, for the uſe of the choir, a ſet of organs(a); and theſe coſt above 50l. The tithes of Luton, lying up and down the pariſh, and at a diſtance from the farm, or grange, uſed to receive them; he procured a manſe and 17 acres at Newmill End, for the better convenience of gathering them. He recovered alſo the lands of Blackets, Spyneys, and Conellys, which had been alienated, or unjuſtly withholden from the abbey; ſo that they were now recovered, and returned to their old maſters.

The manor of De la Mare had been formerly a grant from ſome royal donor; but, having been alienated, it was by this abbot recovered, and appropriated to his church; and he expended in this acquiſition more than 1000 marks. But, whether this was at the viſitation already mentioned, (p. 359), and with the lord of Sudley, my author does not ſay.

One of the laſt acts of John's rule and government, and indeed but juſt before his death, was a petition to the new king Edward IV. on the impoveriſhed ſtate of the abbey; for, not to mention the frequent great charge of ſuſtaining the armed ſoldiers which paſſed through this town, whether of friends or of foes, the ſpoil and depredation by them committed, the loſs of many of their eſtates during the late civil wars, and the ruin of many tenants on ſuch as they could keep, the waſte made by John Stoke, and the loſſes by him ſuffered, had never been recovered; and this impoveriſhed condition of the revenue put John on a ſupplication to the king for relief. Edward granted, in part, the prayer of the petition; but not by commanding reſtitution of the loſt eſtates, but by an honorary augmentation of the abbot's civil power. For, now it was, that he granted a power to hold pleas of all felonies, in as ample a manner as was uſually given by commiſſion to the judges of aſſize. The grant runs thus: 'The king to all archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, priors, 'dukes, earls, barons, juſtices, ſheriffs, head officers, miniſters, and 'all bailiffs, and others his faithful, greeting. Whereas, the abbot 'of St. Alban, in the county of Hertford, which is the foundation 'of our progenitors, formerly kings of England, and of our patronage,

(a) Par organorum; quo aut viſu pulchrius aut auditu ſuavius non facile poterat reperiri.

'is

'is diminiſhed in its poſſeſſions, as well in ſpirituals as in tem- John VI. re-
'porals, and the church manors, lordſhips, granges, and other the choſen.
'buildings to the ſaid abbey belonging, by the inſolence and
'wrong governance of the paſtors there, being ſo much waſted and
'deſtroyed, that, unleſs they are ſoon repaired, they will (which
'God forbid!) in a ſhort time fall to ruin; which ſaid poſſeſſions, and
'alſo the rents, profits, and revenues, of the ſaid poſſeſſions, manors,
'lordſhips, granges, and other the lands and tenements to the abbey
'of ancient times collated, yearly coming, will ſcarce ſuffice, as we
'have heard, for the divine duties, and other works of piety in the
'ſaid abbey to be celebrated, and the repairs of the ſaid church,
'manors, granges, and other buildings, to be ſuſtained and ſupported.
'We, being willing to ſuccour the ſaid abbey, and all the poſſeſſions
'thereof, as much as in us lies, and all the poſſeſſions to maintain
'and ſupport, and rather to augment than diminiſh; and alſo, for
'the inward affection and devotion which we bear and have to that glo-
'rious martyr, St. Alban, and to whoſe honour the church is dedicated,
'being willing to adorn the ſaid abbey with divers liberties, franchiſes,
'privileges, and immunities, of our ſpecial grace; and to the honour
'of our bleſſed Lord Jeſus Chriſt; the Holy Mary, his mother; of the
'ſaid St. Alban; and of all the heavenly court; we have granted,
'and, by this our preſent charter, do grant, for us and our heirs,
'as far as in us lies, to God and the church of St. Alban, to our be-
'loved in Chriſt, John, now abbot, and the convent of the ſame
'place, and to their ſucceſſors for ever, that they ſhall have cogni-
'zance of all and all manner of pleas, ariſing or touching of lands
'or tenements, within their towns of St. Alban, Barnet, and Wat-
'ford, and alſo the hundred of Caiſho, and all their whole liberty of
'St. Alban; and alſo of aſſizes of novel diſſeiſin, mort anceſtour, cer-
'tificates and attaints of the ſaid lands and tenements, as before us and
'our heirs, our juſtices, and thoſe of our heirs aſſigned, to take aſſizes
'in our county of Hertford, Middleſex, or elſewhere, taken or to be
'taken, arrained or to be arrained, or other our juſtices, or of our
'heirs, begun or to be begun; and alſo of attaints, debts, accounts,
'treſpaſſes, convents, contempts, deceipts, and of all other whatſo-
'ever pleas and plaints, real, perſonal, or mixt, and pleas of the
'Crown, within the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforeſaid, any
'manner of way ariſing, or henceforward to ariſe; whereof the
'cognizance of the ſame, or of any of them to us or our heirs,
'or to our courts or of our heirs, doth belong, or in any manner of

John VI. re-chosen.

'wiſe ought, by the aforeſaid abbot and convent, and their ſucceſ-
'ſors, or their attorney or attorneys in this behalf, before ſuch juſ-
'tices from time to time as the caſe ſhall require, to be challenged,
'and before the ſteward of the ſaid abbot and convent, for the time
'being, at the ſaid town of St. Alban or elſewhere, within the liber-
'ty aforeſaid, and where it ſhall pleaſe them to be holden and deter-
'mined. And that the ſaid ſteward, ſo for the time being, ſhall hear
'and determine all and ſingular the ſaid things, according to the
'exigency of the law, within the ſaid town of St. Alban, or elſe-
'where, within the liberty aforeſaid, ſo that none of our juſtices or
'of our heirs, barons or baron of our exchequer, or of our heirs,
'commiſſioners aſſigned to take inquiſitions, ſteward and marſhal,
'or clerk of the market of our houſehold, or of our heirs, ſheriff,
'coroner, officer, or our miniſter, or of our heirs, ſhall any wiſe
'go within the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforeſaid; nor ſhall
'any ways intermeddle within the towns, hundred, or liberty, afore-
'ſaid, or any parcel thereof; nor of any pleas there to be held, or
'within the ſaid town, hundred, or liberty, aforeſaid, emerging or
'to emerge, nor of any jury or juries, pannel or pannels, inquiſition
'or inquiſitions, or of any other things, lands, tenements, or other
'cauſes or matter whatſoever, touching, or ariſing, or to ariſe, or
'concerning, the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforeſaid, or any
'parcel thereof: unleſs only the ſteward, bailiffs, officers, or mi-
'niſters, of the aforeſaid abbot and convent, or their ſucceſſors for
'ever. We have alſo granted to the ſaid abbot and convent, that
'they and their ſucceſſors, by their letters patent, may make, con-
'ſtitute, and aſſign for ever, within the towns, hundred, and liberty,
'aforeſaid, their juſtices to keep the peace within the ſame; and to
'hear and determine all manner of felonies, treſpaſſes, and ill doings,
'within the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforeſaid, happening and
'emerging; which ſaid juſtices, by them to be aſſigned, ſhall have
'the ſame power and authority within the towns, hundred, and li-
'berty, aforeſaid, in all and by all, as any juſtices of the peace in
'the county of Hertford, or in any other county of our kingdom;
'ſo that neither of our juſtices of the peace in the county aforeſaid,
'nor any other juſtices of our ſaid kingdom, unleſs only juſtices by
'the ſaid abbot and convent, or their ſucceſſors, as aforeſaid, to be
'aſſigned, ſhall make any ſittings within the town, hundred, and li-
'berty, aforeſaid, nor ſhall inquire of any thing within the ſame ari-
'ſing, nor ſhall any manner of ways intermeddle. And that the ſaid
'abbot

'abbot and convent ſhall have a goal, within the town of St. Alban aforeſaid, ſafely to keep felons and other malefactors in the ſame, until from the ſame, according to the law and cuſtom of our realm of England, they be delivered. And that the ſteward of the ſaid abbot and convent, aſſociating to themſelves one or two ſkilful in the law, whereof the ſteward for the time being ſhall be always one, ſhall be our juſtices, and of our heirs, from time to time, to deliver that gaol of perſons in the ſame being, and to the ſaid priſon, for whatſoever cauſe, to be committed; ſo that no juſtice or juſtices of us or our heirs, for the future to be aſſigned to deliver that goal by us or our heirs, ſhall any ways go into the ſaid towns, hundred, or liberty, for this cauſe or any other cauſe whatſoever; and that the bailiff of the ſaid abbot and convent, and their ſucceſſors of the liberty aforeſaid, for the time being, ſhall make, return, and take care of, all juries, pannels, inquiſitions, attachments, and intendencies, to the aforeſaid juſtices and ſteward, or two of them, as is aforeſaid aſſigned, juſtices to deliver that gaol; and that the precepts, mandates, warrants, and judgements, of the ſaid juſtices and ſteward, or two of them, for the time being, ſhall do and execute, in all things, in the ſame manner and form, as any ſheriff of our realm of England doth make return, take care of, and execute, in any manner of wiſe, to ſuch juſtices aſſigned to deliver the gaols of our kingdom. And we have farther granted unto the ſaid abbot and convent, and their ſucceſſors, that they ſhall have within the towns, hundred, and liberty, aforeſaid, aſſay and aſſize of bread, wine, beer, meat, and all other victuals, meaſures, and weights, whatſover; and alſo of other things to the office of clerk of the market of our houſehold belonging or appertaining, with the puniſhment and correction of the ſame, and every thing which to that office doth appertain, to be made and exerciſed as often and when it ſhall be expedient and neceſſary, and alſo all fines, ranſoms, and amerciaments, and all other profits thereof coming; ſo that the clerk of the market of our houſehold ſhall in no ways enter into the towns, hundred, or liberty, aforeſaid, for any thing to be done or exerciſed belonging to ſuch office.'

John VI. re-choſen.

Then follows a clauſe forbidding the royal purveyors from taking any proviſion, horſe, beaſt, or carriage, from any of the tenants of the abbey; or to enter, for that purpoſe, into the ſaid towns, hundred, or liberty. And laſtly, it is provided, that, if any defect or miſinterpretation ſhould ariſe in theſe letters patent, the ſame ſhall

John VI. re-chosen.

be construed in favour of the abbot and convent, and other letters patent made to their satisfaction and advantage. Attested by the venerable fathers,

Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, of all England primate, *(Bouchier)*.

William *(Booth)*, of England primate, archbishop of York.

Thomas *(Kemp)*, bishop of London.

George *(Neville)*, bishop of Exeter, chancellor.

George, duke of Clarence.

Richard, duke of Gloceſter.

Richard, earl of Warwick, *(Neville)*, chamberlain of England.

John, earl of Worceſter, treaſurer, *(Tiptoft)*.

Sir John Neville, of Mountague,
Sir William Haſtyng, of Haſtyng, chamberlain,
Sir John Fogg, treaſurer of the houſehold,
} knights.

Given by our hands, at Weſtminſter, November 3, 1461.

Thus it appears, by this charter, or grant, that a kind of palatine juriſdiction was given to the abbot; ſuch as ſtill remains, and is enjoyed and poſſeſſed by the great prelates of the ſees of Durham and of Ely. Which juriſdiction, though diminiſhed in thoſe churches at this time, and leſſened by prudent conceſſions from time to time, were anciently a full regality of authority and power. And ſuch was at this time given by young king Edward, as a compenſation for the loſſes and damages the abbey had ſuſtained; as if additional powers and acceſſion of honours was a compenſation for the ruin of their eſtates, and the loſs of rents, &c. Here was given a full power of life and death, and the cognizance of all the moſt capital offences. Even treaſon was now cognizable in this court; but, it appears not that the great forfeitures, that follow the conviction of that offence, were yielded and granted to this ſupreme head of the ſame: and the ſeveral fines, penalties, and amerciaments, beſide thoſe that aroſe in the former quarter-ſeſſions court, and which had always fallen to the abbey, could not probably be very great, or augment in any degree their impoveriſhed revenue.

The gaol had ever belonged to the abbot, from the time of the firſt grant of the liberty to abbot Geoffry, in the time of Henry I. and now it was aſſigned to the cuſtody of ſuch criminals as fell under the new and higher juriſdiction. This new authority made it neceſſary to have a ſteward that was knowing in the laws and eminent in rank; or, if the old and former officer, called their ſeneſchal, was poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed of the firſt property, the abbot choſe to make an additional ſteward, who might poſſeſs the ſecond, and act for them as a patron and friend at court; and thus, while the firſt officer ſat on the bench, and conducted the legal proceedings of their court; the ſecond was ſecuring their intereſt above, and keeping up a good underſtanding with the Crown. John VI. re-choſen.

Theſe new powers and anthorities were undoubtedly exerciſed: but nothing remains to ſhew the nature of their proceedings, what crimes were indicted, or what judgements were pronounced; for, all theſe records periſhed at the general wreck of the abbey, and of all its goods, at the diſſolution. And, indeed, we learn only the name of their firſt new ſteward; which was Sir Williams Haſtyngs, elected ſuch ſoon after the grant. And it is doubtful who was the efficient man, that actually conducted the judicial and fiſcal matters of the abbey; but it will be ſeen in the courſe of a few years who was that perſon then. It is to be obſerved here, that the town was not yet incorporated; but made a part of the liberty, and had no ſeparate and diſtinct juriſdiction, and reſorted for juſtice, on all occaſions, to the quarter-ſeſſions and new court of aſſize.

Theſe powers remained, and were in force, until the 24th of Henry VIII. who, beginning to abridge all the corporate authorities of the clergy, paſſed an act in that year, entitled An Act for re-continuing Liberties in the Crown; which runs thus (a); 'And be it 'enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that no perſon or perſons, of 'what eſtate, degree, or condition, ſoever, they be, from the firſt 'day of July, ſhall have any power or authority, to make any juſ-'tices of eyre, juſtices of aſſize, juſtices of peace, or juſtices of gaol-'delivery; but that all ſuch offices ſhall be made by letters patent 'under the king's great ſeal, in the name, and by the authority, of 'the king's highneſs, and his heirs kings of this realm, in all ſhires, 'counties, counties palatine, and other places of this realm, Wales, 'and the marſhes of the ſame, or in any other his dominions, at 'their pleaſure and wills, in ſuch manner and form as juſtices of 'the peace, and juſtices of gaol delivery, be commonly made in 'every ſhire of this realm; any grants, uſages, preſcriptions, al-'lowance, act or acts of parliament, or any other thing or things 'to the contrary thereof notwithſtanding. Provided alſo (b), that all 'cities, boroughs, and towns corporate, within this realm, which

(a) Section II. (b) Section VI.

'have

John VI. re-chosen.

'have liberty, power, and authority, to have juſtices of peace, or 'juſtices of gaol-delivery, ſhall ſtill have and enjoy their liberties and 'authorities in that behalf, after ſuch like manner as they have been 'accuſtomed, without any alteration by occaſion of this act, any thing 'in this act or any article therein contained, to the contrary thereof, 'notwithſtanding.'

And thus did this act aboliſh the new and exalted prerogative given to the abbot by Edward IV. and not only the authority aforeſaid ſunk down to its former and ancient level, whereby the quarter-ſeſſion was the only criminal court ſubordinate to the abbot; but the very name and dignity of ſteward was aboliſhed; and remained ſo, until the ſaid office was revived under the new incorporation by the charter of Edward VI. in 1553.

The power of the abbot, and the authority of his court of aſſize, being thus reduced by the 24th of Henry VIII. and his whole power being aboliſhed by the act of the 31ſt of Henry, the ſeſſions was the only criminal court; and the juſtices of the liberty, made by the king after the 24th of Henry, conſtituted the only juriſdiction: and this fell to a perfect reſemblance of all other quarter-ſeſſions. But, by the charter of incorporation of Edward, in 1553, a ſpecial clauſe is inſerted, that they may and ſhall have their gaol within the limits of the borough, for the cuſtody of priſoners taken within the liberty. And it is alſo provided, in the ſame clauſe, 'that the juſ-'tices of the liberty ſhall have power to keep and hold their ſeſſions 'of the peace and goal delivery, within the ſaid borough; and that 'they may come thither with all their bailiffs, conſtables, and other 'officers and ſervants, whatſoever; and with ſuch other perſon and 'perſons as are required to be at the ſaid ſeſſions and goal delivery, 'in ſuch manner and form as they have heretofore done, and have 'been accuſtomed to do; any thing in theſe preſents contained to 'the contrary notwithſtanding.' And the place, where the ſaid ſeſſions had been ever held and continued to be held, was the great room over the gateway; and here alſo ſat the ſteward, and convened his court of aſſize, and general commiſſion of oyer and terminer. This uſe of the ſaid room continued, for all ſeſſion-buſineſs, until the year 1651; at which time the juſtices of the liberty, Sir John Wittewronge of Harden, William Leman of Northaw, Henry Ewer of Watford, John King of St. Alban's town, Alban Coxe of Beaumonts, and John Marſh of Shenley, purchaſed the upper part of the great gate; (for, the lower rooms only on the ground, and compoſing the

liberty-priſon, belonged to the liberty or the juſtices thereof;) and converted the whole upper part into a houſe of correction. This is a condition of the purchaſe; and the juſtices then, by agreement with the mayor, and juſtices, and corporation, held their ſeſſion in the Town-Hall; and have ever ſince continued ſo to do. Which Town-Hall had been the property of the abbey at the diſſolution; and was called their Chancel-Houſe; and, in 1553, is granted, by that expreſs name, to ſerve the corporarion for their council chamber, as is ſet forth in the charter, ſection 22. John VI. re-ch ſen.

The ſaid juſtices purchaſed the ſaid great gate of one Godfrey Ellis, and Griffantius Phillips, of Gloceſter, as being intereſted therein, and having property in the ſame; 'then known by the name of the Great 'Gate, and being part or parcel of the diſſolved monaſtery of St. 'Albans; and ſince then belonging to the office of the equerries of 'the ſtables there, and ſituate, lying, and being, on the north ſide 'of the court or yard, commonly called the abbey-court; together 'with one little garden to the ſame premiſſes adjoining, and one 'ſtable, or edifice, ſtanding or being on the eaſt part of the ſaid great 'gate; to the ſaid juſtices, their heirs and aſſigns, for ever.' And thus the mayor and corporation, having had their council-chamber and borough-gaol from the year 1553, now gave leave to the juſtices of the liberty to ſit there, and hold their ſeſſions; and the foremention ed indenture, after reciting a former indenture of the purchaſe from Ellis and Phillips, ſet forth the mayor and principal burgeſſes as a party: and by this indenture the ſaid 'juſtices do hereby co-'venant, promiſe, grant, and agree, to and with the mayor and 'principal burgeſſes and their ſucceſſors, for ever, for and on behalf 'of the inhabitants of the liberty aforeſaid, that all and ſingular the 'premiſſes ſhall be, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, 'peaceably and quietly uſed, enjoyed, and employed, as aforeſaid, '*(that is, by the inhabitants of the liberty,)* without any claim, title, or 'right, to be thereunto or any part thereof made by them the ſaid 'juſtices or their reſpective heirs and aſſigns, to their own uſe or 'uſes. And the ſaid juſtices do farther covenant with the ſaid 'mayor and principal burgeſſes, that they will and ſhall ſtand ſeized 'of the ſaid premiſſes in truſt, and to the uſe, intent, and purpoſe, 'aforeſaid, and to none other whatſoever.'

The above title of equerry was a kind of office anciently belonging to the abbots, and included the care of the ſtables; and it was held by a patent from the abbots, with a certain ſalary annexed.

On

John VI. re-choſen.

On the diſſolution, the ſaid office devolved to the crown; at this time, reſts in the crown, and hath been granted from the king's exchequer at divers times.

Another place and office under the abbot, and probably beſtowed by patent, (as it hath been of late years ſince the whole property, rights, and privileges, have devolved to the crown by the diſſolving act,) was that of the gaoler, or porter, of the great gate. Gates and gateways were anciently applied to the uſe of a priſon; not through any neceſſity, but perhaps with a view to excite compaſſion and charity to the impriſoned, in all paſſengers and viſitors; and here this office hath been granted for many years to the family of Kentiſh, and a ſalary of 11l. 1s. 4d. affixed and payable out of the exchequer. The firſt grant, or letters patent to this family, that I have ſeen, bears date in 1702, in the beginning of queen Anne's reign; and gives the office to Ralph Kentiſh: 'to hold, exerciſe, and enjoy, 'by himſelf or his ſufficient deputy or deputies, during his natural 'life, together with the ancient fee or ſalary of 11l. 1s. 4d. *per annum*, 'payable as formerly by the receiver-general of the county of Hert-'ford at Lady Day and Michaelmas, by equal portions, and all other 'fees, profits, and commodities, to the ſaid offices belonging.'

But, before the grant to Ralph Kentiſh, William Morris was appointed to theſe offices, by a patent under the exchequer ſeal, dated December 19, 1695, on the death of Thomas Sturgeon, and Roger Sturgeon, with the uſual fees and the uſe of a chamber. And the patent hath been renewed at divers times, ſince the death of Morris, to the family of Kentiſh; and William Kentiſh, by patent dated June 29, 1787, is the preſent gaoler and porter of the great gate ſo appointed.

Another office inherent in the abbot, and granted by patent under the abbey ſeal, was that of hundredor. This had been an ancient office, and of great port and conſequence in the Saxon times; when almoſt all buſineſs of contention and diſpute, as well as of right and property, was determined in this court. And the duty of hundredor, or, as otherwiſe called in the Norman times, the bailiff of the hundred, was to preſide in this court; give judgement, and receive the fines and amercements for the uſe of the king, or that lord to whom the king granted them: and every hundred had an officer of this kind. When Henry I. granted the hundred of Caiſhow to the abbot, with certain privileges and prerogatives, he granted a degree of his royal authority, and gave ſome kind of palatine juriſdiction, and

and inveſted the abbot with a part of his royal privilege. By this immunity it was denominated a liberty; and the abbot had power to create an hundredor, or bailiff: he was often called ſeneſchal or ſteward; but under that title was included, together with being judge of the hundred courts, the care and managements of the abbey's eſtates. This office of hundredor was always conferred by patent; was given, in the time of Richard III. to William lord Haſtings; and, after his death, to Sir William Cateſby; but who ſucceeded him is not known. At the diſſolution this office was found among the poſſeſſions of the abbey, and laid dormant in the crown until the 9th of king James; at which time that king made a grant, or donation, of divers ſmall eſtates that had fallen into the crown; and, among the reſt, of this office of hundredor, belonging to the ancient diſſolved abbey of St. Alban. Theſe grants were made to George and Thomas Whitmore, eſqrs. of London; and from them they have come, by purchaſe, to the earls of Saliſbury: and this office of hundredor is now veſted in the preſent noble marquiſs of that title. But ſo much of the grant as relates to this abbey may be ſeen in the Appendix (a).

John VI. re-choſen.

The great care and attention of Wheathamſtead (b), to put into good condition all their farms and other buildings, and to make other improvements, was manifeſted by his inſtituting a new officer, called The Maſter of the Works. This began in 1429, as I have already noted; but it was the ſpace of three years before the reſpective duties of this office could be ſettled, and the pope's bull obtained for confirmation of the ſame. In 1432, it was allotted by the body, and confirmed by the pope, that all their rents in Bedfordſhire ſhould be applied to this office. It was called in the Latin epiſtles to the pope, and in the inſtruments to eſtabliſh it, by the appellation of *Nova Ordinatio*. The rents to be applied were from Clophall, or Beaulieu, and other farms in the ſame county, 24l. 6s. 8d. All the rents of Gorham and Weſtwick (except the woods) amounting to 25l. 6s. od. The tenants in this manor are 38 in number, all ſpecified by name; to this was added the farm or rent of the manor of Gorham, 6l. 13s. 4d. and the paſture or keeping of 200 ſheep. Rent in London aſſigned to this office was the ſum of 6l. 13s. 4d. ariſing from a tenement in Al-

(a) N° IX.

(b) What follows relating to this abbot is extracted from a MSS. written by Blakeney, ſecretary to Ramridge, *de terris adquiſitis per Joan. Whet. et Tho Ramridge*, and now in the Library of the Royal Society, London.

John VI. re-chosen.

derichegate-ſtreet. From certain tenants in Barnet, 3l. 17s. 11d. From Newlane, 7l. 16s. 9d. From Squillers, 13l. 6s. 8d. Together with other rents from other places, amounting in the whole to 132l. 15s. 0d.

Now in this *Nova Ordinatio*, as it was called, ſome of this money was to be applied by the Magiſter Operis to celebrate anniverſaries; in particular, for the ſtudents at Oxford to celebrate a day with feſtivity and prayer for the ſoul of Robert D'Aubigny, the founder of Beaulieu; and another for the ſoul of this preſent abbot, and of his parents. A further ſum for the purchaſe of torches *(torticiorum)* on certain ſolemn days. Another ſum of 13s. 4d. to the reader of grammar, and to the keeper of this cheſt no leſs than 3l. 6s. 8d. And in conſideration of the remainder being applied toward repairs, &c. the ſeveral officers, who before were chargeable with certain ſums for that purpoſe, are now diſcharged and excuſed; to the amount of 56l. 7s. 0d.

The abbot had procured a new declaration, from the King, of the Liberty, that is, reciting and confirming the grant of Henry I. to Geoffrey.

The ſeveral charges of this buſineſs are here ſtated; and, after reciting the payment to the clerk of the Chancery, to William Paſton, the juſtice, for amending and correcting the bill, and to the clerk of the ſeneſchal for writing the ſame; and to Edward Hall, the king's eſquire, for his labours in expediting the ſame, it recites a ſum of forty ſhillings to Thomas Norton, the duke of Gloceſter's chaplain, for his effectual promoting of the ſame; then for inrolling the ſame, 50l. for John Wells, his expences in riding often to London on this buſineſs, 40s. Then, for a certain book preſented to the duke of Gloceſter at his coming to the abbey, 6l. 13s. 4d. for one Palfrey given to his highneſs, 3l. 6s. 8d. and in money and gowns given to his chaplains and his eſquires, 11l. 6s. 8d. This whole charge amounted to more than 80l.

It appears alſo that he gave a pair of gilt baſons to queen Catharine, that coſt 55l. and another pair to the ducheſs of Bedford of the value of 25l. and a large cup of ſilver-gilt to Eleanor, ducheſs of Gloceſter, valued at 13l. 13s. 4d. and another of like value to the ducheſs of Bedford. In entertaining the young king, at his firſt viſit after his coronation, he expended 85l. He gave alſo to Sir William Babynton, chief juſtice of the Common Bench, a ſilver cup, value 5l. and the like to Thomas Bekynton, official of the arches. He

ſent

ſent three ſaltcellars to the ſcholars at Oxford, worth 4l. and, to compleat the repair of their chapel, 20l. in money. To a certain monk of Bury (Lydgate probably), for tranſlating the Life of Alban into the vulgar tongue, he ſent as a preſent 3l. 6s. 8d. He ſent to pope Martin a ſilver cup and ewer *(aquario)* gilt, worth 16l. 3s. 4d. He gave to duke Humphry three books, value 10l. one of which was a Cato with a gloſſary, and the other two of his own compoſing. He gave to the duke of Bedford a book of aſtronomy, value 3l. 6s. 8d. many other cups he preſented; and to the cell at Tynmouth, a purple cope that coſt 20l. The whole value of theſe preſents came to 326l. 15s. 8d. John VI. rechoſen.

The ſeveral repairs and improvements made within the convent amounted to 886l.

Repairs within the church, 142l. 15s.

In providing chaſubles and copes, 200l.

In the making of one mitre, 100 marcs.

In the making of one paſtoral ſtaff, 50l.

For other copes, baſons, fur robes, &c. to the amount in all of 641l.

Improvements within the choir, 80l.

In the refectory, in ſeven ſalt-cellars, weight 7 lb. 10 oz. 16l. 14s.

In providing ſix ſpoons, weight 8 oz. 17s.

One myrrhine cup for the ſide-board (a), 13s. 4d.

In repairs about the abbot's lodging, and the making the penthouſe (b), or walk leading to the ſame, 126l. 6s. 8d.

In the purchaſe of plate for the ewry (c), 151l. 9s. 11d.

In purchaſing one ſuit of pontificals for the abbot's chapel, 5l.

In repair of buildings within the town, 565l. 3s. 10d.

In repairs in the ſundry manors, 580l. 17s. 2d.

At Oxford in building a chapel and a wall, 108l. 13s. 4d.

The ſum total of all his expences in the purchaſe of new eſtates was 1362l. 17s. 1d.

Of which the purchaſe of the manor of Newlane, and of diſcharging the ſame from the Mortmain, was 128l. 6s. 2d.

For the manor of Butterwyk, 111l.

For the manor formerly of Thomas Legat in Walden, beſides a corrody of 10l. a year, and he lived only two years, 20l.

(a) Pro deſco. (b) Penticii. (b) Gardroba.

John VI. re-chosen.

For the purchase of Harpsfield, 13l. 6s. 8d.

For the lands of Simon Pekfithele in Barnet, 100 marcs.

For the purchase of squyllers, 200l.

For the purchase of the manor of Radwell, from Sir John Fray, chief baron of the Exchequer, and discharging the same from Mortmain, 262l.

For the manor of Burston and discharge, 267l. 3s. 4d.

To Sir Thomas Charlton, *pro suâ benevolentiâ in venditione* (of what is uncertain), 12l. 3s. 4d.

He expended, in procuring the union of Beaulieu, and a release of the Advowson of that priory, from the lord Grey de Ruthyn, the sum of 79l. 6s. 8d.

It is also, saith Blakeney, worthy of notice and of record, as it is also of imitation, that the abbot, in making these acquisitions never sold any wood more than the usual quantity, never granted a corrody to any one for life, never mortgaged or borrowed money upon any one farm, or pawned the least valuable article of the house; but, by his known integrity and punctuality, procured universal quiet and satisfaction.

During this abbot's time many rich presents were made to the convent: as,

By the illustrious lady Margaret, duchess of Clarence, one whole dress, with three copes, and a complete dress for the altar, of the value of 200 marcs.

By her also, a pair of censers, value 40 marcs.

By Sir John Cornwail, lord of Amptehall, one compleat vestment, with three copes, and a compleat dress for the altar worth 40l.

By the lady Ann Tyrell, one cup of gold adorned with precious stones, worth 100l.

By the bishop of Litchfield (Heyworth) a whole suit of cloth gold, for the altar; and ten copes, of the same, valued at 100l.

By the same, a large missale for the use of visitors and guests, of the Salisbury form, worth 13l. 6s.

By him also, one large Morning Prayer in two volumes, for their use likewise, worth 10l. 8s.

The books which he caused to be composed, that is, to be written and copied, are here recited, and among them is,

For the making of one Cato, with a Glossary, 6l. 13s. 4d.

For the making of a book on the Consolation of Philosophy, 5l.

For

For the making of Gorham upon Luke, 4l. This Gorham was a learned monk in this houſe. John VI. re-choſen

For the making the Polycraticon of John Saliſbury, 40s.

With many others.

His own books alſo are enumerated, viz. for the making of one book, intitled, *Granarium Joannis de Loco Frumenti in quatuor vol. diviſum*, 20 *marcs*. In making another, intituled, *Palearium Poetarum*, 40s. and other books, which have all periſhed.

He made alſo many large books for the choir, among which was a Gradale, in 4 vol. and valued at 20l.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VIII.

William Alban (a).

Will. III. the 34th abbot.

A Certificate was ſent to the king, to inform him of the vacancy, beginning thus, 'Metuendiſſimo ac excellentiſſimo dom. Ed-'ward,' &c. and dated 1460, Jan. 26. Then followed letters of certification to all the priors, ſetting forth that John had died on the 20th of January, and that the election would be held on the 25th of February following, and to intreat their preſence therein; and theſe were ſent to Tinmouth and all the other cells; and bore date on the 30th of January 1460. But the king's licence was not granted until the 23d of January, in the 4th year of his reign; when he conſented alſo to the reſtitution of the temporalities. However, Alban was choſen, and he acted in all the functions of abbot without any ſcruple: and we find not that the king's eſcheator made a ſeizure of any thing, nor took any advantage of the vacancy; nor did the new abbot go to court to ſwear fealty and allegiance. It is probable that the diſtracted ſtate of the crown might cauſe theſe omiſſions on the part of Edward, who was now at the head of armies, and fighting to ſecure a throne which the Parliamen had juſt voted

(a) The life of this abbot is taken chiefly from a Regiſter of Alban, in the Bodleian Library.

to

to him: and the abbot did not chooſe to haſten in proofs of his loyalty, while Henry was alive, and no lawful ſovereign yet acknowledged. The abbot, however, proceeded to every act and duty which his new honour required; and in this year he preſented to the biſhop of Lincoln, Humphry Grainger (who is called a chaplain), for the rectory of Potſgrave, this church being vacant by the free reſignation of Thomas Baker; and ſoon after, in June, the vicarage of Sandrugge was given to William Tyler, a chaplain, vacant by the death of Thomas Ridley; and Codicote vicarage was given to John Harding, chaplain. Will. III. the 34th abbot.

A provincial chapter of the Benedictine Order had been held laſt year at Northampton; and the abbot of Peterborough was there deputed to viſit all the monaſteries in the dioceſe of Lincoln. And he ſignifies, by a letter dated the 4th of January 1460, that he would viſit the monaſtery of St. Alban. The abbot, with much form and deliberation, in chapel aſſembled, conſents; and writes for anſwer, that they ſhall, with great joy, await his viſitation.

Henry Caſtell reſigns the vicarage of Hexton, and in a Latin form to this purpoſe. In nomine Dei, amen. Coram vobis reverendo in Chriſto patre et dom. dom. Willielmo &c. ego Hen. Caſtell vicarius perpetuus eccleſ. paroch. de Hexton veſtræ exemptæ juriſdictionis, volenti ex affectione ex certis cauſis veris et hic me ad hoc moventibus a cura et regimine dictæ vicariæ penitus exoneravi. Et ipſam vicariam meam cum omnib. pertin. in veſtras hic manus non metu fraude aut dolo ductus ſed pura ſponte ſimpliciter abſolutè reſigno. Ab eâdemque et ejus poſſeſſ. re & verbo totaliter hinc recedo.

This was done in the ſtudy of the abbot; and in the preſence of him, of John Peyton Mag. decret. and of Dr. William Pope, who had the juriſdiction belonging to the Papal, official, and Imperial, notary, and of Robert Chaunter, a chaplain.

In December 1460 Thyrfeld, or Turvil, (in Bucks), then a vicarage, was given to Thomas Shave, a chaplain, vacant by the death of Thomas Lee; and Sudbury, in Suffolk, then a vicarage, was given to Robert Hyndwell. In 1462, on July 3, the vicarage of Rugge (Ridge) was conferred on Mr. James Waleys, chaplain, at the inſtance of Henry Frowyk, eſq. and this reaſon is given 'Becauſe the 'late vicar, John Bernard, had been indicted by the pariſhioners of 'Hadley, in the county of Middleſex, for certain deep treaſons and 'felonies, on which account he had taken flight and abſented himſelf 'from the place.'

Will. III. the 34th abbot.

In 1465, the abbot of Abyndon ſent letters to Alban, to propoſe an appointment of a prior to ſuperintend the ſtudies of the young men at Cambridge; and Richard Thylbury, a monk of St. Mary, at York, was appointed to that office. In the year 1466, the church of Eaſt Barnet, then called a rectory (a), was given to Richard Bennet. This year there was a manumiſſion to William Naſh, and Robert, his ſon, to Sandrugge, *ab omni Jugo Servitutis.* And ſoon after, the ſame was granted to Thomas Atwode, and his ſon, of Baldock, *nativos de Dominio ſuo de Newenham.* This was a releaſe or enfranchiſement of their perſons from the ſervices of villanage; and this year alſo St. Peter's vicarage was reſigned in form by Robert Chaunter, above-mentioned, and given to Edmond Weſtby. In 1467 four young men, named Thomas Hanke, Richard Pernham, John Maynard, and Thomas Auncell, were admitted to the habit of a monk. They made profeſſion before the great altar, in the preſence of the abbot, then officiating in his pontific robes. This was called *Raſura Monachorum*; and was practiſed every third or fourth year; when there were five or ſix candidates or novices. In 1470 Great

(a) The rectors of Eaſt Barnet have been the following perſons:

1471, Richard Bennet.
Anthony Blage.
1553, William Laruke.
1567, John Underne.
1591, Dr. Edward Grant (b).
1601, Edward Munnes.
1603, Matthias Milward.
1609, John Goodwyn.
1679, John Goodwyn, probably his ſon.
1681, Robert Taylor.
1719, Gilbert Burnet, ſecond ſon of biſhop Burnet.
1724, William Day.
1733, Dr. Richard Bundy.
1739, David Beaufort.
1743, Samuel Grove.
1769, Benjaman Underwood.

Before the incumbency of Dr. Richard Bennet there were two pariſhes (as now), and ſerved by the ſame prieſt; but although John Moot had built a church or chapel at Market Barnet, for, that is the meaning of Chipping, yet much neglect of duty and irregularity enſued; and the pariſhioners of Chipping Barnet complained to the abbot, William Alban; who directed that Sir Richard Bennet, the rector, ſhould provide a deputy (c). A proof this that Eaſt Barnet is the Mother Church, and that the rectory houſe was ſituate in that pariſh.

(b) Of whom ſee Bentham's Hiſtory of Ely, p. 253.
(c) Dr. Middleton's Miſcellaneous Works, vol. V. p. 253.

Stanmer was vacant; and a handſome letter was ſent to the abbot by George Nevil, archbiſhop of York, begging the preſentation, for this turn, for his chaplain William Syngleton. The archbiſhop dates his letter from his manor of De la Moor, in Rickmerſworth. This was the great archbiſhop, who was brother to the famous earl of Warwick, and who gave the grand dinner (ſtill upon record), when inſtalled at York, in 1466. He now lived at Moor Park, built a large houſe, and ſometimes entertained the young king here; having probably purchaſed that intereſt in the eſtate which Sir Ralph Buttiler parted from and ſold. And in this year the abbot, being poſſeſſed of the priory of Pembroke, appointed Ralph Rooſe to be prior. In 1471, he preſented to Abbots Aſton; to Brantfield; to Middleton Keynes; to Radwell, a rectory; to Norton, a vicarage; and to Idelſtree, a rectory; and, in 1473, to St. Stephen, a vicarage. Will. III. the 35th abbot.

In this monaſtic rule and government, where obedience and ſubmiſſion was not only a law but a virtue alſo, we may perceive how neceſſary it was that forms and ceremonies ſhould be kept up by thoſe who ruled and directed. And accordingly every event, even the moſt trifling, was conducted with much form and ſolemnity; for inſtance, the abbot had been accuſtomed to have from the chace of Horewode, near their eſtate of Winſlow, three bucks and three does, at two ſeveral times, viz. on Holy Rood Day, 3 fat bucks, *tres feras quæ damæ vocantur*; and, on the Feaſt of the Purification, 3 fat does. He ſends a pompous Latin letter (for, in Latin every pleaſure of his will was made known) that he would have *tres damas maſculos* on the Feaſt of St. Peter, and *tres famellas feras damas* at the Feaſt of the Nativity. 'And theſe to be given to us and our ſucceſſors for ever.'

And in the three following events great ſolemnity and form was uſed in compoſing the Latin letters then written on the occaſion. In 1473, at the general chapter of the Benedictine order, holden at Northampton, our abbot was appointed to make a viſit of the monaſtery of Glaſtonbury; and the abbot of Eynſham to viſit St. Albans. In 1475, the vicar of Rickmerſworth, and the vicar of Sandrugge, had a mind to travel: they aſked leave: ſomething more than devotion to Rome tempted: leave was given, in form, to viſit the *Apoſtolica Limina*. This year alſo, ſolemn letters patent are granted to one Ralph Ferrer, conſtituting him maſter of the hoſpital of St. Julian. And all this was done in a communication by Latin.

Buſhey was in the patronage of George duke of Clarence, and, at the intereceſſion and petition of the abbot, was given to John Hylle. And

Will. III. the 35th abbot. the abbot gave the vicarage of Kymbell Parva to William Hall, chaplain. In the ſecond year of Edward's reign, he had given leave, by letters patent, to bring all priſoners who ſhould be taken in the towns of St. Alban, Barnet, and Watford, and the hundred of Caiſho, to trial, by their ſeneſchal, or ſteward: this privilege was given, that the felons might not be kept a long time in cuſtody. And the abbot appoints the ſeneſchal, taking unto him two or three of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace, to proceed on the commiſſion of oyer and terminer, given by the king. This appointment was given to the ſeneſchal by the abbot's mandate, directed and dated April 20, 1476.

And this grant of Edward is the foundation of that great miſtake made by Sir Henry Chancey, when he ſays that the liberty was firſt conſtituted by this king, and all the civil rights thereof then firſt granted to the abbot. William Alban died in 1476.

William Wallingford.

Will. IV. the 36th abbot. The regiſter of William Wallingford begins Auguſt 4, 1476, and of Edward IV. the 16th. Alban had died, on the 1ſt day of July, in the clock-chamber; and his funeral obſequies were performed by the right reverend *John Hunden*, then prior of King's Langley, lord biſhop of Landaff. The uſual certificate was ſent to the king, with a petition for the reſtitution of the temporals. William Wallingford, their prior, was elected: and, this being made known to the king in form, he grants a confirmation, and reſtores the temporalities on the 10th of Auguſt, 1476; and, on the 13th, Thomas Nayland, the coquinarius, was elected to be prior. The biſhop made ſome ſtay here, abode often at King's Langley, and lodged one night together with the abbot at Tydenhangre. It was cuſtomary for the abbot to ſwear allegiance, and the very form, now ſworn to by William, is extant in theſe words, 'I ſhall faithful be and true; and faith and truth ſhall 'have to you my ſovereign lord, and to your heirs kings of Eng-'land, of life and lymme and of earthly worſhip, for to lif and die 'agenſt all pepell, &c. &c. So help me God and his Seints.' Nor-

ton,

ton, the vicar of St, Stephen, was allowed to be abſent; but, by a letter of conceſſion from the abbot. The advowſon and patronage of two rectories, viz. of Barnet and of Tenby in South Wales, were now given to Richard, duke of Gloceſter, ſtyled *Magno Camerario et Admirallo Angliæ*. In 1476, a commiſſion, in form, was given to the archdean and two or three others, to examine heretics. This ſame year the patronage of Walynton was given up by the abbot, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, to George, duke of Clarence, and to his aſſigns, for ever: and, about this time, the abbot granted the next turn, to preſent, to Cicely the king's mother, of the rectory of St. Peter in the Chepe (Eaſt Cheap) in London. One Sanimes, who is ſtiled perpetual vicar of Luton, had made a will, and diſpoſed of his effects, leaving Thomas Ramrugge, now firſt mentioned, his executor, being his relation. But he could not act or accept the truſt without leave of the abbot; and a ſpecious form in Latin is here given. Banns of marriage had been uſed in all former times, and directed to be publiſhed thrice in the pariſh church: but here it occurs, that the abbot could give licence for two perſons to be married in the chapel ſituated in his manor, in the pariſh of Buſhey, although the banns had been publiſhed twice in the pariſh church: it is directed to the man named Kylborn, *ut abſque ulteriore bannarum predicat. matrim. complere valeas; juribus, ad. ecc. de Buſhey pertinen. ſalvis*; and this licence was dated *In manerio noſtro de Titenhangre, anno* 1476. A licence, to the ſame effect and uſes, was given alſo this year to one William Fitz, or Fitch, who had contracted marriage with Margaret Gylbert, a widow, in the pariſh of Rugge (Ridge), that they be married in the chapel ſituate *in our Manor de la Weld* (a). The abbot intreats the univerſity of Cambridge to confer the degree of B. T. on John Woolman, *confratrem et commonachum.*

Will. IV. the 36th abbot.

The new abbot had a mind to viſit the cell at Hertford, and ſent the following letter, in Engliſh, to certify the prior: 'Welbeloved 'Broder in God, I grete you welle; bating you have knowlache, that I 'purpoſe, with Goddes ſufferance, for to be here with you in my pro-

(a) It is highly probable that this chapel is the ſame that was afterwards called Colney Chapel; and, if ſo, this proves that the eſtate called Colney Chapel, though ſituate in Shenley (as part of the Weld or Wild Manor is), does lie in the manor of Weld. This chapel did ſerve for the devotion of that neighbourhood, and the great families there reſiding; and fell into diſuſe and decay only at the rebuilding of Shenley Church, viz. in the time of Henry VII. when, on rebuilding, it was much enlarged. The foundation of the former church is ſtill viſible, in very dry weather, in the church yard.

Will. IV. the 35th abbot.

'per parſone, accompayned with 20 horſes, upon Monday the '28th day of this preſent Jule at my ſoper; and to ſojourne with 'you unto the Thurſday next enſuing in the morning, for to viſit 'this my priory, in every matter and cauſe, according unto the lau-'dable accuſtom of our religion. Wherefore to you priour, and to your 'broder everich and all, in the virtue of holy obedience, ſtrictly I 'charge and command, that ye and they with orders, intereſſed in the 'ſaid viſitation, do your perſonalle attendaunce and obedience pay, '&c. from Titenhanger.' Notice to the ſame purpoſe went forth to William Hardwyk, bachelor of divinity, that the abbot would viſit the nunnery of the *Pray*, near St. Alban's town; and to inquire of the ſtate of the ſaid place and nunnery, as well in ſpirituals as in temporals. In this year the abbot gave away the vicarages of Sudbury, Sandrugge, St. Peter's, Morton, and Luton; and in March releaſed Robert Heath of Codicote, *cum totâ ſequelâ procreatâ et procreandâ.*

In 1478, the abbot granted to the queen, one turn, or preſentation, of the vicarage of Winſlow: about this time Nicolas Boſton, who was archdeacon and almoner, was appointed to the priory of Tinmouth; to which it is remarked he ſet forth, but reached not the place in leſs than 10 days: and Rothebury was made archdeacon. In 1478, the abbot gave the living of Leechworth to Robert Byſſet, at the inſtance of John Stourton of Hitchin; it had been vacated by the free reſignation of Thomas Whitaker, into the hands of Thomas, lord biſhop of Lincoln; and, the patronage being in the abbey, the abbot and convent could only preſent: whereas of ſuch pariſh-churches as belonged *pleno jure* to the abbey, and of conſequence partook of the exemption, the abbot was ſaid to fill them by collation. In 1479, the abbot granted one penſion of 5l. to John Barry, *jantylman*, with a long robe *de ſecta generoſorum*, reaching to the heels of the ſaid John, and to be worn in his manor of Biggyn, in the county of Bucks. In this year, Wyngrave and Shephall, two vicarages, were given; and William lord Haſtings was made marſhall, or equerry, for the lyfe of the preſent abbot; *habend. & tenend. omnia vadia, ffeoda, annuitates, liberas cameras, togas, ſtabula, ſuſtentationes equorum, cum eorum ferruris*: theſe terms in the patent intimate, that it belonged to him to ſuperintend the lodging and equipage of the abbey, uniting as it were the two great offices under the crown of high conſtable and earl marſhal. In this year Leechworth and Abbot's Langley became vacant, and were given: and alſo the rectory of St. Michael, in Hogen-

lane, near Wode-ſtrete, London, was given to Maſter John Cooke, doctor in laws. Will. IV. the 36th abbot.

In this year, a certain gentlewoman, named Elizabeth Catharine Holſtead, widow, was admitted into the office of *anchorite* of St. Peter's. This was done with great ſolemnity, and by the abbot in perſon. It was a more than ordinary dedication of this woman to the devotion and religious offices of this church; for, living near it, ſhe choſe, rather than go into the ſiſterhood at Sopwell, to devote herſelf at the church of St. Peter. This office hath nothing now exiſting that bears any reſemblance; but it implied a conſtant attendance on the holy offices.

Three years before, a letter had come from the king's exchequer, directing the abbot, or rather allowing him, to collect, for the uſe of the holy ſee, the firſt fruits or annates, and other payments, due to the pope, and ariſing within the abbot's juriſdiction: and this year, 1480, the pope's collector in England, by name John Gighe, came to the abbot, at his uſual abode at Titenhangre, *cauſâ recreationis ſuæ*, it is ſaid: he brought ſix ſervants and one chaplain, and ſtaid ſix days. In this year, Henry, earl of Northumberland, grants unto the prior of Tynmouth (William), an annuity during the ſaid lord's pleaſure, of 10l. a year. The grant is in Engliſh, 'given in my caſtell of Aylenwick in the 20th year of king Edward.' This earl was grandſon of the earl of Northumberland, ſlain in 1455, and interred in this church; and who bore eſpecial regard to the abbey, and its cell at Tinmouth: but, having taken offence at Boſton, he ſecretly fomented the quarrel between him and Durwell, with a view to make Boſton quit. A monk, who was ſtyled Keeper of the chapel of St. Andrew, deſired leave of abſence, and petitioned the abbot in Latin: the abbot's anſwer is returned in Latin, in a ſolemn and formal epiſtle, granting leave; but on condition that he left ſome careful perſon in charge of the altar; and to give ſecurity that none of the *jocalia*, the ornaments or trinkets thereof, be loſt. In this year a letter was ſent to the biſhop of Durham, praying him to admit a new prior to the cell of Tinmouth; and another letter to the biſhop of Norwich, that he would admit and inſtitute a new prior to Bynham. The abbot of Weſtminſter alſo ſent a letter, ſignifying that, in the laſt general chapter of the Benedictines holden at Northampton, he had been appointed to viſit the abbey of St. Alban, in the place of the abbot of Eynſham. This he performed: and, in the return which he was directed to make to the next general chapter, he remarks only the

names

Will. IV. the 36th abbot. names and number of the monks found in this monaſtery, and they are as follows:

Dom. Wilhelmus Walyngford, *abbas.*
Dom. Thomas Neylond, *prior et coquinarius.*
Dom. Joan. Eyton, *cuſtos feretri.*
Dom. Richard Waltham, *ciſtarius.*
Dom. Thomas Blaknall, *ciſtarius.*
Dom. Thomas Albon, *prior Redborne.*
Dom. Thomas Wytton, *burſarius.*
Dom. Thomas Walmesford, *eleemoſynarius.*
Dom. Wilhelmus Goodrede, *giſtarius.*
Dom. Shyrewſbury.
Dom. Wilhelmus Hardwyk, *bacal. theolog. et cancellarius abbatis.*
Dom. Wilhelmus Hythefeld, *mag. novæ ordinationis.*
Dom. Tho. Rooſe, *cuſtos monialium.*
Dom. Richardus Whillington, *tertius prior.*
Dom. Galfridus Wyntyr.
Dom. Torpurley, *ſubinfirmarius.*
Dom. Wilhelmus Holveden, *primus ſcrutator.*
Dom. Johannes Rothebury, *archidiac. et ſacriſta.*
Dom. Nychol. Kyrkeby, *precentor et magiſt. capellæ.*
Dom. Joan Baſnet, *capellanus abbatis.*
Dom. Henricus Martyn, *camerarius.*
Dom. Georg. Colt, *ſubinfirm. et ſubcantor.*
Dom. Thomas Ramrugg, *ſub-prior.*
Dom. Willielmus Whelpley, *oſtilarius.*
Dom. Johan. Sleethe, *tertius ſcrutator.*
Dom. Wilhelmus Malehurſt.
Dom. Joan. Benſted, *capellanus abbatis.*
Dom. Johan. Havarde, *ſecundus ſcrutator.*
Dom. Johan. Strenger, *ſub-ſacriſta.*
Dom. Wilhelmus Andrew.
Dom. Thomas Bayly.
Dom. Thomas Sudbury, *cellerarius.*
Dom. Adam Gelebrand.
Dom. Rob. Netlam, *capellanus prioris.*
Dom. Wilhelmus Baron, *magiſter noviſtiorum.*
Dom. Johannes Thornton.
Dom. Johan. Kyllingworth.
Dom. Wilhelmus Runcham.
Dom. Richard Felde.

Dom.

Dom. Wilhelmus Lything.
Dom. Wilhelmus Martyn.
Dom. Johan. Smirth.
Dom. Thomas Retlond.
Dom. Thomas Holgrave.
Dom. Richard Beavyr.
Dom. Johannes Martyn.
Dom. Johannes Wodeley.
Dom. Johannes Erly.

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Dom. Willielmus Holme,
Dom. Thomas Patwyn,
Dom. Johannes Auncelle,
Dom. Johannes Lything,
Dom. Thomas Williams,
} *Novicii.*

Dom. Richard Runkins,
Dom. Johannes Maynard,
Dom. Thomas Loryng,
} *Scolares.*

Num. Monach. 56.

The new prior was lately ſent to Tinmouth, to ſupply the place of Boſton, who had run away and abſented himſelf. And in September, a citation iſſued from the abbot, commanding him to ſurrender himſelf to the new prior within ſeven days, and to anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be alleged againſt him, *Quæ tibi objicientur* (a). Then iſſued a command to the new prior to take into cuſtody and examine the ſaid Boſton; and a letter to the biſhop of Durham, to requeſt his aid to take the fugitive, and to aſſiſt in repreſſing ſuch inſolence. In September, 1480, the abbot gave a releaſe, and probably for ſome conſideration, to William Hale, alias Mylward, and all his family born in the manor of Hexton, *ab omni jugo ſervitutis et bondagii*; and this was ſtyled *Manumiſſio*. And, in December, John Hatfield, the prior of Belvoir, was directed to viſit the cell of Tynmouth, and make inquiry into the ſtate and condition thereof; for, it was now found, that grievous quarrels and ſuits at law had happened between Boſton and William Durwell, and great loſſes had been incurred. In this year, the vicarages of Rickmerſworth, Wyngrave, and Appulton, in Rydale in Yorkſhire, had been given; and the next preſentation of Leechworth *(quando contigerit)* granted to William Weſtby, eſq. In the end of this year, a commiſſion is given to Rothebury, the

(a) Another imitation of law proceſs. The cauſe of Boſton's flight may have been the prejudice taken againſt him by the earl of Northumberland; for, Durwell was the prior patroniſed by the earl.

cellerer,

Will. IV. the 56th abbot.

cellerer, and Thomas Ramrugge, ſub-prior, to viſit the cell of Sopwell, and there to ſet aſide, from her office of prioreſs, Joan Chapell, now very old, and too infirm to diſcharge her duty in the care of the houſe; and to place in that office Elizabeth Webb, one of the ſiſters.

In 1480, the art of printing was introduced at this place, and the preſs ſet up in the monaſtery; while Caxton was printing in the monaſtery at Weſtminſter: and another preſs was ſet up at Sion, though 40 years later than this time. The printer's name was John Herford, and he printed here the following books. Typog. Antiq.

1. Rhetorica nova Fratris Laur. Gal. de Saonâ Ord. Minorum. Imp. ap. Villam St. Albani, 1480.
   It is a ſmall quarto, and was in Dr. Mead's collection.
2. Alberti Liber modorum ſignifîcandi, 1480.
3. Incipiunt Exempla Sacræ Scripturæ, 1480.
4. In Ariſtotelis Phyſica, 1481.
5. The St. Alban's Chronicle; compiled alſo at this place, 1483.

Some part of this, viz. what related to Engliſh affairs, had been printed by Caxton in the year 1480, and called the Chronicle of England. But now much foreign hiſtory and ſcripture was interwoven, collected from the Faſciculus Temporum, printed 1481, and named Fructus Temporum. This chronicle was printed again, in 1497, by Wynken de Worde at Weſtmeſtre, and he ſays in the title, 'It was 'compiled in a boke, and alſo emprynted by one ſometyme ſcole mayſ-'ter of St. Albon's.' In the Regiſter of Wallingford's Acts and Deeds no notice is taken of this new and curious art; nor of the renowned author that appeared a few years after, 1486, within their own walls; and this was the Lady Juliana Barnes, or Berners (a), the prioreſs of Sopwell; who had compoſed a book containing three treatiſes, one on hawking, another on hunting and fiſhing, and the third on Coots Armuris. Her name is affixed only to the end of the ſecond; but the whole was printed by Herford, in the year 1486. This art ſeems then to have been dropt by Herford: for, the monks gave no encouragement to printing; and it is recorded that Woolſey afterwards diſcountenanced it very much, having ſaid, at a convocation of

(a) This Juliana Berners was the daughter of Sir James Berners, of Berners Reding, in Eſſex, knt. and ſiſter to Richard Lord Berners. Was living in 1460, according to John Bale, cent. 8, fol. 611; and became lady prioreſs of Sopwell. This is ſaid by Mr. Barton, in a letter to Thomas Hearne, dated December 16, 1733; and is written in a blank leaf in a copy once belonging to biſhop More, and now in the univerſity library of Cambridge.

the

the clergy at St. Paul's, in his early days, 'that if they did not forbid 'printing it would prove the ruin of the church.' After this time, there was here, as alſo at Oxford and at Cambridge, a long intermiſſion of Printing. Herford went to London, ſettled in Alderſgate-ſtreet, and printed again in 1536, and ſome years after. And in 1534, at the requeſt of abbot Cotton, he printed *The Lyfe and Paſſion of Sēint Alban*, as it was then tranſlated, out of French and Latin, by John Lydgate, monk of Bury. Will. IV. the 36th abbot.

In 1480, the general chapter of Benedictines at Northampton, having appointed our abbot to viſit all the monaſteries in the dioceſe of Lincoln, he deputed two of the brethren to go in his ſtead; and the command to this purpoſe is directed to William Hardwyk, B. D. and John Maynard; and the progreſs of their viſitation was thus, and is marked with theſe diſtances,

	miles.
From St. Alban's to Stevenache, - -	14
From Stevenache to Bykleſwade, - -	14
From Bykleſwade to Seyneodes, St. Neots, -	8
From Seyneodes to Huntyndon, - -	5
From Huntyndon to Rameſey, - -	7
From Rameſey to Steleton, - - -	10
From Steleton to Petyrbourith, - -	4
From Petyrbourith to Croyland, by land, -	4
and by water,	4
From Croyland to Spalding, - -	8
From Spalding to Boſton, - -	7
From Boſton to Tatyrſale, - -	9
From Tatyrſale to Berdeney, - -	9

This was the extent of their journey, and then they turned homeward.

	miles.
From Berdeney to Lincoln, - -	7
From Lincoln to Nawnby, - -	7
From Nawnby to Grantham, - -	12
From Grantham to Melton Mowbray, - -	10
From Melton Mowbray to Leiceſter, - -	10
From Leiceſter to Lyttyrworth, - -	10
From Lyttyrworth to Daventre, - -	10
From Daventre to Brakele, - - -	14
From Brakele to Myddelton, - -	7
From Myddylton to Enſam, - - -	10
From Enſam to Oxon, - - - -	7

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	miles.
From Oxon to Tame, - - -	10
From Tame to Ayleſbury, - - -	6
From Ayleſbury to Berkampſtead, - -	8
From Berkampſtead to St. Alban's - -	8

From this journal it appears that their computed miles were at leaſt double the preſent, now meaſured.

The churches in South Wales, at this time in the patronage of the abbey, were theſe; the rectories of Tenby, Angulo, Porterawhan, and Cranwer; the vicarages of Moniton, Caſtro Martini, and St. Michael, Pembroke: all given, together with lands and eſtates, by duke Humphry.

The abbot diſpenſed with banns of marriage in ſuch churches as were in his juriſdiction: as in St. Peter's, in 1482, he diſpenſed with banns after one proclamation, and ordered the vicar to proceed to the ſolemnization.

John Hylle, (Hill), the rector of Buſhey, becoming very old and infirm, he reſigned the ſaid church, and one John Cortelle was preſented to the ſame; and it was agreed, probably before Hill reſigned, that Cortelle ſhould make him ſome compenſation: accordingly the abbot decreed, in a ſolemn and ſet form, under ſeal, that Cortelle ſhould allow Hill 6l. 13s. 4d. annually, during his lyfe. It is ſaid, that Edward, the young ſon of the late George duke of Clarence, was lawful patron of the ſaid church; but, by reaſon of his minority, the preſentation belonged to the abbot: and Cortelle reſigned Abbots Langley for Buſhey. William Durwell, who had great conteſts with Boſton at Tynmouth, was now confirmed in the perpetual poſſeſſion of that priory. In 1482, and on the 3d of March, the next turn to the church of Tenby was granted to Roger Harley, at the inſtance of Richard, duke of Gloceſter; and Barnet was now granted to the ſame duke, when it ſhould become vacant.

A convocation of the clergy was appointed to be holden at St. Paul's on the 21ſt of March, 1481; but the abbot ſent a letter to the abbot of Weſtminſter to appear on his behalf, and beg an excuſe for him, being unable to attend. And this convocation being adjourned to the 5th of June, he ſent maſter John Cooke, LL. D. and John Rothebury, his archdeacon, as procurators to appear for and in his ſtead. This ſame Dr Cooke was then rector of the church in Hogen-

lane,

lane, and in November he reſigned it; on which the abbot, &c. preſented Robert Knight, who was rector of Leechworth; and the abbot preſented to Leechworth William Whiteways, M. A. In December, 1481, the vicarage of Tyrſelde, or Turville, was given to John Botelley after John Willſon, chaplain, at the inſtance of the lord Haſtings, the king's chamberlain; on the condition that the ſaid John ſhould reſign whenſoever he ſhould be required by the ſaid chamberlain. This vicarage had been given, in November laſt year, to Wilton, on the reſignation of Thomas Shaw: and, in 1482, Ideleſtre was given to one John Jubbe, and Caldecot and Brantfield to two other clerks. Will. IV. the 36th abbot.

The office of ſeneſchal (which was not only that of ſteward to their manors, but judge alſo of the civil courts held for this hundred) being vacant by the death of Weſtby, letters patent under the abbey ſeal were given, on the 8th of February 1482, to William lord Haſtings (a), conſtituting him to this office, together with one John Forſter to act as deputy. King Edward died on the 9th of April following: and then began the machinations of the duke of Gloceſter, to gain the crown, in concert with Buckingham and this lord Haſtings. Rapin ſpeaks nothing of this lord's being confined by Gloceſter before the very day, viz. the 12th of June 1483, when his head was cut off in the tower, while the council were ſitting, and the duke had charged him with a conſpiracy not an hour before, and and cauſed him to be led forth to a ſpeedy execution. Yet the MS. regiſter whence this account is taken, ſpeaks of his confinement, recites a letter, or petition, from the abbot and body to the king, to ſupplicate for him. But it availed nothing; for, he was put to death without the leaſt form of trial, *abſque judicio*. Forſter was committed to the tower on the next day, June 13, and confined there

(a) This man was deſcended from Matthew de Haſtings in Suſſex, where, in the Norman times, one of them held the manor of Grenocle. Aſhby de la Zouch in Leiceſter was given to ſome deſcendant of the ſaid Matthew by Henry VI. from whom William Haſtings obtained the privilege of ſome fairs for the town of Aſhby. His ſon engratiated himſelf with the houſe of York, and, as ſoon as Edward made himſelf maſter of the realm and was crowned king, he conſtituted this Willam Haſtings lord chamberlain, and gave him the honour of knighthood. He continued in this office during the whole reign of Edward, and until his death under Richard. He had married the heireſs of the Hungerfords, in the county of Wilts, and received very large eſtates with her, all which, at his death, Richard gave to the duke of Norfolk. He dwelt ſomewhere near to St. Albans; and, I believe, at the Weld, after the death of Humphry duke of Gloceſter.

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until the 10th of March following: but he gave up his office of ſeneſchal, the day after he was arreſted, to William Cateſby, then a great counſellor of the king's, and ſtyled *juriſperitus*; and the abbot confirmed Cateſby herein by a patent bearing date Auguſt 1, 1483. As Haſtings had great eſtates and concerns in the counties of Leiceſter and Northampton, ſo Cateſby, being his agent and confident friend herein, this accounts for that great confidence with which Haſtings entruſted him in his ſecret ſuſpicions againſt the duke of Gloceſter. But nothing can excuſe the extreme perfidy and treachery of this man towards Haſtings; nor has it any parallel, except in his own family, and perhaps deſcendants, who were concerned in the Powder Plot, 1605. This William Cateſby was much careſſed, and knighted by king Richard: and, being taken priſoner at Boſworth Field, was beheaded two days after. In this ſame year, a petition was offered to the abbot, &c. by one Hethner, who kept an inn known by the ſign of the George; that he might be allowed to have maſs ſaid, and divine ſervice performed, in a chapel juſt below his houſe, for the benefit of the nobles, and other gueſts, who reſorted to his houſe on their journey. And licence was granted for the ſame; the maſs to be ſaid *ſubmiſſa voce*; and on condition that no loſs or prejudice ſhould ariſe by the ſame to the offerings and rights of the pariſh-church of St. Andrew in this town, and near that Inn.

In 1483, on November 19, Boſton was replaced in the priory of Tynmouth, at the inſtance of Richard, our ſerene king; becauſe (for, a reaſon muſt be given) the king had promiſed to give ten pounds to repair ſome works there in the water, *ad opus fabricæ aquaticæ*, and belonging to the haven. The vicarage of Norton was now given to one William Preſton, a Ciſtertian, who came from Rome with a bull from the moſt holy father Pope Sextus IV. declaring him fit to hold any benefice with cure of ſouls, even if it ſhould be a vicarage; and the laſt vicar of Norton having been deprived, Preſton came to the abbot and produced his title from Rome.

This abbot had been very prudent in the management of his church's revenue, having made ſome addition by purchaſe, and ſtrenuouſly defended the rights of the abbey againſt ſome claims and pretenſions of archbiſhop Bourchier, who, being archbiſhop and cardinal, oppreſſed and harraſſed this abbot with ſuits at law. However, the abbot made an appeal to the Romiſh Court, by two of the brethren ſent on purpoſe, and there obtained ſatisfaction and repoſe. He was

alſo very munificent to the church, and built that ſtately front to the great altar; a work of very nice and curious device, and intended to ſtrike the beholder with the awe and reverence which a new and ſplendid object would produce; whereas the ſight of the ſhrine was no longer a novelty, nor cauſing that aweful aſtoniſhment which it had done formerly. And beſide, the ſhrine being now encloſed, was viſited with greater ſolemnity, ſeen but rarely, and, being heard of only, created a new degree of reſpect and veneration. This front, with the curious images placed thereon, coſt 1100 marks (a). He alſo built a ſmall chapel with a tomb, having his effigies, cut in marble, placed thereon, near the great altar, and on the ſouth ſide; intending this for his place of burial: and all this coſt 100l. ſterling. He died in 1484, on the 8th of Auguſt. But his tomb, which was placed between Wheathampſtead and the duke's, hath periſhed.

Will. IV. the 36th abbot.

(a) This ſcreen is a well-preſerved piece of curious work, and diſplays the ingenuity and labour of ſome able artiſt now unknown. It ſeems as if meant to conceal the ſhrine, and to ſerve the ſame purpoſe as was intended by the large frontal, or curtain of crimſon velvet, or gold tiſſue, which uſed to be ſuſpended in this place on great feſtivals: and in the middle of this front is now ſeen a large plain flat ſurface, as if intended to receive a ſmall curtain or picture: all the reſt of the ſurface is occupied by ſmall tabernacles for the reception of images.

It is probable this ſcreen was at firſt deſigned by Wheathampſtead, as it bears his arms over the doors, was making in the time of Albon, and finally erected by Wallingford; though this latter has all the merit. If it be aſked why its poſition is between two arches, and not between two piers, the reaſon is, that in the latter place it would have been an obſtruction to Wheathampſtead's monument.

A good engraving of this ſcreen has been made by Carter; and the monuments of Wheathampſtead and Ramridge are well drawn by Schnebbelie, engraved, and printed.

The picture of the laſt ſupper, ſuſpended againſt the ſcreen, over the communion table, hath ſome hiſtory belonging to it. It was painted by Thornhill, and ordered by Dr. Welton, rector of White Chapel, for his church; and the doctor, having conceived ſome pique or enmity againſt White Kennet, cauſed the Judas to be painted in exact likeneſs of him: the picture was hung up in the church of White Chapel, as intended by Welton: but Kennet, hearing of this inſult, made complaint to Compton, then biſhop of London, who ordered the picture to be taken down. This was done; and it lay aſide for ſome years, until a gentleman of this town purchaſed it as a preſent and decoration to this church. His pious generoſity was worthy of a better picture.

THOMAS

THOMAS RAMRIDGE.

Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

He was ſucceeded by Thomas Ramrugge, or, as he has been ſince called, Ramridge, from a place ſo named near to Kimpton; for, ſo the modern Sandridge was called Sandrugge, and Ridge was Rugge. But the election of Ramridge did not take place till 1492; though for what cauſe is uncertain; unleſs from the king's diſpleaſure, and refuſal to allow an election, on finding the abbeys great ſeneſchal among the traitors at Boſworth; and who, together with divers others of Richard's friends, was attainted by act of Parliament in the end of 1485. Theſe attainders brought to the king great eſtates and wealth, as well as ſecurity to his ſeat on the throne. And it is poſſible that this merited diſgrace of Cateſby might involve the eſtates and rights of the abbey in great difficulties; inſomuch, that no regular election did take place till 1492: and perhaps the king gratified his revenge on Cateſby by keeping in his hands the temporalities of the deceaſed abbot. At all events this period of eight years is very obſcure. But, before I proceed to conſider Ramridge's time, I will view the literary ſtate of this abbey.

Learning, before the art of printing, was no where a general attainment; and fell to the lot of a few only, who could apply great ingenuity to combat the numberleſs difficulties that attended the ſtudy of the ancient tongues. Yet we may perceive a few men in every age, within the walls of this abbey, who ſeem as well accompliſhed in learning as any men of theſe ancient orders. Formerly, we find Eadmer of great repute for his learning: and then Ralph, the abbot, who is ſaid to have written the life of Alexander the Great; and Leland adds, alſo, that he wrote of St. Alban in elegant verſe. There was next, about 1181, a monk, named William, who was diſtinguiſhed among the men of ſcience: and Walter, the monk, who was alſo librarian and hiſtoriographer. There was alſo John Hanwill, in 1200; celebrated by many foreigners for the elegance of his Latinity, and author of a very melancholy poem, called *Archithranium*, ſaid to be now in MS. in Bennet College, Cambridge. Then followed Roger Windſor, monk, who, for his learning, was appointed hiſtoriographer, and wrote a chronicle of the Engliſh affairs down to 1235. Matthew Paris appears the next man of any note: and, indeed, his large hiſtorical works bear ample teſtimony to his diligence, judgement,

ment, perſpicuity, and loyalty to his king; with juſt indignation at the vices and depravity of the clergy, and the exactions of the ſee of Rome. It is probable that the example of Paris inſpired others with a love of letters, and Riſhanger was appointed hiſtoriographer on the deceaſe of Paris, in 1259. He continued the annals of Paris to the death of Henry, in 1272, was continued in the office, under Edward I. and II. and wrote many tracts of the events during thoſe reigns, until his own death, in 1312. The next remarkable ſcholar was Richard Wallingford, the abbot, whom I have noted before for his ſingular and profound learning, and who flouriſhed in 1320. John of Tinmouth appeared next, and wrote, with great diligence, a life of Alban, the founder; but I believe it hath periſhed: he alſo compiled the lives of all the ſaints of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and called it *Sanctilogium Servorum Dei:* he flouriſhed in 1336. The novelty of Wycliff's doctrines ſtirred up ſome ſtrong opponents at this church: in 1381, we find Simon Southray writing againſt him: and, in 1390, Richard Radcliffe, monk and archdeacon (whoſe tomb we noted in the time of Wheathampſtead), ſignalized himſelf in defence of the old opinions. Then appeared, in 1400, Hugh Legat, a deep ſcholar, but a lover of mortification; for, rejecting all other books, he devoted himſelf to the reading *Hanvill's Archithronium*, and wrote comments on this pious and mournful ſubject. Soon after, Thomas Walſingham and John of Wheathampſtead diſtinguiſhed themſelves; as John Lydgate did, at the ſame time, at Bury. Wynteſhall and Ware continued Riſhanger's Chronicle from 1273 to 1423; Walſingham wrote alſo the actions of Henry IV. though we know not how far (a): but he wrote with ſuch veracity, that none doubt his truth; and with ſuch preciſion, that he has ſupplied the defects of many other hiſtorians. The eminence of Wheathampſtead's learning may be juſtly allowed from this circumſtance only, that he was ſent by the king to the council of Sienna, and that of Pavia, and made there very notable ſpeeches: he alſo collected many books; and had become the admired favourite of Humphry, duke of Gloceſter, who was the patron of all learned men: he wrote a great number of tracts; but I believe all are periſhed, or ſunk into oblivion, except his epiſtles in Amerſham's life of him. About the ſame time lived John of Amerſham, a faithful friend to

Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

(a) He died before he had fully digeſted his hiſtoric notes, which he had been long and carefully collecting; and it is likely Ware availed himſelf of them.

John

Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

John Wheathampſtead, and firmly united in the love of letters and virtue. Amerſham wrote the life of Wheathampſtead about 1440, on the reſignation of the abbot, to reſcue his character from the tongue of calumny. In the time of Ramridge lived Robert Blakeney, who compiled the laſt ten years of Wheathampſtead's Life, in good claſſical Latin (a). But when they began to ſink in the prince's favour and to loſe the public eſteem, they appear to have fallen in their own eſtimation, diſcipline became relaxed, piety decayed, and all love of learning and good letters ſeems to have forſaken the place.

The laſt royal favours ſhewn to this abbey were in the reign of Edward IV. and of Richard, at the end of whoſe reign they ceaſed for ever: and neither its ancient ſplendor or its literary fame could any longer ſecure to it the grace and favour of the ſovereign. The circumſtances which had made Edward and his brothers ſo friendly to this abbey were theſe: Edward gained an early acquaintance with the houſe and its rulers, by having often travelled this road when a young man, and accompanied his armed troops with his father. Then, after he became king, he followed the pleaſures of the chace in the foreſt of Whittelbury; and his connection with the country about the foreſt became more cloſe and frequent when he married the lady Grey from Grafton. This prince lived much at Windſor, but he frequented this part of his kingdom by repeated viſits to his relations and friends; for, at this time, his mother, Cicely, the old ducheſs of York, had her reſidence at Berkampſtead, and lived there till the middle of Henry the VIIth's reign. The dukes of Gloceſter and Clarence abode often at the royal palace of king's Langley. George Nevil, the ſplendid archbiſhop of York, reſided at More Park, and here the king frequently honoured this place with his preſence. The lord Haſtings, chamberlain to the court under Edward, dwelt near this abbey, as appears by his tranſaction with Wheathampſtead. Richard, both before and after his acceſſion, ſhewed great favour to this abbey, and greatly encouraged the compiling and publiſhing the Chronicle. But a fatal reverſe was experienced when Henry became king.

The diſgrace and loſs, which the abbey ſuffered by the attainder of their ſeneſchal Cateſby, was a moſt unfortunate circumſtance; for, by giving that avaricious Monarch, Henry VII. a taſte of abbatic wealth, he failed not to indulge his thirſt both here and elſewhere;

(a) The book is in the library at the Heralds Office, and finely written.

and

and it is probable that at the death of Wallingford, though the monks might elect the prior, or any other, yet the temporalities fell into the king's hands, and the new abbot had nothing but title. As the king found two lawyers, Empſon and Dudley, to juſtify all his exactions on the laity; and who invented crimes and charges againſt them, from which they muſt redeem themſelves with money; ſo did he find two prelates who were equally willing to manage the clergy, Morton and Fox. They had been faithful ſervants to the king, and he had rewarded them. But they continued to execute his plan, and coincide with his views, in a manner that could be juſtified in no men, even the loweſt and moſt indigent. It is on record, that 'Morton, when advanced to Canterbury, in 1486, 'though he was then chancellor, did lay a great impoſition on the 'clergy of his province; forcing them, by the pope's authority, 'to contribute ſo largely toward the charges of his tranſlation, as of 'his own dioceſe only (which is one of the leaſt in England) he re-'ceived 354l.' And when Fox was conſulting with Hugh Oldham, his particular friend, biſhop of Exeter, and confeſſor to the counteſs of Richmond, what he ſhould do with his money at his death; and that he had a mind to build and endow a monaſtery. 'No,' ſaith Oldham, the monks have more already than they are 'like long to keep;' to which Fox aſſented, and determined to build and endow a college. Corpus Chriſti in Oxford aroſe from that reſolution; and Oldham added his money as the greateſt benefactor to ſuch a work. Now from theſe practices, and theſe declared ſentiments, of the two greateſt churchmen at that time in England, I think it is no breach of hiſtoric truth to ſay, that Morton and Fox were as ready and as uſeful, in fleecing the clergy, as Empſon and Dudley were in ſtripping and extorting from the unhappy laity. And ſomething of ſuch inclination, and ſuch practice, appears from this circumſtance; that, with regard to biſhopricks, the king would keep them vacant two or three years; or elſe appoint a biſhop, and then remove him: and, by theſe frequent changes, he ſeemed to be advancing his friends; but he never reſtored the temporalities till he could move the biſhop no farther. And thus, he could make three or four vacancies follow after the firſt. We have no doubt but this artifice was practiſed with abbeys as with epiſcopal ſees; but the records and regiſters of abbeys are ſo generally deſtroyed, that we cannot ſo eaſily make out the proof.

Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

Yet this king affected to manifeſt great reſpect and devotion to this abbey; for, in the 20th year of his reign, he cauſed the abbot and convent of Weſtminſter to pay yearly to the abbey of St. Alban one hundred ſhillings, in order to keep and obſerve a moſt ſolemn anniverſary on the 7th day of February, and therein to pray for the king and his father; and, when his mother ſhould be dead (this was the old counteſs of Richmond), for her alſo.

This injunction, or rather agreement and covenant, is drawn up in good Engliſh and correct grammar, and with great legal preciſion, and forms an indenture quadripartite; for, the king is the one party, the abbot and convent of Weſtminſter another, the abbot and convent of St. Alban the third part, and the mayor and commonalty of the city of London the fourth. The payment to be paid on Michaelmas-day, every year, *for ever, and while the world ſhall endure*; and, on failure of payment for twenty-one days, the forfeiture to be 10l. to be paid to St. Alban. After the king's death, to obſerve this anniverſary on the day of the king's ſepulture, for ever, and as long *as the world ſhall endure*. The king directs alſo certain collects to be ſung for the proſperity of his realms; and likewiſe ordains that, at every celebration, the abbot ſhall yearly, and *for ever while the world ſhall endure*, provide and have an hearſe to be ſet in the midſt of the high chancel, before the high altar, covered and appareled with the beſt and moſt honorable ſtuff in the monaſtery; and alſo four tapers of wax, weighing each of them eight pounds, to be ſet about the ſame hearſe; to be lighted and to burn continually. And after the end of the ſame high maſs, the abbot and monks ſhall go together in order to the ſaid hearſe, and there devoutly ſing this Reſponde, Libera me Domine de Morte. And, whenever the abbot ſhould fail to ſolemnize this obit, the body ſhould forfeit and pay the ſum of ten pounds; and for omiſſion of any one particular before directed, forty ſhillings to the Mayor and Commons of London (a).

Theſe exactions and extortions, as formerly and frequently put in practice, were the conſequence of the clergy being under a double head. Being diſtinct from the civil ſubjects, and taxed apart from them, by the high authority of the pope, and the biſhops under him, the clergy were forced to ſubmit to all oppreſſions; and had no redreſs from the Crown, or appeal to any power, but that which cauſed the grievance and inflicted the diſtreſs. So that the clergy,

(a) Harl. MS. N° 28.

had

had they ſeen the benefit of having one head both of church as well as of ſtate, would have rejoiced at the excluſion and downfal of that head, which cheriſhed them, with no other view but to make them contribute to the grandeur and power of it and its inſtruments. Since, by being reduced in number, and melted down as it were into the maſs of the people, they are made to partake of all the privileges and rights enjoyed by the laity, beſide ſome few peculiar to their own order. And to be an individual under the mild and equitable laws of the ſtate is far preferable to the moſt elevated rank under the laws and arbitrary edicts of the Roman pontiff: ſince the firſt confers a freedom, which the greateſt man would covet and deſire; and the latter holds out a ſplended ſervitude, that the meaneſt man ought to reject and contemn. Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

Theſe monaſtic inſtitutions had ſeen their beſt days. Their meridian glory was in the time of Henry III. when they, or moſt of them, had brought the rule of their order and the government of their temporalities to a great perfection; when we may perceive them keeping up a ſtrict rule of religion, in faſting, praying, and a ſplendid devotion in the choir, with great ſobriety and chaſtity in all the members of the body; when they relieved more people at their gate every day than were fed in their refectory; when theſe places received all younger children, and provided for many who ſeemed deſtitute of any means of living; when they were uſeful alſo in draining great tracts of land, and clearing and reclaiming heaths and commons, and undertaking works of this kind which ſeemed above the ability of the lord or owner; and which unprofitable lands the lords of manors were accuſtomed to give (as long as they were allowed), as a conſideration for taking into the order younger ſons or poor relations.

Theſe houſes alſo were extremely uſeful in receiving truſts, and being ſecurity for future payments; ſuch was the character of abbots for probity, and for perpetuity: and thus were they enabled to ſerve many lay families, who could not truſt to the bond or other ſecurity of lay lords and gentry. They likewiſe afforded great helps of religion and devotion to the aged and infirm; who, coming to the decline of life, ſought the comforts of religion, and were anxiouſly contemplating their latter end: hence their choir was always filled with many perſons out of the town, and of the meaner ſort, who reſorted thither to pray and worſhip God. In ſhort, theſe houſes

Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

ſerved all thoſe purpoſes, which have ſince been performed by the ſeparate and diſtinct offices of poor laws, pariſh-churches, hoſpitals, ſchools, inns, and almſhouſes.

But they began to decline in the time of Edward I. and were now approaching toward their diſſolution; not ſo much through the ill-government and change of morals which prevailed within as from the change of times that prevailed without. The world was not ſuch as it had been; and many cauſes conſpired to the downfal of theſe inſtitutions. The poor and lower ranks of men found more employment by the great increaſe of the woolen manufacture; which, together with other improvements in trade, had begun in the time of Henry VII. The rich began to travel abroad, eſpecially into Italy, where they imbibed a new taſte for polite literature, and the learning of ancient Greece and Rome. The learned and ſtudious men had conceived new opinions of the doctrines and worſhip of the Eſtabliſhed Romiſh Church, from the books of Wycliff, and from being able to read the Holy Bible: a conſequence of which was, their veneration for the ſovereign pontiff abated much; and they thought the worſhip of God, then in common uſe, was not the ſort of worſhip which the Saviour of the World proclaimed muſt be in ſpirit and in truth. But what operated moſt ſtrongly againſt theſe houſes was, that the court, and neceſſitous courtiers, had begun to taſte the ſweets of their temporalities.

The time of Thomas Ramridge's death is no where recorded, and not the leaſt hiſtory left of his rule and tranſactions (a); indeed, no memorial of him, beſide a ſumptuous and elaborate monument in ſtone work, and a flat grave-ſtone, inlaid with braſs, repreſenting his image or portrait. But it is very probable that he lived until the year 1523, when Wolſey, then biſhop of Wincheſter, archbiſhop of York, chancellor of England, the pope's legate, and a cardinal, thought proper to reſign the biſhoprick of Lincoln, and take this abbey in commendam. The utter ſilence, and want of information, relative to abbot Ramridge and his times, can be accounted for on no other ſuppoſition than that the firſt plunderers, after the ſurrender of the ſeals at the diſſolution in 1539, ſeized all the writings, regiſters, deeds, and documents, not merely as waſte and uſeleſs paper, but as proofs and evidences of the eſtates and properties belonging to the houſe. And, if the king's commiſſioners made booty of theſe, firſt of all, it argues that the temporalities had been in a very

(a) See Appendix, N° X.

doubtful

doubtful and concealed ſtate before, and perhaps embezzled and withheld; and they judged this the only prudent way to ſave the remainder. By an inſtant ſeizure of the evidences, the commiſſioners could not only diſcover what belonged to the houſe, but they could alſo make terms with thoſe perſons who were found to have clandeſtinely or fraudulently poſſeſſed any of the rents or property. Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

It is impoſſible to aſcertain, and to make out, a fair rent-roll of the abbey's poſſeſſions, at this period, or at the fatal ſurrender, or at any one period from the foundation, becauſe the abbots often made long leaſes; and the heirs of the leſſee, by long uſage after, claimed the eſtate, kept poſſeſſion, and ſo harraſſed the ancient owners and their ſucceſſors, that they often yielded to the uſurpation as unable to conteſt the point. They received alſo many eſtates, or parts of eſtates, together with the admiſſion of a young monk of family; and this they did, in deſpight of the reſtraints put on them by Edward I. But they evaded thoſe acts alſo by taking the gifts in truſt. And thus they more readily conſented to loſe on one ſide, when they found themſelves gaining on the other. Another cauſe of their loſſes, and fluctuation of property, was, the great difficulty of obtaining juſtice in any of the law-courts; and the very bad or weak titles, under which they held their lands: for, in the firſt inſtance, even the mitred lord abbot of St. Albans could never obtain redreſs, unleſs he could previouſly make a friend at court, and intereſt even the king, or ſome great noble, on his behalf: and, in the latter caſe, no title *in capite* was good and irreverſible unleſs confirmed by an act of Parliament. No man, before the time of Henry VIII. could deviſe his lands by will; of courſe ſuch gifts, though among the laity, were eaſily made void, and the heir recovered; and gifts in frankalmoigne, made to the clergy in free donation, were much eaſier torn from them. And, from theſe cauſes, which were internal defects of the law of the land, aroſe that frequent change, fluctation, and loſſes, in monaſtic property.

But here, before I proceed to deſcribe the downfal and diſſolution of this ancient foundation, I will exhibit an extract from a curious old work, which was written expreſsly to ſhew the names of the principal benefactors, both of eſtates and movables; as the ſame is exemplified in the MS. compoſed by Ware; and now in the library of Bennet College, Cambridge, written about the time of king Richard II. and near the end of abbot de la Mare's time.

Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

Benefactors.

Offa gave to this abbey, at the firſt endowing thereof, the following places or manors; viz. Edelmentan, or Edmonton; Wittleſeia, or Wittleſey; Caygeſho, or Caſſio; Berethund; Rykemereſworth; Bacheworth; Crokeſleye, or Croſley; Michelfeld; Britewell; Watford; Biſſeye, or Buſhey; Merdele, or Murdel; Haldenham; Saret; Enefelde; Stanmere; Henamſtede, or Hempſtead; Wyneſlawe, or Wynſlow; Biſchopſcote, a manor in Surrey; Eedendone; Mildenton, or Milton; and two vills or farms called Birſtone, or Burſton; and Wyncelfeld, or Windridge.

Theſe were all confirmed by the charter of king Ethelred in 870.

Egfrid, the ſon of Offa, gave, after his father's example, five manors, in a place called Pynesfeld, a part of the pariſh of Rickmereſworth; and the manor of Sandrugge, or Sandridge; and Tyrfeld, or Turvill, in Bucks; and confirmed all his fathers grants.

Many of their ſucceſſors contributed, though we know not the particulars of their liberality: theſe were Ceolwulphus, Bernulphus, Ethelred, Alfred, Edward, Athelſtan, Edmund, Edred, Edwin, Edgar, and Edward the Confeſſor. Ethelred, as mentioned above, confirmed all the grants of his predeceſſors, and, in honour of the martyr, conferred alſo a precious ſtone, called an onyx.

Hardyknute and Harold were benefactors; and then the Conqueror and his ſon Rufus.

The brother of Rufus, Henry I. bore an eſpecial grace and favour to this abbey; was preſent, together with his queen and court, at the dedication, in 1115; and, at this period, is thought to have given Biſhopſcote: but moſt certainly he conferred on the abbot the civil privileges of the hundred of Caiſho, by terming it the liberty of St. Alban, and giving him all the power and authority therein that uſually belonged to the king, or was by him granted to any great lord or military chief. And it is probable, that, as the Saxon kings had dwelt near this place at times, and poſſeſſed a houſe or palace here, they had kept this royalty in their hands, and had never beſtowed it before.

King Stephen alſo, at the requeſt of abbot Robert, gave him the caſtle of Kingſburie, and permitted him to demoliſh the ſame. This royal

royal manſion was ſituate on the high grounds to the weſt of the town, and comprehended a large ſpace ſurrounding it as a park; with an entrance from the town, near the old clock-houſe, which probably was part of the grand portal. The royal ſervants were accuſed of being diſorderly: and, in favour to the abbot and honour to the ſaint, they were removed, all veſtiges of royalty were demoliſhed, and the land was given to the church. Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

Henry II. was reckoned a meritorious benefactor, in having compoſed and laid to reſt the controverſy with the biſhop of Lincoln, and for beſtowing on this church, at the ſame time, a very noble cup, for receiving the holy wafer or bread (a). The kings Richard and John were well affected to the abbey; but nothing is recorded of their gift. Henry III. preſented the church with many veſtments (Pallas) of the ſtuff called Baldokyn, (not of ſilk merely, but a ſort of tiſſue,) one of which was called *Vinea*, from the figure of a vine, and the other *Paradiſe*, from a figure of Adam driven out. Theſe were very rich, and the ground was embroidered (b) with theſe figures. Richard alſo, the brother of Henry, gave two baldokyns.

Edward I. gave a large cloth of ſilk to the great altar, and another to the altar of Amphibal; and to the ſhrine he preſented a large image, or figure, of ſilver gilt.

Edward II. gave to the church a golden croſs; and towards the repairs 100l. He gave alſo to the refectory one large cup of ſilver gilt.

Edward III. was a ſtrenuous defender of the abbeys rights, and ever gave it his protection and patronage. His ſon likewiſe beſtowed many rich trinkets and relics to the church and to the ſhrine; but nothing of better value.

Richard II. gave to the ſhrine a necklace of gold, for the image of the Virgin; and to the church two patins, or plates, of gold, having a vine repreſented thereon, ſpreading its branches and its bunches of fruit in a very comely manner. In money he gave 100 ſhillings to the convent, and to the repair of the haven a) at Tynmouth 500l.

John, duke of Lancaſter, gave two cloths of gold, in gratitude for the favor done by the abbot, in giving permiſſion to have the body

(a) Corpus Chriſti. (b) Opere plumario
(c) *Portui* rather than *Portæ*.

Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

of his deceaſed wife, Blanch, reſt here one night in its way to Weſtminſter. He gave 10l. to the repair of Tynmouth, and many times ſent preſents of wine to this monaſtery. The lord Thomas of Woodſtock, brother to Lancaſter, was received into the fraternity, and gave to the ſhrine a necklace of gold, adorned with ſapphire ſtones, and with a white ſwan, expanding its wings. He gave two cloths of gold (tiſſue) for a covering of the ſhrine; twelve other cloths of gold, with a crimſon ground (a) and various work embroidered; and three other cloths of gold with a green ground, and twenty choral copes with very coſtly gold fringe (b) to be applied by the ſacriſt.

The lady Joan, the princeſs and daughter of Edward III. made many offerings; among which was a noble neeklace of gold, and to the convent 100 ſhillings. To the abbot ſhe gave one cup of ſilver gilt, with a cover; and an image of the Virgin holding the child in her arms, made of very deep and yellow amber, having the arms made of a white amber. She gave alſo, for many years, to the abbot a caſk of wine, in recompence for his adorning the ſhrine of Oſwyn.

The lady Conſtance, wife of John, duke of Lancaſter, gave 10l. for the repair of the kitchen; and to the ſame abbot a noble cloth of gold, of a ſky blue colour.

Queen Matilda had given Pewyk and Lylleburne, in the time of Edward III.

Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, gave to the cell at Tynmouth 100 marcs; and above 1000 trees for the repair of the damage done by the Scots.

The lord Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and his counteſs Margaret, bore great affection to this church; and gave ſome timber (c) for the repair of the refectory.

The lady Margaret, counteſs of Norfolk, gave to the repair of the kitchen 20 marcs, praying the convent to remember, in their ſupplications to Heaven, the lord John de Haſting; earl of Pembroke, her firſt huſband. She was admitted into the fraternity, and gave 30 marcs; and 20 more, to repair the damage the cell of Beaulieu had ſuffered by fire.

(a) Campi rubri. (b) Aurifrigiis pretioc. (c) Duas groſſas trabes.

The

The counteſs of Pembroke, named Mary de St. Paul, in the time of Henry III. left, as a legacy, an image of St. Vicentia, of ſilver gilt; holding in its hands a box, or ſhrine, which contained the face of the Martyr. Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

The lady Blanch Wake, a ſiſter of the chapter, honoured the church with many oblations; and, dying, bequeathed 50 ſhillings to it, as a legacy. The lady Elizabeth de la Zouch gave many rich veſtments. The lady Mary Percy, wife of the above Henry, and ſiſter of the duke of Lancaſter, did the ſame; together with a ſilver cup, gilt, which exhibited ſhields of arms belonging to her family.

Many privileges and immunities had been granted to this church by popes, at divers times; but, as they relate not to gifts or grants of land, I omit them, except theſe; viz. that pope Gregory IX. confirmed to this monaſtery the church of Eglingham; and that Anaſtaſius, the pope, confirmed the church of Luton.

Athelric, biſhop of Worceſter, gave to God and his ſaint the vill called Syſtiwa, Syncumb, and Tiwa (Tewin).

Llanfranc gave to this church 1000 mares to the building of the church; and bequeathed 1col. at his death, but no more than 50 was ever paid. He recovered alſo the land or manor of Redburn, which had been unjuſtly taken from the church, perhaps by the Conqueror. He gave the manor of Northaugh, together with many rich veſtments, and all the veſſels and utenſils proper for the choir, with candleſticks, &c.

Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, and uterine brother to the Conqueror, gave three hides of land at Apſa (Napſbury), together with the wood, called Eyewode, for which the abbot Paul promiſed him 20l. but Odo forgave the debt. He reſtored alſo the vill of Tewin, which had been unjuſtly granted to him; and Paul ordained that the rents ſhould be applied for the monks food.

Richard de Mariſco, biſhop of Durham, gave the church of Eglingham; for the ſole purpoſe of improving the malt liquor given to the monks: and this, as above related, was confirmed by the pope. Walter, biſhop of Durham, in Henry the IIId's time, conferred on them the church of Hertburn, for the uſes of hoſpitality. Richard de Bury, biſhop of Durham (a), gave many and various books, of

(a) A learned prelate in Edward the IIId's time.

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great value. The cell of Tynmouth, being well known to the biſhops of Durham, this circumſtance created an intercourſe and a good underſtanding between theſe great perſonages.

The biſhop of Ardfert, in Ireland, gave to this church many books; and alſo a ſtone, of a light airy colour, marked with white ſpots, called the ſerpent ſtone, thought to be very efficacious againſt lunacy; it was ſquare in form, and encompaſſed in a margin of ſilver. He gave alſo three noble rings, one ſet with an oriental ſapphire; the ſecond with a ſapphire that poſſeſſed ſome medicinal quality, and formed like a ſhield; and the other with a ſapphire, of leſs ſize.

Henry de Blois, biſhop of Winton, gave to this church one large ring, ſet with jewels: in the middle was a ſapphire, of a faint colour; and in the circuit four pearls, and four garnets.

Hotham, biſhop of Ely, gave to this church 100 marcs in the time of Edward II.

Thomas de Hatfield, biſhop of Durham, in Edward the IIId's time, after many tokens of good affection to this church, gave to the convent one myrrhine cup, called by my author *Woſheyl*, in theſe times; and, at his death, he left to it 100 marcs.

John Barnet, biſhop of Ely (a), gave to the repairs of the abbey a quantity of timber; as did alſo Thomas Arundel, the archbiſhop.

The donors and founders of the Cells were theſe: Robert de Mombray, earl of Northumberland, gave the church of St. Mary, at Tinmouth, in which had been buried the body of Oſwyn, king and martyr; and the ſaid earl, in regard to Oſwyn, procured an endowment, and put it under the patronage of this abbey: coming hither afterward, he aſſumed the monaſtic life; and, at his death, was buried in the chapel of Symeon. William de Albaneio, or D'Aubigny, cup-bearer to Henry I. of Norman extraction, and probably fixed at this place by a grant from the Conqueror, gave the cell of Wymondham; and the manor of Tyngeherſte, now called Fingeſt, in Berkſhire: and his ſon confirmed theſe grants. Robert de Valoignes, ſeated at Hertingfordbury, gave the cell at Bynham. Robert de Toteney, or Todenei, gave the cell of Beauvoir, or Belvoir. Geoffry the chamberlain gave the cell of Wallingford. Ralph de Lymeſi, a baron of high rank, gave the cell of Hertford. William de Pyperell,

(a) In the time of Edward III. He lived and died at Hatfield.

or

or Peverell, conferred the cell of Hatfield, in Eſſex. Robert de Albigny gave the cell of Beaulieu, and the chapel of St. Machatus (a). Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

Theſe donors were all Normans, and had grants from the Conqueror; and always thought, like prudent men, that a body of clergy was a neceſſary inſtitution to accompany a grant, they being capable of many ſervices both to the lord and to his tenants, beſide their religious duties: and, as the abbots from the time of the Conqueſt were Normans, they formed by theſe inſtitutions a firm and indiſſoluble connection of Church and State, to the mutual aid, ſupport, and ſtrength, of each other.

The manor of Codicote was given to this church by Etheline, the faithful miniſter of King Ethelred. Stodham, or Studham, was given by Oſwulph and his wife Ayeliza before the Conqueſt; the wife joining in the donation, that the convent might pray for the ſoul of her firſt huſband, Ulphus.

Wult, a Dane, (a great man under St. Edward the King, ſon of Ethelred), gave the land, called Eaſton, (or Eaſtwic, to diſtinguiſh it from Weſtwicke), with all its appurtenances. He gave alſo the manor of Oxwic, or Oxeys; at the ſame time a cup, a miſſale, and a dorſale. Edwyn of Cadington gave the land, called Waterford and Beoronley; and, at his death, bequeathed 20 oxen and 30 cows.

Egelwine, the Swarte, (or Black,) and his wife Wynfled, in the time of Edward, next before the Conqueſt, gave Redburn, Greneburwe, Llangeley, and Thwangton; and the wife gave alſo a great bell. Æthelgive, a lady of high rank (b), gave the land called Gateſden, or Gaddeſden; and a vill called Standen; and another by name Offeley. She beſtowed alſo on this monaſtery 30 mancuſes of gold, 30 oxen, 20 cows, 250 ſheep; with a herd of hogs, together with the herdſman; at the ſame time ſhe gave two ſilver cups; and two others, called *horns*, one book, one large curtain, and one great bench, called *Bancale*.

Sexi, a Dane, well affected to the Saint, gave Hekſtunton, or Hexton. One Hadda, a man of high rank, and Chriſtina, his wife, gave, *pro ſalute animarum*, Newenham and Beandiſh. A religious matron, named Tharefled, gave Shenlea, or Shenley, and Bridley,

(a) I ſhall have occaſion to be more full in the Hiſtory of the Cells when I come to take a view of them at the diſſolution.

(a) Nobilis matrona.

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in perpetuity. Ethelbert, a great and powerful man in his times, gave Cramford. Walſine, another rich and great man, gave Eſenden. Another Walſine, a man of honorable rank, gave Ealdenham. Ælfſtan, a man well affected to God and the Church, gave the vill of Enſham. Wulfgar, a ſervant of king Ethelbert, gave the land, vulgarly called Walden. Matildis, of Eſtan, gave her land called Owynges. Godefrid of Rokamſtade, now called Rethamſted, gave 25 acres of land in that vill. Walter de Valoignes gave the vill of Berney. William de Marlow, and Rohays his wife, gave the vill of Walſington. Nigol de Merſton gave as much land as was worth ten ſhillings a year in London. Richard de Crokeſly gave 84 acres of land in Wrokuſhulle.

Roger de Valoignes gave land in Gunſthorp, and in Walſingham, and in Wells (in Norfolk), and half of Berney. Berenger of Totaney, and his wife Albreda, gave Thorp, and the tithes of Pederynkton. Nigel of Albigny, and his wife Amicia, gave the vill or town of Hendred (in Berks), and the town of St. Chriſtopher, in Wallingford, and half another church there, conſecrated in honour of St. Mary: this Nigel gave alſo Eaſtwell, in Kent. Hardewin de Scaliers gave the vill of Brantfield, with the church thereof. This was ſaid early in the hiſtory to have been bought with gold melted out of the veſtments. William de Boſrohard, and Adeliza his wife, gave Talington, in Lincolnſhire, for the ſupport of the monks. Hugo de Biburſwurthe gave half an hyde of land in the vill of Biburſwurthe. Adelize, the wife of Theodoni de Forrho, gave one hyde of land in Greneſtead. Roger de Burun gave a manſion in the pariſh of Thole, and one acre of meadow; and at his death bequeathed to the brethren fifty ſhillings. Ingod de Lyndeſey gave one carucate of land in Herdreſhille. Roger de Hertford gave one houſe in that town, and his tithes in Boxa. Afric de Hiege gave one houſe in London of the yearly rent of ſix ſhillings. Godolena, a lady dwelling in London, gave a houſe there of 5 ſhillings yearly rent. William, a clerk in London, gave half the church of St. Alban, and half that of St. Michael; and houſes in that city of 14 ſhillings yearly rent. A man named Roger, whoſe ſurname is not known, gave a portion of land in Wellgan (or Wellwyn) worth 8 ſhillings a year. Rodbert, earl of Morton, and Almodis his wife, gave a virgate of land in Codicote, and half an hide in Redburn. Intheta, a counteſs, and widow of earl Walthin, gave three virgates of land in Pottune (Potton). Goſfricus,

fricus, a deacon, gave an houſe ſituate in Cambridge, together with ſome land. Humfrey de Everſdon gave two acres of land in that village. Manaſſes de Arſi gave lands in Oxfordſhire, worth a yearly rent of forty ſhillings. Henry de Albigny gave a village called Wybaldington (in Norfolk). Emma de Bradway, and her ſon Hugo, gave the manor of Bradway. Ernulp of Heſdun gave one carucate in the county of Warwick, and the church of Erpeltone, and ten pounds. Alnered, the cup-bearer of earl Morton, gave a manor of ſeven carucates, in Norton in Warwickſhire. Nigel de Waſt gave one carucate of land, called Seccyng, and the tithe of Rington, and 100 ſhillings; and afterwards he gave the church of Mylbrook and one carucate, with all things belonging to the church; and the church of Hamptehull, or Ampthill; all in Bedfordſhire. Nigel de Stafford gave the church of Norton, and one carucate, and the tithes of his demeſne in Norton. Wydo de Bailul gave one virgate of land in Hexton. William, earl of Morton (who lived in 1100) gave to St. Alban, and the ſole uſe of food for the monks, the manor of Stanmere; which had been unjuſtly taken away, perhaps at the Conqueſt. Matildis, a certain widow, and the daughter of Ernald de Hyſdyng, gave half an hyde in the village called Hare; (perhaps Hareſtreet near Puckridge). Hugo, ſon of Oſbern, gave a ſaltpit at the Wych (a) (but it is not ſaid where ſituate), and the ſalinator, or workman, therewith. Humphrey de Kymbell gave the church of Kymbell, ſituate in the county of Bucks. Nigel de Merſton gave, *pro ſalute animæ*, the church of Tyrefeld, or Turvill, in Bucks *perpetuo jure poſſidendam*. William de Weedon, in honour of the glorious protomartyr, gave the church of Wyngrave.

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William de Albigny gave the churches of Wulfthrop and of Redynild, ſituated in Norfolk. Walter Blanefront gave the church of Potſgrave. William de la Val gave the village called Ducentun, in the country of the Northumbrians. William ——— gave the church of Walynton, in Herts. Nigel de Berwyll gave one hyde of land in Middleton, and the tithes of that church.

Richard de Clothall, a knight of great fame, as mentioned before, gave to the altar of the Virgin four wax-lights for conſtant uſe, and one cup of gold. John, the rector of Hoddeſden, gave one great bell and

(a) This is the common name of all ſaltworks.

the

Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

the reſt. Gerard, a baker in London, gave land of 10 ſhillings a year rent. William, ſon of Symon, gave ſome lands in the village of Hatfield for the uſe of the copyiſts. Alan de Wynton gave half of the land that lies in Biſhopſcote. Geoffry de Childwick gave the tithe of Wand. Nigel, a miller, gave, for the uſe of the monks kitchen, a yearly rent of four ſhillings. William de Albigny, and Cecilia his wife, gave the churches of Talyngton and of Burſton, with two carucates of land; with the mill in the village of Belver. Ailward of Leofwyn gave four hides of land in Hexton. Henry de Kenelworth gave one virgate in Potſgrave. Roger de Eywode gave to the monks kitchen a yearly rent of one marc. Ægelwine gave one houſe in London, yielding a yearly rent of eight ſhillings. William Limet gave all the tithes of Montune, except that of the mills of Montune and of Flitwyk.

Robert the maſon, who laboured hard at the building of the church in the time of Paul, gave, every year, as long as he lived, ten ſhillings. Bermond of St. Owen, and Cana his wife, gave the tithe of all things that could be tithed in Bolinton, and in Eſtawicewyrth, and in Eaſtun.

Thurſtan, the brother of William de Mara, gave his tithes in the village of Wilia, or Willian; and Robert de Mara likewiſe gave his tithes. This ſeems to argue that they gave the tithes of their own lands, though the pariſh had a rector or vicar. Humfridus de Knybworth gave his tithes of Efreſdin, or Friethſden. Walter Gifford gave one acre of land, and houſes in Wallingford worth nine ſhillings a year. Norman de Muntfaltrel gave two parts of his tithe of Holpole, and of Pyr, and one virgate of land. Walter de Mandaville and Gimmilda his wife, gave a third of the tithes of Rotley, Brinfeld, Cetteham, and Retlege, and laid the grant of this donation on the great altar. Serlo de Marcer, and his wife Mabil, granted, *in perpetuum*, the tithes of Perendon, Tropyngton, and of Fiſhhide.

Edward, of Cambridge, and his mother, gave the church of St. Bennet in Cambridge. Robert Deſbans gave his tithes of Mordune. Alvered (Alfred) gave his tithe of Cranden. Habenger, and his wife Hugolina, and his ſon Rollond, and his daughter, gave the tithe of Conington and of Toftes.

Henry de Albigny, and his two brothers, gave the church of Clophill, with the lands belonging to it: viz. half an hide; and the tithes of that village, and of Cot, and of Kegenho; and the father con-

confirmed the gift. Nigel, one of the brothers, gave the church of the Holy Trinity in Wallingford, and the other half of the church of St. Mary in that town, and thirty acres of land without the town. He gave alſo the manor of Henred. Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

Robert and William, the ſons of Turgis de Meduanâ, gave the tithes of Rodinges, Herlagh (Hurley), and of Briztham (Biſham). William, at his death, bequeathed to the church his ſword and his arms. In the time of abbot Paul two of the great bells were given by Eipolf, a great man in theſe parts, and his wife. Robert de Oili (D'Oiley) gave at that time 120 pounds, and one good cup in ſhape of an horn.

William de Albigny gave all his tythes in Snedeſham, in Fretgignes, in Flitcham, in Bruneham, in Greneſtun, and in Pykenham; and two carucates of land, one in Fretgignes, and the other in Bruneham (a).

Uno de Tigernull, with his wife and ſon Berenger, gave to this church a church called Gleſton (Glaiſton in Rutland), and one carucate of land in the ſame vill. William Meſchines, and his wife Cecilia, gave the tithe of the village of Netneſby (Naſeby) in Northamptonſhire.

Alan, the ſon of Pirot, gave his chapel of Kenonton, with the tithes of the vill.

William Noreys, a villanus of St. Alban, (that is, a copyhold tenant on ſome eſtate of St. Alban,) with his wife Mary, gave ſo much in one inſtance and another that they were received into the fraternity; and, after their death, the abbot appointed an anniverſary, to celebrate their memory; and forty ſhillings were ordered to be expended in feaſting the convent. Adam de Belver, a man of known fame and great family, forgave a debt to the abbey of 233 marcs; and beſtowed on the altar of St. Blaze a golden cup, adorned with precious ſtones, and of the weight of forty ſhillings.

Lawrence, a clerk, forgave the church a debt of 100l. and fifteen marcs; and gave a ring, ſet with a ruby. Robert de Herrford, dean

(a) This manner of giving tithes could take place only before a pariſh was here ſet out, and a miniſter appointed, to whom they might be appropriated; and is a ſure proof that manors were prior to pariſhes; and that the latter were appointed and ſet out by degrees, and when the lord had built a church, and fixed a clerk to dwell near it; to whom the tithes were then allotted as a maintenance: but, before that, they were paid to whom the lord of the land pleaſed.

of

Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

of the choir, gave 100 marcs, and two ſilver cups gilt. At this time was killed Walter de Hamundeſham (Amerſham) a faithful ſervant of this church (a). The lady Petronilla (or Parnel) of Banſted, gave a large round cover for the altar, adorned with ſtones of jaſper, ſet in ſilver; ſaid to be the altar-cloth of Auguſtine, the apoſtle of England. She made an offering alſo of two vials, the bodies of which were chryſtal, the orifices and the feet of ſilver, ornamented with jewels and pearls.

Reginald, who built the chapel of the Virgin, is intitled to a ſpecial rank among the benefactors. He is ſaid to be of this town. Maſs was celebrated in this chapel every day, and the ſervice performed *per notam* (b).

The Lord William de Clynton, earl of Huntingdon, reported as above to have been interred under the ſhrine, gave many rich veſtments; one, curiouſly wrought with a field like copper, and in parts ſhewing all the effulgence of gold. John Aynel (or Aignell) gave a precious ſtone of admirable beauty, called a ſapphire, to be depoſited on the ſhrine of the ſaint. William Purſer, of this town, gave a yearly rent of four marcs; and to the church at Redburn he gave a tapeſtry, or covering for a table, two table-cloths, and a cheſt, or coffer.

At the time of building the cloiſter, the lord Nigel Loring gave to that work ten marcs; and a ſecond time ten marcs. He gave alſo to the convent a caſk of wine, and at his death forgave a debt of 100 marcs. Robert Knollis, knight, a valiant and famous man, contributed to the works of the monaſtery; and, for the ſoul of his wife the lady Conſtancia, he gave ten marcs. He had the fraternity, and by right thereof the money was applied to that uſe. He gave afterward to the building of the kitchen 100l.

The lord Geoffry Lucy, a famous knight, gave five marcs; but the abbot and convent thought him worthy of a place among their benefactors.

Another renowned knight, named John of St. Albans, gave, as a legacy, a number of rings containing many precious ſtones.

Sir Thomas Fything, knight, gave to the work of the cloiſter 10l. Sir Richard de la Vache, knight, gave 30l. Sir John Hay, knight, gave 6s. 8d. Sir Richard Havering gave to the work of

(a) See p. 221, part 1, Life of Wallingford.
(b) That is, with more correctneſs, finging by note.

the

the refectory ſome timber (a). Sir William Troyſere, knight, gave the like. Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

Sir Robert de Walſam, precentor of Sarum (to whom we are, ſaith Ware, for ever obliged for his many kindneſſes and gratuitous expences on our account), gave at times, for the work of the cloiſter, forty marcs. He gave alſo by legacy 100 marcs; and bequeathed to the high altar a baſon and ewer of pure ſilver (b), for the monks to uſe in waſhing their hands on feaſt-days. He gave alſo to the ſaint ſome trinkets of gold; and, to each monk, forty pence.

Sir Bartholomew de Weedon, rector of the church of Schakreſton, in the county of Leiceſter, gave 240 marcs, to have a corrody among us; but, in reality, to aid the work of the cloiſter; for, it far exceeded the value of any corrody, even for the life of a young man. He was admitted to the fraternity at his earneſt requeſt; and, dying, bequeathed to the abbot 20l. to the prior 20 marcs, to every prieſt one marc, and to every other monk half a marc.

Maſter William Burton, well ſkilled in the law, and a clerk under the archdeacon of this church, had exerciſed the juriſdiction and authority of that office for thirty years and more, and kept the laws of the church pure and unviolated. At his death he left five marcs to the cloiſter, and all his books *(utriuſque legis)* to the office of the archdeacon.

Sir John Rouland, (Rowland,) rector of the church of Todyngton, had been a ſtrenuous advocate in many cauſes and ſuits relating to this abbey, and an indefatigable promoter of its intereſts; and, being left executor by Richard Eccleſhal and John Stoke, he gave 50l. out of the manor of Walhale (or Woral), for building or repairing the great gate of the abbey, viz. the preſent gate under the gaol; but on condition, that the convent prayed for the ſouls of the deceaſed teſtators. He gave to the cloiſter 23l. and to the convent 20s. to pray for the ſouls of John Peacock, and his children, parents, family, friends, and benefactors. At another time he gave 10l. to the uſe of the bells, and 10l. to the convent. He paid to abbot John 700 marcs, to enable him to recover the land of Gorham; and forgave the abbot a debt of 80 marcs, which the abbot had agreed to pay him as a rent of Gorham for eight years. This manor had been unjuſtly torn from its firſt owner the abbey, and had lately been ſold

(a) Unam trabem. (b) Pelvem cum lavatorio.

Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

to the counteſs of Oxford. The abbot agreed to rent it, rather than loſe all benefit whatever from it; and was to pay this Rowland eight marcs a year: he perhaps acted as ſteward to the purchaſer, or otherwiſe became intitled to 80 marcs. The whole rent appears to have been 40l. yearly; and, the counteſs agreeing to ſell and quit claim, Rowland furniſhed the money, 700 marcs, for the purchaſe, and the manor was reſtored to the abbot. Rowland, at the ſame time, diſtributed to the convent 20l. viz. to every brother half a marc, ſo that the number at this time was no more than ſixty: this was in Moot's time.

Sir Richard de Tretoun, rector of Tindell, and executor of Sir Robert de Thorp, chief juſtice, and then chancellor of the realm, conferred ſeven ſcore marcs for the ſoul of the deceaſed, and to be applied to divers works. This man was maſter of Bennet College, Cambridge; and Thorpe, had been a benefactor to the univerſity, having built the chapel in which the regents ſat in convocation, (before the preſent ſenate houſe was built,) as appeared by the coloured glaſs in the window; ſince demoliſhed (a).

Maſter John Appelby gave a curious dreſs, or cope, the ground of which was green, worked in gold, with figures of beaſts. He gave alſo the book called the Roſary; and 10l. to purchaſe the Collectarium; and to the cloiſter he gave 6l. 8s. 4d.

Maſter William Burcot, rector of the pariſh church at Waltham, who, from his earlieſt days, had ſerved the intereſts of this church, gave the Catholicon, and the whole body of civil law; and, by the labour of the abbot, was procured the whole body of the canon law. He gave to every member of the convent 40 pence; and paid to the abbot 10l. to obtain a privilege from Rome, that, in future, any abbot choſen by unanimous conſent ſhould not need any farther confirmation.

Sir David Wellover, clerk of the rolls of Chancery, conferred on this monaſtery 20l. Sir John Lowkyn, canon of the church of Elſing Spittle, and executor of Adam Lowkyn, gave 20 marcs to pray for the ſoul of the deceaſed, and to be applied to the cloiſter. Sir Richard Totel, rector of Barnet, gave to the work of repairing the kitchen forty ſhillings. Sir William Burges, formerly rector of North Mymms, gave to the building of the kitchen ten marcs, and left a legacy of ten marcs.

(a) See Maſters's Hiſtory of Bennet College.

Maſter

Maſter William Tankerville gave to the work of the new gate 100 ſhillings, and 100 to the cloiſter. Tho. II. the 37th abbot.

Maſter John Enderby, clerk to the archdeacon, gave as a legacy to every monk twelve pence. Maſter John Wyliot gave to the work of the cloiſter 20 ſhillings; Maſter William Rouſe gave to the ſame uſe twenty ſhillings.

Sir William (a), vicar of Redburn, gave to the convent twenty ſhillings. Sir Roger, the chaplain of the counteſs of Warwick, at Flamſted, gave twice 6s. 8d. to the cloiſter.

John Whittewell, formerly ſeneſhall of the liberty, gave in Childewyhay, Kyngſbury, and Sandrugge, one meſſuage, ſix tofts, three carucates of land, three acres of wood worth three ſhillings rent. And, in Watford and in Oxheye, Walrand gave five tofts, two carucates of land, twenty acres of meadow, ſix acres of paſture, eight acres of wood, the moiety of a certain mill; all of the annual rent of ſixty ſhillings and eight pence farthing.

Maſter Adam Rous gave a noble cope, and a chaſuble of red velvet, both powdered with trees and leopards in gold. He gave alſo to the great altar a gold cup; and beſtowed on the abbey a houſe in London, ſituate next to Dowgate, of the yearly value of forty ſhillings, from which rent the ſub-cellerer allows ten ſhillings to the convent, for a pittance (b) on the anniverſary. Stephen de la Mare, nephew to Thomas the abbot, ſold his houſe ſituate in Dagnal for ten pounds, and gave the money to the monaſtery.

John Gele (or Gale) beſtowed his houſe at the corner of Church-ſtreet on the under cook, whenever one is deputed to that office.

John Gumbard gave a houſe ſituate in Dagnal, and twenty-nine acres of land with it; and to the cloiſter forty ſhillings. John de Lagleye gave alſo an houſe well built, in Dagnal, and of the yearly rent of ſixty ſhillings. William Chewpain and his wife gave many ornamental veſtments, and many utenſils for the refectory. John Pykebon (Pickborn) gave his noble manſion and two acres of land in French-row, in this town. Robert de la Chambre gave his houſe in St. Peter's ſtreet, ſituate oppoſite the church. William Kynſhull gave an houſe with twenty ſhillings rent. Agnes de Langford gave an houſe in the ſtreet leading to Sopwell (now Sopwell-lane), worth

(a) Mentioned as being buried in the church in the time of Edward III.

(b) *Piotancia*, it is generally written; that is, a gift for God's ſake, and in regard to our duty to him.

Tho. II. the 37th abbot. one marc, to pray for the ſoul of Joan Langford. Joan de Ware gave her houſe in this town, and accepted a corrody for life.

John Cheſton gave 20l. and three acres of wood, now rented by Thomas Norton.

Reginald Heynot gave up his houſe in Romeland, ſituated next the great gate, and accepted a corrody for life. Richard Eccleſhal bequeathed his houſe in Halywell, called Stonehall, which was afterward ſold for 30l. and the money applied to the office of the coquinar.

John Philpot, a citizen of London, beſtowed on the cloiſter 40l. and gave to the convent two ſeam, or quarters, of dates and almonds.

Alexander Onger gave, for the ſafety of his ſoul, 20l. At this time, and through the whole rule of de la Mare, the gifts were innumerable, and always in money or plate, or trinkets for the image of the Virgin.

Roger gave to the refectory twelve ſilver ſpoons. William Fimmer gave to the Virgin's Chapel one marc and a zone of ſilver.

Theodoric Stannar gave a zone to the ſhrine of Alban, richly ornamented.

Thomas Tydene, eſq. ſtyled *cuſtos nemorum*, or woodward, contributed ornaments of ſilver and money to the cloiſters. More than twenty others contributed money to the ſame works; and the repair of the cloiſters ſeems to have furniſhed pretence for a continual call on the beneficence of the pious.

Moſt of theſe gifts were made in the time of De la Mare; and two perſons gave forty ſhillings each toward writing this liſt of benefactors; and painting their heads (a), in proper character, oppoſite their name.

In the Tower of London are to be found a great number of original grants in confirmation of the donations and privileges conferred on this abbey.

In the 27th of Edward I. (1299) there is an inquiſition before the juſtices of the King's Bench againſt one A. B. why he had made waſte of the woods of Shenlee; which had been granted to him for life, by the prioreſs of Sopwell (b). And in p. 1176

(a) Vide the MS. mentioned above, in lib. Ben. Coll.
(b) Harl. MSS, 744, p. 1037, referring to the rolls in the Tower.

of

of the Harl. MS. it is recorded, that the church of Shenley Spend- Tho. II. the
hurſt was appointed *pro cantaria in eccleſ. Sancti Lawrentii de Candle-* 37th abbot.
wick-ſtrete, London, anno 19, Edward III. 1346 (a). Hence it appears, that the church of Shenley was in the Poultneys in 1346, and the lands and the manor probably in the abbey, until the diſſolution; that the tithes only were ſettled on the chantry; and that, after the Diſſolution, the deſcendents of the Poultneys purchaſed the tithes, manors, and lands, of the Crown; for, this family poſſeſſed the ſame, until they ſold the above unto the Crews, in the laſt century.

There is a grant alſo in the 12th of Edward III. to confirm a donation of lands called Le Traye, in the vill of Sarret (b). Alſo an inquiſition taken before John de Rameſden, anno 15 Edward II. againſt the abbot of St. Alban, *de certis plateis et aliis minutis parcellis terræ in eâdem villâ, et de duob. part. unius meſſag. et centum acris in Tydenhangre* (c).

In the ninth year of Richard II. there is a grant for forty ſhillings and four pence, to be paid annually by the Houſe of Merton Hall, in Oxford, from their lands in Watford in Langley (d); and in the 7th of Henry VI. a grant to confirm an exchange of lands in Childwykſhay, Slapewalden, and in Hexton, for tenements belonging to the hoſpital of St. Anthony, in the city of London (e).

(a) Roll. pat. 1. m 1. (b) Pat. 2. m. 20. (c) Pat. 1. m. 26.
(d) Pat. 9. m. 40. (e) Pat. 1. m. 9.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IX.

THOMAS WOOLSEY.

Tho. III. the 38th abbot.

WHEN Woolſey took this abbey in commendam, it was ſuch a breach of the canon law, and ſuch an invaſion of that rule and government in which abbeys had been holden, that it amazed all ſoberminded p rſons who revered the ancient conſtitution of abbeys; and ſeemed to portend ſome fatal blow to that order of the clergy. For, holding in commendam, though it was an ancient uſage, yet it was allowed and practiſed by the head of the church, as giving over ſome church or ſecular preferment to be taken care of; the church was not ſaid to be filled, nor any inveſtitu e made of the ſame; but the ſupreme diſpenſed with the uſual forms of inſtitution, and delivered it over for its protection and ſafety; and this power of holding was at firſt revocable at the pleaſure and will of the ſupreme head. But this never had been practiſed with regard to abbeys and convential inſtitutions; becauſe the care of theſe required a perſonal attendance, and the conſtant preſence of the ruler: whereas, in the ſecular preferments, this was not thought ſo neceſſary, nor a conſtant reſidence required by the canons.

Wool-

Woolſey, being legate or ſupreme head in England, had no leave to obtain or to aſk, in making his own appointment; nor was there any danger of being queſtioned for being thus appointed. It doth not appear that he ever came down even to take poſſeſſion; nor, indeed, is there the leaſt tittle of record remaining to ſhew what was done during his commendamſhip, which laſted till his downfal; nor who was his prior; or what material events then affected this houſe. But it is probable, and very fair to conjecture, that he took it in order to be aſſiſted by its revenue in building and founding his new college at Oxford. For, in 1525, he had finiſhed Hampton Court, and made a preſent of it to the king; and was next meditating to build as ſplendid a ſtructure for ſcience and learning as he had done for royalty and grandeur: and, for this purpoſe, he obtained conſent from the pope and the king for the ſuppreſſion of eighteen ſmall monaſteries in 1526; and, in 1529, he procured a grant for diſſolving the priory of Wallingford, and the hoſpital of St. Pree, and for applying the revenues to the uſe of his new college. Tho. III. the 38th abbot.

The abbey continued in the hands of Woolſey at the time of his founding and building his two colleges; of which that at Oxford is ſaid to have its foundations only laid and the hall and kitchen built, at the time when their founder was convicted on the ſtatute of premunire, October 18, 1529: and his goods of every kind, and all his eſtates, were then forfeited to the king.

This abbey, and all its real and perſonal property, ought then to have reverted to its true original owners, the prior and monks of the houſe. But the king, when he granted a pardon to Woolſey in the ſpring of 1530, permitted him to keep the archbiſhopric of York, with all its eſtates and dependencies, except York-place, afterward called Whitehall; and allowed him alſo the titles of biſhop of Winton, and abbot of St. Albans; but reſerving to himſelf all the revenues of theſe two laſt preferments. At the death of Wolſey, on November 29, 1530, the abbey ought to have returned to its freedom; but Henry ſtill graſped cloſe and detained the whole, cauſing one Robert Catton to be elected in the place of abbot; a method of ſaving appearances; while the king's agents and ſecret miniſters lived as gueſts in the monaſtery and ruled all. They were called idle gentlemen; but were in truth ſpies. This continued until the death of Catton, in 1538; at which time one Richard Boreman, or de Stevenache, (as he affected to be called, after the old manner,) was

Tho. III. the 38th abbot.

choſen by the royal intereſt; being put in, to preſent an appearance of abbatical rule and government, and to execute with a better grace the intentions of the king and Parliament, which had been by this time brought to maturity.

No event prior to this time ſo ſtrongly demonſtrates the great ſuperiority which the civil power had gained, together with the authority of king and Parliament, and how low the power of the church was fallen, as the downfal of Woolſey. Kings had wiſely choſen great eccleſiaſtics for their miniſters, becauſe there were always two great ruling intereſts in the kingdom; and it was eaſy to the king to govern both, when he placed the head of the church in the direction of his civil affairs. And this elevation of Woolſey had contributed to enable Henry to govern peaceably and ſucceſsfully through the former part of his reign. But now, the king found himſelf with a better ſupport from the temporal lords, and from the Houſe of Commons, than he ever had before experienced. He had ventured to tell the pope that he could rule England without him, and that his delay or refuſal to diſpenſe with the diſpenſation of a former pope (which was a thing impoſſible even for infallibility to effect) would cauſe the Catholics of England to ſeek another head. Though Woolſey was ſkilful at the buſineſs of negotiation, he failed here; and was caught in that trap in which he generally had enſnared others. He ſecretly adviſed the pope to uſe delays; and probably urged the king openly to ſeek other remedies, which he (the adviſer) thought would never join in gratifying the wiſh of the King. But this double conduct became known to Henry, and excited a fatal reſolution in his breaſt to deſtroy the bane of his peace, and ſeek new counſel, which he thought would be faithful. He boldly ordered his attorney general to indict his miniſter in the ſtar-chamber, on the ſtatute of premunire, which had been enacted by Edward I. with a view to ſeparate his clergy and people from Rome, and ſet them farther off from connection and communication therewith. Woolſey was convicted, and degradation and confiſcation followed. Yet, not content with this, Henry directs an impeachment to be opened againſt him in the Houſe of Lords; which impeachment, conſiſting of forty-four articles, was allowed and paſſed without

 trial;

trial (a); and was ſent down to the commons to be completed into an act; when Thomas Cromwell, then a member and dependent of Woolſey, pleaded for his maſter with ſuch force of reaſon and eloquence as cauſed the houſe to diſmiſs the bill. The king gave him a full pardon on the 10th of February, and reſtored to him goods and furniture to the amount of ſix thouſand pounds (b); yet in October he ſent down the earl of Northumberland with a warrant to arreſt him on a charge of high treaſon. Now, whatever crimes the king might have diſcovered, as committed by Woolſey before, yet the pardon covered and extinguiſhed all. And this whole proſecution of Woolſey was ſo capricious and wanton, as well as unjuſt and cruel, that no act of that impetuous and paſſionate monarch argued a mind leſs governed by wiſdom or juſtice, or leſs tempered with mercy and tenderneſs.

But this whole conduct ſhewed, that the king had liſtened to other adviſers, and found they were numerous enough to ſupport him in Parliament, and inclined alſo to do his buſineſs without the authority or the advice of the church. Had it been otherwiſe, the lords never would have paſſed the bill of impeachment, in a houſe where the biſhops, and abbots, and priors, who had ſeats, amounted to forty-three in number; viz. eighteen biſhops, twenty-four abbots, and the prior of Coventry; and the temporal lords to no more than about ſixty.

The parliament had been prorogued to the 6th of January 1531; at which time Sir Thomas Audley was ſpeaker; Sir Thomas More was chancellor, having received the great ſeal of the king when Woolſey reſigned it in April laſt; and Thomas Cromwell, late ſervant and dependent of Woolſey, had been taken into the king's council. By the advice of theſe, or at leaſt with their concurrence and approbation, the king entertained new projects of raiſing money on the clergy. Woolſey had ſhewn him the way by demands and extortions, in the year 1527, and had himſelf fallen a ſacrifice to the rapine as well as reſentment of the king: and the clergy beheld, with little regret, the avarice and lawleſs exactions of that man revenged on himſelf. But the king, ſeeing his ſucceſs in having ruined the firſt eccleſiaſtic in the kingdom, although his miniſter and chancellor, proceeded farther to employ the ſame artifices, and with the

(a) Lord Herbert, p. 175.
(b) Rapin, vol. I. p. 785, and the note from Rym. Fed. XIV. p. 375.

ſame views, againſt the other clergy. His inclination to rapine met with concurrence from his council and his chancellor; and an indictment was preferred in the King's Bench againſt all the biſhops and clergy of both provinces, for having acted againſt the ſtatutes of premunire and proviſors. As Woolſey had been convicted of exerciſing his legatine authority without licence from the king, as the ſtatute of premunire requires; and of diſpoſing of ſeveral benefices as legate, contrary to the ſtatute of proviſors; ſo all the clergy were conſidered as conſenting and approving, and as accomplices in the ſame crime, becauſe ſome had received theſe benefices. The clergy had already, in this ſeſſion, given their opinion, among other determinations of the univerſities both at home and abroad, in favour of the king's divorce, by ſaying, that pope Julius II. could not diſpenſe with Henry's marriage with his brother's widow. But Henry made no other requital for this judgement on his caſe than to make them all criminal: and he did this for two reaſons; firſt, to ſhew the world that he had not extorted this determination from them; and, ſecondly, that he might extort ſomething elſe, of more value. Accordingly, the convocation, with Warham at the head, debated this matter; and agreed, January 24, to offer the king one hundred thouſand pounds (a) for a pardon, to be levied in five years (b). The inſtrument, by which this grant is made, is extant in the public acts, and therefore no doubts can remain of its ſubſtance and contents; and one reaſon there aſſigned for their donation is, 'becauſe the 'king had ſhewn great zeal againſt the Lutherans; who had laboured

(a) What is the preſent value of this ſum may be gathered with great exactneſs and truth from a little hiſtory of the year 1533, recorded by Stow, and taken by Fleetwood into his *Chron. Pretioſ.*

It was this year enacted, ſaith Stow, that butchers ſhould ſell their beef and mutton by weight; beef for halfpenny a pound, and mutton for three farthings; which being deviſed for the great commodity of the realm (as it was thought) hath proved quite otherwiſe. For at that time fat oxen were ſold for 26s. 8d. fat weathers for 3s. 4d. fat calves at the like price, and a fat lamb for 12d. The butchers had uſually ſold penny pieces of beef, for the relief of the poor; every piece two pounds and a half, ſometimes three pounds; and thirteen or fourteen of theſe pieces for 12d. mutton 8d. a quarter; and a hundred weight of beef for 4s. 8d. What price it has grown to ſince needeth not to be ſet down.

Stow lived in the time of Elizabeth and James; and by this account it appears, that, if beef is now nine or ten times the price of that time, then the value of money was nine or ten times greater than at preſent, and the one hundred thouſand pounds laid on the clergy was equal to a million at this day.

By this rule alſo may the revenue of abbeys be nearly aſcertained.

(b) Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 414.

'to deſtroy the church of England, of which the clergy acknow-
'ledged the king to be ſole protector and ſupreme head.' And this is all the ground for transferring the ſupremacy from a ſpiritual to a civil crown. Thus began this title in flattery to Henry, and it is confirmed by an act in 1534: it was rejected by Mary, reſumed by Elizabeth, and not finally confirmed by act of Parliament until the year 1571. The province of York followed the example of Canterbury, and compounded for 18,840l.

The king then, being ſatisfied with this ſubmiſſion of his clergy, granted them a pardon: but colleges and monaſteries were not comprehended in the pardon, though included in the charge and indictment; and therefore ſtood excepted; and, being conſidered as having made no ſubmiſſion, were reſerved for future vengeance.

In 1532 and 33, Henry proceeded in procuring other acts that tended to extirpate the authority of the pope; and, when Francis told him that his chief view in meeting the pope at Marſeilles was to ſerve him, viz. Henry,—Henry anſwered, 'that he was ſo ſure of his 'nobility and commons, he had no apprehenſion of any thing the 'pope could do.' And, indeed, with this ſupport, he ventured on many ſteps that tended to withdraw both laity and clergy from all obedience to the papal authority, notwithſtanding the frequent threats of excommunication and interdicts. Theſe were all pleaſing to the people in general; but the monks could not forbear loud exclamations, at ſeeing themſelves deprived of their ancient patronage and ſupport; and, without their conſent, placed under a new head and new ruler. And this indignation was riſing to ſuch height, that the loudeſt execrations were beſtowed on the king and court; and one Peto, a poor Franciſcan frier, preaching before the king at his chapel at Greenwich, vented the boldeſt and moſt inſolent reproaches on his ſupreme highneſs: this happened in the year 1535. Though the king affected to deſpiſe theſe invectives, and only appointed Dr. Curwen, a courtly chaplain, to contradict them the next Sunday in the ſame place (a), yet in this and the following year the king had cauſed to be apprehended above two hundred poor friers of the Franciſcan order. For, it is to be noted, that among the acts paſſed in the year before, there was one enacted, by which it was declared 'treaſon 'to ſpeak, write, or imagine, any thing againſt the king or queen;

(a) Rapin.

'or to call the king heretic, tyrant, ſchiſmatic, infidel, or uſurper;' as ſome of the friers had opprobriouſly done (a). At the ſame time there paſſed the following acts; viz. Firſt, To confirm the king's new title of ſupremacy; concerning which he pretended at firſt great ſcruples, but ſoon improved upon all the prerogatives which were conſtrued to flow from it. Secondly, An act to debar the benefit of ſanctuary to all perſons accuſed of treaſon. Thirdly, A form of oath concerning the ſucceſſion, and to be taken by all perſons. Fourthly, An act to give the king the annates or firſt fruits of all eccleſiaſtic benefices. By an act paſſed two years before, theſe had been directed to be no longer payable to the pope; and the eccleſiaſtics hoped they were for ever delivered from this payment. But by this act they were revived, and paid to the king; and a new valuation of all church preferments was made, and returned to Cromwell, now maſter of the rolls, by perſons commiſſioned by the lord chancellor: and this valuation is the rate which holds for theſe payments to this day. The ſame act alſo appointed an annual payment to be made, called the tenths.

Theſe counſellors were very ingenious, not only in transferring the power of the pope to their own civil head, but alſo in providing for the dignity of his new title; and alſo in augmenting this little eccleſiaſtic tax. For firſt, the annates was, originally, no other than one year rent or profit; and was a mode impoſed on ſome new incumbents, when Ruſtand was collector for the pope, in Henry the IIId's time, inſtituted in reſemblance of the relief paid to the lay lord by every ſucceeding tenant of copyhold. It began firſt in the dioceſe of Norwich, whoſe biſhop, in the above reign, was legate and repreſentative of the pontiff; and thence it was ſpread, and, in about a century, became general. But theſe innovators changed its old name, as if to

(a) Theſe Franciſcan friers had a good houſe at Greenwich. They were the frier-minors; but had authority, like the frier-preachers, to make that duty a principal part of their profeſſion: at the diſſolution they had 65 convents in the kingdom; the principal of which was in Newgate-ſtreet; and Chriſt's Church, there ſituate, was built for them by the donations of the great, in the reign of Edward III. And another great houſe they had at Coventry, where the preſent church, with an handſome ſpire, in the North Eaſt end of the town, belonged to them. See Stevens, Cont. of Dugd. vol. II. This was ſurrendered on the 5th of October, 1539; and another at Stanford on the 8th; but the deed of ſurrender is exactly the ſame.

diſguiſe

diſguiſe its origin, and called it now by a new appellation of *firſt fruits*. As this was made in analogy to the fine, paid on taking up an eſtate among laymen, ſo they ordained the payment of tenths, in imitation of yearly quit rent; intending hereby to propagate the opinion, that the temporalities of the church were holden by the like kind of tenure as thoſe of the laity. And, to draw the bond cloſer between the clergy and their new lay pope, another act paſſed, to enable the king to appoint ſuffragan biſhops; as if in appearance to revive a practice in the ancient church, but in reality to create biſhops, without any interference from Rome; and, laſtly, an act had been paſſed to condemn Sir Thomas More, and biſhop Fiſher, to perpetual impriſonment and confiſcation of their goods, for refuſing to take the oath required in the ſeſſion before (a).

The inſolence of the monks had greatly provoked and exaſperated the king: and in this year, 1535, he had proceeded to execute ſome of theſe men (as the prior of the charterhouſe (b), and ſome others), for refuſing the oath of his ſupremacy: and he had alſo put to death ſome of the Proteſtants merely becauſe they were heretics; and this was done by the late act, whereby he repealed the act of Henry IV. and took away the judgement of hereſy from the church. In this ſummer he had cauſed above thirty perſons to ſuffer death for hereſy. The colleges and monaſteries ſtill lay under the charge of having offended againſt the act of premunire, and had not yet made their peace: and the imprudent zeal of theſe men had highly exaſperated the king. What terms could be made, or what mediation could be offered! The king was wholly intent on exerciſing his new

(a) Sir Thomas More dwelt at this time at a ſeat in this county called Gobions, now belonging to John Hunter, Eſq. and in this houſe is ſtill preſerved the altar, which ſtood in a ſmall chapel, and at which More had been accuſtomed to pay his devotions. The Romiſh worſhip inculcated an external and mechanical ſervice, and ſeems to abhor all abſtract acts of the mind; and thereby came to reſt in the former and to reject the latter; whereas both are proper and allowable, if the firſt is uſed as the means to the latter.

(b) Among thoſe Carthuſians who had been impriſoned and had eſcaped death by a releaſe, was Maurice Chauncey, a relation of Sir Henry Chauncey. This man went abroad, came home when Mary reigned, and was made her confeſſor. At her death, he retired to ſome religious houſe abroad; and wrote an account of the ſufferings of his brethren, and of Houghton the prior. This book was printed at Cologne in 1608; but contains a ſhocking account of the violence and unjuſt proſecution of Houghton. This man, with eighteen of his brethren, were impriſoned in Newgate; whence ſome who eſcaped death by ſtarving, were at length delivered; but the poor prior was tried, convicted, hanged, and quartered, and the mangled limbs hung up on the gates of the charter-houſe.

power,

power, and ſeemed to exult as if he had vanquiſhed a people that had never before been ſubject to him. The new archbiſhop, Cranmer, together with Cromwell, ſecretly favoured the Proteſtant doctrines, but thought it dangerous to make open declaration of thoſe inclinations; and they thought they could not do more in favor of the Reformation than remove the obſtacles to it. In a council, holden in this ſummer of 1535, the caſe of the monks was conſidered: after ſome perſon had gone ſo far as to ſuggeſt a total ſuppreſſion of them, a great debate enſued; when the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and Longland, though they had with reluctance conſented to extirpate the papal power, yet refuſed their conſent to this ſtep; ſaying, this would extirpate all religion, and open the door to all kind of hereſy; thinking that in monaſteries only, and not among the ſeculars, was to be found all ancient learning, all true devotion, and all right worſhip. By the arguments which were urged on both ſides, and with much earneſtneſs and zeal, the king perceived that to aboliſh this claſs of men all at once would be very ungrateful to his ſubjects, and offenſive to the three great men then preſent: he therefore affected a ſubmiſſion to their opinion; and reſolved to execute this work gently and gradually. The firſt ſtep he thought moſt neceſſary was to ruin the character of theſe places, and diminiſh the reſpect which people bore towards them; aſſuring himſelf, that no one durſt appear as the protector or advocate of licencious and depraved clergy. He then, in purſuit of ſuch intent, and in conſequence of his new headſhip, conſtitutes Cromwell a viſitor general; with orders to appoint commiſſioners to viſit in perſon all religious foundations, and make inquiry in what manner the rule of the houſe was maintained, whether devotion was obſerved, good order kept, and how their revenues were expended. The commiſſioners appointed by Cromwell were Richard Leighton, Thomas Lee, and William Petre, doctors of law; and Dr. John London, dean of Wallingford, with others of leſs note, as Bellaſis, &c. Cromwell gave them inſtructions under eighty-ſix heads of inquiry; and the viſitors ſet forth on their work, on October 18, 1535.

Now, ſuppreſſing theſe houſes, which were the ſeminaries of religion, the conſolation of the aged, the ſupport of poor gentry, and the relief of the indigent, was a bold thought, and could not but be offenſive to the pious and devout. It was bold and daring, becauſe the founders had eſtabliſhed theſe houſes with the moſt earneſt imprecations

precations on all thoſe who ſhould diſturb the endowment, or pervert their good intention. Yet the dread of ſo bold a ſtep was abated, and the eyes of the pious accuſtomed to behold, without emotion, what had been lately done, in the way of ſuppreſſing theſe ſeats of religion. For, ſo late as 1533, on February 24, the priory of Chriſt's Church, or the Holy Trinity, near Aldgate, in London, was ſuppreſſed (a), and perhaps by the ſole authority of the king; and all its lands, and plate, and furniture, given to Sir Thomas Audley, then ſpeaker, and juſt made keeper of the Great Seal. All men could remember that Woolſey had procured the ſuppreſſion of more than twenty houſes, about eight years ago, though in a legal way; and had applied the revenue to uſes of religious education. Farther back in hiſtory, it was ſeen that the kings of England had ſeized the alien priories, and kept the rents during the wars; though they had reſtored them after. And what ſtruck the minds of all men moſt forcibly was the fatal ſuppreſſion of the whole order of Templars, in the year 1307; an example which would make all religious tremble, as well at the full end obtained as at the flagitious means of obtaining that end. The remembrance of theſe events ſhocked moſt perſons, in proportion as they found themſelves intereſted.

The viſitors had doubtleſs received a full leſſon at their departure; and were ordered to intimidate and terrify, with all poſſible threats of rigor, and hints of the danger which the monks were in from the premunire. Applications were made to them ſuitable to their caſe: the timid were frightened, the ſtout were tempted, the faultleſs were courted, and the guilty and vicious were terrified; in ſhort, before Chriſtmas many ſmall houſes had ſurrendered their charter, eſpecially in Kent, where Leighton had viſited. An offer was made, that all who had profeſſed under twenty-four years of age, ſhould be at liberty to depart, and put on a ſecular habit; but the monks, not knowing how to live in the buſy world, ſo contrary to their accuſtomed ways, choſe to ſtay. The report of the viſitors was completed and publiſhed by the month of January, 1535-6; and was ſuppoſed to contain all the worſt relation that could be gathered, and that done in haſte; for, the viſitors finiſhed their work in ten weeks. The full report never lived long; and Burnet ſaw only an abſtract, containing an account of 144 houſes, which, for their abominations

(a) Stow, p. 360.

and

and ſuperſtitions, he dwells on, with his wonted credulity, and great predilection for ſcandal (a).

Whatever truth or falſehood was well grounded, the king thought this report would anſwer his purpoſe; and, on the meeting of Parliament, on the 4th of February 1535-6, he laid before them the great grievance of theſe houſes, and what a ſcandal they were to the ſtate, &c. In a ſhort time, an act paſſed for diſſolving all that had 200l. a year or under. This ſuppreſſion comprehended in it 376 priories, ſmall abbeys, nunneries, canonries, and by whatever name they had been incorporated. The revenues of them were found to amount to 32,000l. *per annum*; and the plate, goods, ornaments, and furniture, were valued at 100,000l. The act gave all this to the king; and he pretended a fear of a war with the emperor, the better to juſtify this largeſs. Henry conſtituted a court of augmentations of the king's revenue, to receive and adminiſter this new acquiſition; and ordered his engineers, &c. to fortify ſome acceſſible points on the coaſt, and defend the harbours (b).

This court was ordained to have a chancellor, a treaſurer, an attorney, a ſolicitor, ten auditors, ſeventeen receivers, a clerk, an uſher, and a meſſenger: by which grand apparatus, a ſtrong ſuſpicion aroſe that they would learn, and ſoon be able, to manage the revenue of the whole church. On the 14th of April, the king diſſolved this Parliament as if in reſentment. The ſame had ſat ſix years; which was longer than any Parliament had ſat ſince their riſe and origin.

This grand point of diſſolving all the leſs monaſteries concluded the labour of this faithful Parliament: and the king, thinking his buſineſs accompliſhed, and enough done to bring the clergy under his obedience, began to reward and promote ſome of his conſtant friends in Parliament. In the October before the end of this Parliament he

(a) In this return, of which the original (or an authentic copy from it) may be ſeen in the Brit. Muſ. the general character of the houſe is ſet down in a very ſhort and conciſe manner, without any notice of their general deportment and outward behaviour: thus, if any relics were found in the chapel, the monks were ſet down as *ſuperſtitioſi*. They were marked by another odious appellation and character, and *ſodom.* was the word annexed; in nunneries, the character was ſignified by *pepererunt*. Thus all perſons were equally involved in one and the ſame charge; and that charge was not only never proved, but the guilt of it could never be known with certainty, and only gueſſed by the viſitors.

(b) The ſurveys to this purpoſe are in the Cott. Lib. Aug. I.

had iſſued a commiſſion to Cromwell, already maſter of the rolls, and ſecretary to the council, appointing him vicegerent, or vicar-general, to execute the king's functions of ſupremacy; and about this time, viz. in June 1536, the king made him Privy Seal; and, in the autumn following, created him a baron. But the Parliament was no ſooner diſſolved, than infinite murmurs and diſcontent aroſe in the counties of Lincoln and of York; and the malcontents, who were the ejected monks and the zealous Catholicks, aſſembled in great bodies; and, ſhewing themſelves in an armed poſture, put on the appearance of a formidable rebellion. Hiſtory informs us by what artifices the duke of Norfolk, who ſecretly favored their claims, cajoled them to diſperſe and go home; and how many worthy men of rank and name fell a ſacrifice to the king's reſentments.

But, at the beginning of this rebellion, the king thought fit to re-endow one and thirty of theſe diſſolved houſes, in the month of Auguſt. And, as if foreſeeing the clamours that would riſe on turning the monks and nuns out of doors, to beg and ſtarve, he ſummoned a new Parliament, a few days after he had diſmiſſed the old; and directed them to meet on the 8th of June. A new reaſon for this was to ſettle the ſucceſſion; and a new act now declared the iſſue of both queens illegitimate, and that the Crown ſhould deſcend to the iſſue of ſome future queen. Another act was, that all uſurpations of the Parliament upon the royal authority, before the king was twenty-four years of age, might be repealed by letters patent under the Great Seal: an act that was made as if on a ſudden and neceſſary emergency, but which opened the door as wide as poſſible for the king to claim, and the Parliament to admit, any thing for prerogative which he might chooſe. Another act of this ſeſſion was to annul all diſpenſations, immunities, and privileges, flowing from the Court of Rome; ſaving, to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the power of confirming what ſhould not be contrary to the word of God or common decency, and this confirmation to paſs likewiſe under the Great Seal. There were other laws alſo made to exclude the Papal power more perfectly if poſſible, and one to give to the ſucceſſor of every incumbent in any eccleſiaſtic preferment the profits that aroſe during the vacancy: which had been formerly taken by the king, in all the large preferments, and the pope's collectors, in the ſmall. This ſeſſion continued only forty days: no money was granted, nor indeed aſked: and no impediment could ariſe to the bills propoſed, when the Houſe

of Commons, and the lay lords, were unanimous, and the biſhops and abbots did not often attend the houſe. The peers were in number about fifty-four, the biſhops eighteen, and the abbots twenty-ſix, and theſe two latter bodies were very much occupied in the convocation which was now ſitting; in which the king amuſed them with ten articles of religion, ſo compoſed of Popiſh and reformed doctrines as to cauſe great debates and conſtant contention: in all which it appeared that the king meant nothing relating to divine truth, or liberty of conſcience, or public peace; but to depreſs the church, enrich himſelf by this baſe ſacrilege, and gratify his own violent brutal nature.

The year ended with the ſuppreſſion of the inſurrections, and the King began to reward thoſe who had ſerved him. He made Sir William Fitzwilliams earl of Southampton: this man, under the duke of Norfolk, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the laſt ſummer againſt the rebels; before that, had ſhewn great naval ſkill, had commanded fleets of ſhips to guard the Channel, and borne the title of vice-admiral: he had arrived at this degree of note and favour by being always ready in Parliament to promote every propoſal for ſuppreſſing papal authority; and this had ſhewn itſelf in him very ſtrong at the time of the cardinal's fall; when Sir William, together with Anthony Fitz Herbert, carried up to the Houſe of Lords the bill for impeaching Woolſey (a), and laid the foundation of his overthrow: and againſt which Cromwell had pleaded ſo ſucceſsfully in the Houſe of Commons. Sir John Ruſſell, who had in his youth been an attendant on the king at all his ſports and tournaments, and a gallant ſoldier in France; and ſince that always obedient to the king's views in Parliament; and who laſt year had been joined in commiſſion with the duke of Suffolk and Sir Francis Brians, to try the rebels and execute juſtice, was made comptroller of the king's houſehold, with the title of lord Ruſſell (b). And Sir William Pawlet, who had been ſervant to Henry VII. then treaſurer to

(a) Conſiſting of twenty-eight articles. See Herbert, p. 126; and Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 119.

(b) It is a tradition in the weſt of England that Ruſſell owed all his good fortune to this circumſtance, that he had contributed to ſave the life of ſome Spaniſh Prince or noble, who, in his voyage to the Netherlands, was ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Dorſetſhire; that Ruſſell entertained him at his houſe, and the prince, thinking it neceſſary to pay his duty to the king, took Ruſſell with him to Court, where Henry firſt ſaw him, and kept him near his perſon.

Henry

Henry VIII. in his houſehold, and in the three following reigns lord treaſurer, and always choſen to Parliament, was now made lord St. John. The writers of his life ſay, 'that he lived at a time when 'happened the diſſolution of abbeys; which was the harveſt of eſtates; 'and it argued idleneſs if any courtier had his barns empty. He was 'a younger brother, and came to court on truſt; where, upon the 'ſtock of his wit, he trafficked ſo wiſely, and proſpered ſo well, that 'he got, ſpent, and left, more than any ſubject ſince the Conqueſt.' He lived till 1572, and died aged 97. leaving 103 deſcendents (a).

In the preceding ſummer, the commiſſioners, under the vicegerent, had proceeded to take poſſeſſion of the diſſolved houſes, in ſpite of the inſurrections; and had begun to pull down and ſell the materials, and to alienate the lands and eſtates. This new ſource of riches was ſo acceptable to the king and court, that he made no application for ſubſidy or ſupply to the laſt Parliament, who had ſat forty days, although he ſaw that the emperor would probably make war on him, in order to prevent Henry from aiding the Proteſtants, whom Charles determined to humble, if not ſuppreſs.

Henry having directed another viſitation to be made during the paſt winter, when the report came back, in the ſpring of 1537, he cauſed it to be printed and made public. And, with a view to diminiſh the great reverence which the people bore towards the monks, care was taken to enlarge and explain the fallacies and deceits which the monks practiſed with their images and their relics. It was not now laboured to render them odious for any internal corruptions or groſs immoralities charged as before; for, they were not believed: but now the tricks and impoſtures of theſe houſes were ſet forth in a ludicrous manner: that the images of the virgin that nodded, or rolled the eyes, and performed other geſtures, were performed by ſecret ſprings and wires; that the crucifix at Boxley, then in great repute, was of this ſort; that there were in England three or four heads of St. Urſula; and that all the relics were counterfeit. Theſe ſuggeſtions, whether believed or not by the vulgar, ſhewed plainly the king's intentions; on which the vicegerent ordered a commiſſion to ſearch and bring away many of theſe relics and images; but to preſerve any thing that was of value, for the uſe of the houſe. Accordingly much trumpery,

(a) Sir Robert Naunton, in his *Fragmenta Regalia*; and Life of Sir William Pawlet. London, 1572, 8vo.

as images, ſhrines, pictures, relics, were ſeized and burnt: and, at Canterbury, theſe reformers proceeded to dig up the bones of Becket, and burn them in the midſt of the relics and images; the ſhrine was demoliſhed and burnt, and a very fine diamond, affixed to it and preſented as an offering by Lewis VII. ſoon after the death of Becket, in 1171, was torn away, and, as if poſſeſſed of more ſanctity, carried to the king, who wore it afterwards on his thumb. Theſe were the proceedings in 1537.

The next year produced more injunctions from the vicegerent, in favour of Reformation; and more acts of injuſtice in the king, in favour of Popery. He condeſcended to enter into a formal diſpute with one Lambert; who ventured to diſpute with Cranmer, and ſeven or eight others, at the ſame time: the ſubject is not declared, but the reſult was, that, at the cloſe of the diſputation, Cromwell read the poor man's ſentence to be committed to the flames as an heretic, although not knowing that he was convicted or even put on his trial. But thus did this execrable tyrant put to death Proteſtants for being heretics, and Catholics for impugning his new prerogative of ſupremacy. In this year 21 monaſteries were ſuppreſſed and ſold; and in 1539 the number ſuppreſſed was 101 (a).

The laſt viſitation had been calculated for the ſole purpoſe of finding plauſible reaſons for a farther diſſolution: for, the king had reſolved on it; and perhaps had this view when he called a new Parliament: and the irregularities and crimes pretended to be diſcovered, would enable him, he thought, to juſtify his revenge, and ſhew his love of purity; but in truth ſatiate his avarice. The commiſſioners went about this year receiving ſurrenders; a form of which they generally brought with them ready prepared, and often in the ſame words, however the houſes might differ from each other in circumſtances. But their way was, to live freely in a monaſtery, cauſing the beſt entertainment to be furniſhed; and, after gaining the head and a few principals, on ſome kind of bargain made, they ſigned their names, and were turned out of doors.

This was the proceeding with the leſs monaſteries, which had been ſuppreſſed by the act paſſed in 1536 by the Old Parliament: No act had yet paſſed for ſuppreſſing the greater; but the report of the vi-

(a) See Rym. Fœd. vol. XIV. p. 590; and Burnet, 1 tom.

ſitors

ſitors was carefully diſperſed, in order to ruin their character. And of the abbey of St. Alban it was reported by them, that ſuch had been the depredations and waſte of the eſtates, the abbey could no longer maintain an abbot. All this might be true; for, the king's agent had had the rule and management theſe eight years paſt, though Catton had been made abbot in 1530. He died in 1538; and Boreman was put in his place; with no other view than to make a ſurrender in form. This artifice was now practiſed wherever there was a vacancy. In old time, every election of abbot was confirmed by the pope or his legate; but, ſince the new ſupremacy had been eſtabliſhed, the elections were made in this manner. The king granted a *congé d'élire* to the prior and convent, with a miſſive letter, ſhewing the name of the perſon whom he recommended, and yet under a premunire to refuſe. The election being thus made, the writ was returned, endorſed with the name, and the king ſignified his aſſent under the Great Seal; then it was certified to the vicegerent, who returned it to the king, and he reſtored the temporalities.

The

(a) Catton died in 1538, and the following letter was written on the viſitation made in December by Leigh and Petre, to Cromwell.

Pleaſe it your lordſhip to be advertiſed. At our comyng to Saint Albons on Thurſday laſt, we beganne a viſitation among the monkes, the abbot being then in London. And becauſe we wolde the more fully knowe the hole ſtate of all thing, tarred the longer in the examination of them. And upon Friday laſt we ſent a monition for the abbot to appear before us, who came hither on Saturday before none: whoſome we have likewiſe as fully examined upon all things as we might. And although, as well by the examination of the monks as by confeſſion of the abbot himſelf, there doth appear confeſſed and fully proved intire cauſe of deprivation againſt the abbot, not only for breaking the king's injunctions, but alſo for manifeſt dilapidations, making of giftes, negligent adminiſtration, and ſundry other cauſes; yet, by what means we know not, in all communications or motions made concerning any ſurrender, he ſheweth hymſelf ſo ſtiff, that as he ſaith he wold rather choyſe to begge his bredde all the days of his life than conſent to any ſurrender. We have everich of us ſeverally, and alſo all together, communed with him, and uſed all ſuch motions as we thought muſt moſt further that purpoſe; but he continueth always one man, and waxeth hourly more obſtinate and leſs conformable: whether he ſo doo upon truſt and confidence of any friendſhip we know not. The premiſſes we thought our bounden duty to ſignifie unto your lordſhippe, moſt humbly beſeeching the ſame that we may, by Mr. Dr. Layton, know the king's highneſs further pleaſure by you; whether we ſhall continew in the proofs of deprivation againſt him, and ſo deprive him according to the order of juſtice without longer delay: which don, the houſe will be in ſuch debt that we think no man will take the office of abbot here upon him, except any doo it only for that purpoſe to ſurrender the ſame unto the kinges hands. And by theſe means we think this thing may moſt eaſily be, and with leſs ſpede be brought to the kinges highneſs purpoſe.

The report made by the viſitors on this ſecond viſitation hath not reached theſe times, and is ſaid to have been deſtroyed, with all the copies thereof, in the days of queen Mary, when ſhe laboured a reſtoration of Popery. But, though they pretended to have diſcovered many enormities, not only in the morals, but in the œconomy and rule, of the houſes; yet it was ſaid at the time, and uncontradicted, that the commiſſioners had committed great violence and injuſtice, that they had robbed and carried off all the plate and precious ſtones found in ſome houſes, had committed great outrages in others, and that Dr. London had violated the nuns at Godſtow, and quite diſgraced his reforming character. It is to be remembered that no law had been made yet for diſſolving the greater abbeys; and no Parliament had ſat ſince July 1536. Yet the commiſſioners, under the authority of the new ſupreme and his newer vicegerent, when they viſited the greater monaſteries, treated of their ſurrender, and propoſed terms. And, if the priors and heads could get a good bargain, the ſurrender followed in a few days: and they hoped to excuſe themſelves by pleading the debts of the houſe, and the ruin and decay of the buildings. Though threats and promiſes had truly the greateſt ſhare in influencing theſe pious rulers, yet the form of the ſurrenders generally ran thus, 'the 'abbot and brethren, upon mature conſideration, or full deliberation, 'on their own proper motion, on full and certain knowledge, and for 'juſt and good cauſes them hereunto moving, in their ſouls and con-'ſciences do, of their own accord, freely and willingly give and 'grant unto the king, their houſe, lands, goods, furniture,' &c. Theſe laſt ſurrenders, which were of many of the great houſes, the king wiſhed ſhould appear as voluntary, and merely of free choice by the abbots and priors. But every creature ſaw the falſity of this royal illuſion, and how forced theſe ſurrenders were. And in truth, ſuch

poſe. Or els whether we ſhall ſtay in our preſs at this time, and appoint ſome longer day to here the ſentence of deprivation, leaving him in the mean time in utter deſperation of any favour. Which waye maye alſo be occaſion, that when it ſhall appear unto him that he ſhall be deprived, will perchance ſue to have his ſurrender taken, becauſe he wold be aſſured of ſome lyving. The premiſſes we refer to the king's highneſs pleaſure, which knowing by your lordſhip, we ſhall with all our poſſible diligence conform ourſelves to accompliſh the ſame: and in the mean time travail with the monks to know how many of them may be induced to this purpoſe. Thus Almighty God have your lordſhipe in his bleſſed kepyng. From St. Albons the 10th of December, 1538.

William Petre.

Cott. MS, Cleop. E. 4.

was

was the power which he had gained over all ranks of men, that none durſt find fault with his conduct, much leſs oppoſe his will. Yet, the better to ſave appearances, the king ordered the Parliament to be called together on the 28th of April, 1539. The commiſſioners were now buſy in the country, viſiting, receiving ſurrenders, packing up the valuables, and proceeding to ſell what was not movable (a).

The king cauſed a report to be ſpread that the kingdom was going to be invaded: he hurried down to the coaſts, to order and direct more forts and bulwarks; commended a fleet to be fitted, men to be raiſed, and levies of land ſoldiers to be provided, with all ſpeed, to be led againſt the invader. All this ſeemed to have in it great reality; and, as it would be neceſſary to demand a ſubſidy of Parliament, and for Parliament to tax the individuals, the laity bore, with leſs regret, the deſtruction of the religious houſes, when it appeared that theſe houſes would be able to furniſh the ſupplies. And the king ſhewed little fear of the pretended invaſion, when he ſaw and experienced ſo much liberality in his clergy. The yearly value of all the lands of the monaſteries was diſcovered to be, next year, about 161,000l. beſides great

(a) What expedition the viſitors uſed in demoliſhing the abbeys and houſes that were ſurrendered into their hands, the following letter will ſhew; which was written by one of them, after he had taken poſſeſſion of Jorval, a Ciſtertian abbey in Yorkſhire.

Pleſythe your good lordſhip to be advertyſed, I have taken down all the lead of Jervaſe, and made it in pecys of half foders, which lead amountyth to the number of eighteen ſcore and five foders; with thirty and four foders and a half, that were ther before; and the ſaid lead cannot be conveit nor caryed unto the next ſombre, for the ways in that country are ſo foull and deep that no caryage can paſs in wyntre: and as concernynge the raiſing and taking down the houſe, iff it be your lordſhipp's pleaſure, I am mindeth to lett it ſtand to the ſpring of the year, by reaſon of the days are now ſo ſhort it would be double charges to do it now: and as, concerning the ſelling of the belles, I cannot ſell them above fifteen ſhillings the hundreth, wherein I would gladly know your lordſhip's pleaſure, whether I ſhould ſell them after that price or ſend up to London. And, if they be ſent up, ſurely the caryage will be coſtly from that place to the water. And, as for Bridlington, I have doun nothing there as yet, but ſpayreth it to March next, becauſe the days now are ſo ſhort; and from ſuch time as I begyn I truſt ſhortly to diſpatch it after ſuch faſhion, that, when all is finiſhed, I truſt your lordſhip ſhall think that I have been no evil houſbound in all ſuch things as your lordſhip appointed me to do; and thus the Holy Ghoſt preſerve your lordſhip in honour.

At York the 14th day of November, 1538, by your moſt bounden beadman.

Richard Bellycys.

This letter is among Dodſworth's MSS, number 24, in the Bodleian Library.

ſums

ſums daily coming in from the ſale of lead, bells, and other materials, and from goods, and furniture, and rich ornaments of the choir. As a ſpecimen of theſe ſecret riches, it is to be noted, that in the monaſtery of St. Edmund's Bury there were found 5000 marcs in gold and bullion, value 3333l. of the money at that time.

The king, as it appeared now, had taken part with the reformers, not through any preference to their religious doctrines, but merely with a view to tread down the old papal clergy, and extirpate the authority of the pope. And, having taken part with the reformers till he had effected his intent, he began now to throw off all diſguiſe, and to prove that he meant not to change the religion of his kingdom: for, as ſoon as the Parliament met, he cauſed a bill to be brought in for aboliſhing diverſity of opinion. This was done by the ſuggeſtion of Gardiner or Norfolk, and the bill contained a perfect reſtoration of the old Romiſh doctrines (a), making it penal to deny tranſubſtantiation, or to reject private maſſes and auricular confeſſion; the puniſhment to be by burning or hanging. It was in vain for Cranmer to argue againſt them; for, both houſes paſſed the bill with great diſpatch, as if determined to keep the old religion, though they were proceeding to deſtroy the main profeſſors of it. By another act, the Parliament granted to the king all the lands of the monaſteries which had been ſurrendered; and ſuppoſed to be ſurrendered freely: yet, to exclude all poſſible doubt in future, the Parliament thought it neceſſary to decide that point. By this act no ſuppreſſion or diſſolution was enjoined, as by the firſt act that ordained an actual ſuppreſſion of all thoſe under 200l. a year; and, of courſe, no religious houſes were actually and in direct terms ſuppreſſed, as is generally taken for granted; but only the ſurrenders, that either had been or ſhould be made in future, were confirmed. And it was enacted that the lands ſo ſurrendered ſhould paſs to the king exactly as the religious houſes had held them. This act was diſpatched with the more ſpeed, becauſe the king intimated that he would employ this new acceſſion of riches in uſeful foundations; and another bill paſſed, to enable him to erect and endow new biſhopricks.

When this bill was read in the Lords Houſe, the abbots and priors who attended were at no reading more than twenty; and the biſhops, if preſent, could add only eighteen more; the lay lords were about

(a) In ſix articles, and called the Bloody Articles.

fifty-

fifty-ſix. But it was a ſubject that drew all of that order to be intereſted, in the hopes of gaining; for, in the debate it was ſaid, the lands ought to go to the heirs and ſucceſſors of the donors, by reverſion; or to the lords of whom they were holden, by eſcheat. Others pleaded that they ſhould fall to the king, abſolute; to ſupport which it was argued, that all the lands of the Heathen temples, which Theodoſius demoliſhed, came to the Emperor's exchequer; upon this reaſon, becauſe, by the will of the donors, the lands were totally alienated and diveſted out of them and their heirs. In favour of the ſecond opinion it was ſaid, that, in the caſe of the knights templars, when they were diſſolved, it was adjudged in favour of the lords, by eſcheat; although, it was well known, that the pope and king, juggling together on that occaſion, cheated all the lords of their eſcheats; and this was the foundation and true cauſe of all that iniquitous proſecution: but this plea was not allowed now; becauſe the lords progenitors had made theſe endowments by free conſent and frequent confirmation, without the leaſt reſervation or ſpecial proviſo. In favour of the reverſion it was ſaid, that theſe endowments had been made, in conſideration of duties to be done, and maſſes to be ſaid, and holy offices to be performed; therefore, when theſe duties were cauſed to ceaſe, it was but juſt that the hire, on this non-performance of the condition, ſhould go to the heirs of the founder by reverſion. This opinion was well founded; but it was ſaid, that many of theſe endowments had been made by the King's anceſtors and predeceſſors; and therefore he was thought to have a double claim; and thus the example of Theodoſius, backed by this claim of reverſion, gave a plauſible pretext for giving all the lands to the king. As for the goods and movables, the rich veſtments, and ſplendid ornaments, they were ſo much the property of the preſent monks, when their continuity was to ceaſe, and their truſt to expire, that, on all principles of juſtice, they ſhould not have been robbed and ſpoiled of them; and, if the voice of humanity could have been heard in this general clamour of avarice and rapine, theſe movables ſhould have been ſold, and the money reſerved for the uſe of the owners; who were ſoon to be turned into the wide world, with a very ſlender penſion. But, by the act, all theſe goods and movables, together with an amazing quantity of the ſame from the cathedrals, were carried away by the viſitors, and ſwallowed up by the royal vortex, never to appear or be heard of more.

This ſame Parliament immediately paſſed the famous act of precedency (a), which, though wanted before, in order to regulate ſome diſorders, ſeems to have been made principally with a view to compliment Cromwell, whoſe office, being new, gave him no rank by uſage and precedent. But the king placed him above all other perſons, and next to the royal family. When the Parliament met, on the 12th of April, 1540, the king created Cromwell earl of Eſſex; Sir Thomas Audley, lord Audley; and William Parr, lord Parr, who was afterwards made marquis of Northampton (b).

During the laſt year, 1539, fifty-ſeven ſurrenders were made: the originals of thirty are yet to be ſeen: and among them were the abbeys of Weſtminſter, Waltham, St. Alban, Glaſtonbury, and St. Peter, in Gloceſter. But, in this ſeſſion, held in 1540, a ſpecial act was made to ſuppreſs the prior and hoſpitallers of St. John of Jeruſalem, ſituate in Clerkenwell.

Here then, from the Parliament in 1539, iſſued that dead warrant, which was intended to extirpate all the monaſtic inſtitutions. But it was drawn with ſuch equivocal form, (being no poſitive command to ſuppreſs, or on the abbots to ſurrender, but only a confirmation of all that had been, and was to be, done,) that it ſeemed intended as a ſnare to entrap the unwary, and to intimidate the bold. The abbot of Reading refuſed to ſurrender; on which he was ſeized, and hurried away to London; in the Michaelmas term, charged, tried, and convicted, in the King's Bench, of high treaſon; and, on the 14th of November, brought, together with two of his monks involved in the ſame charge, to an ignominious execution at Tyburn. This man's name was Hugh Faringdon, and he had ruled his abbey for nineteen years, with great prudence and œconomy, yet with abundant hoſpitality and charity. The caſe of poor Whiting, the abbot of Glaſtonbury, was equally unjuſt and wicked; and attended with more circumſtances of cruelty and inhumanity. When he refuſed to ſurrender, or to ſign the deed prepared and offered to him

(a) Stat. 31 Henry VIII.

(b) It is here proper to remark, that, on the reſignation of More, May 20, 1532, Audley, then ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, was appointed keeper of the Great Seal; and, in January 1532-3, made chancellor. Yet he continued to ſit, as member in the Commons Houſe, together with Cromwell, from that time to this year 1540; when they firſt, and not before, received theſe honours and titles, and paſſed to the Upper Houſe. Warton, in his ingenious Life of Pope, not regarding this, has committed ſome miſtakes in the date of facts.

by the viſitors, he was told that he muſt prepare to go along with them to London: on which he was put into a litter; and, when he came to Wells, he found the ſheriff, jury, and gentry, aſſembled, and himſelf ſet to the bar and arraigned for high treaſon. He had no time allowed him to prepare, or even to procure counſel, for his defence: of courſe he was ſpeedily convicted: and the next day, being the 14th of November, when the like bloody tragedy was exhibited on poor Farringdon, our abbot of Glaſtonbury was drawn, hanged, and quartered, together with two of his monks. His head was fixed on the top of the abbey gate, and his four quarters hung up in four of the neighbouring towns. Such was the fate of this abbey, which had been the moſt ancient of all, the richeſt and beſt endowed(a), and which had ever been cheriſhed and favoured by all preceding kings, whether Saxon, Norman, or Engliſh; and its adminiſtration had been admirably conducted for 15 years by this Whiting: who, beſides keeping 100 monks, maintained 300 domeſtics and dependants, in many inferior offices, connected and ſubordinate to the abbey; and among them many ſons and relations of gentlemen; he alſo diſtributed certain fixed alms, two days in the week, to the poor of the pariſhes adjoining; he received and treated all travellers; and ſometimes took in and entertained 500 horſemen at once: yet he was now at laſt charged with embezzling ſome of the abbey's jewels and precious ſtones; and other crimes were accumulated, to make it treaſon: and this farce of law, and mockery of all juſtice, was carried to this extremity, againſt a man eighty years of age. 'Surely there is a God 'that judgeth the earth:' and though we ſee not full judgement and retribution paſſed on great offenders, while they live; yet we may often diſcern ſome traces of judgements, ſome beginnings of puniſhment to take place on them, in this world; which undoubtedly are intended, by the Great Moral Judge, as leſſons to the living, and intimations that 'he ruleth over all, and will one day complete the 'judgement in full meaſure.'

The vicegerent had now completed his work, and gained full gratification to the avarice of his maſter: but what was his reward? The king created him earl of Eſſex on the 17th of April, 1540; and cut off his head in July. The viſitors, and their agents, Price, Gage, Bellaſis, are now known only by their names, and no hiſtory re-

(a) Except Weſtminſter, which was valued at 3371l.; whereas Glaſtonbury was valued at 3311l.

mains of any future events relating to moſt of them (a). And the names of the ſheriff, judge, and jury, who put to death this aged abbot, are conſigned to utter oblivion in this world. But the time will come when a higher tribunal than their own will take cognizance of them; and proceed by ſuch rules of equity as they refuſed to poor Whiting.

Theſe ſeverities were entirely unneceſſary, becauſe moſt of the ſurrenders were made in this year; and therefore they were the more wanton, unprovoked, and cruel. But Dr. London met with a repulſe at Godſtow, which he expected not; for, after expoſtulating, and uſing all fair means with Katharine Bulkeley, the abbeſs, to induce her to ſurrender, he changed his tone, and threatened to diſſolve her houſe in ſpite of her teeth. She wrote, on this, a complaint to Cromwell, on the ill-uſage ſhe had been treated with; and, in a letter ſtill extant, and penned with all the politeneſs of manner, juſt ſenſe of duty and allegiance, and ſuch ſtyle of ſcholarſhip and purity of language, as would be rarely met with in theſe days, interſeded for the preſervation of her ſiſterhood and nunnery. The letter is dated November 1, 1539 (b); but all in vain did ſhe ſolicit; for, ſhe was compelled to give up the charter, ſeal, &c. and depart the place ſoon after.

The viſitors thought fit to exhibit another inſtance of their ſovereign cruelty, on the abbot or prior of St. John's, in Colcheſter, named John Beche. This man had ſtoutly rejected all their temptations, either by promiſes of advantage or threats of terror, and determined to abide his fate rather than abandon his truſt. This was in November; and, with the uſual conciſe mode of convicting, he

(a) Dr. William Petre was born at Exeter of a Devonſhire family; bred up at Exeter College, in Oxford, where he commenced a doctor of laws; and, in 1534, was ſelected one of the viſitors and commiſſioners, for enquiring and proceeding in the diſſolution; in 1544 was made ſecretary of ſtate, and laid the foundation of peerage, &c.

Of Dr. London it is affirmed in the Monaſticon, vol. II. p. 538, that he was afterward convicted of perjury, and forced by a juſt ſentence to paſs through Windſor and Ockingham, with his face to the horſe's tail; and a paper on his head to certify his crime. This Dr. John London was, at the diſſolution, dean of Wallingford, then made canon of Windſor, and warden of New College; and, when the king eſtabliſhed a biſhop's ſee at Oſney, he was made the firſt dean; but, having employed himſelf at Windſor in ſwearing againſt ſome innocent perſons, charged with high treaſon, he was convicted of perjury, and ſentenced as above. Monaſticon, vol. II. p. 104.

(b) See the Appendix.

was ſentenced to be hanged; and, this was executed on him, December 1, 1539, at Colcheſter.

Theſe ſeverities alſo were quite unneceſſary, if meant to intimidate the nominal abbot of St. Albans; for, doubtleſs the viſitors had long had this abbey in their eye; and had long prepared for an eaſy and cheap conqueſt over it. Catton had been dead near two years; and had lived in perfect ſubjection to the miniſterial agents, who had lodged in the monaſtery more or leſs ever ſince the time of Cateſby (a). Catton had been made abbot for his quality of being docile and tractable. In this ſtate he departed; and the ſame agent procured one Boreman, then prior of Norwich, to be elected abbot here; choſen, doubtleſs, for the purpoſe; and thought utterly fit for compliance. Accordingly, on the 5th of December, 1539, Sir Thomas Pope (b), Dr. Petre, Mr. Cavendiſh, and others, the king's viſitors, came down to the abbey: and Boreman, on ſight of the inſtrument preſented to him, ſigned his name, and delivered up the ſeal; thus tamely putting theſe harpies in poſſeſſion of a revenue, which by the late valuations was eſtimated at 2500l. a year by Stow's account, and at 2100l. by Dugdale's.

Here cloſes the ſcene; and here may we behold fallen and ſet for ever the glory and ſplendor of this and all other of theſe religious corporations, which, with moſt pious intentions in the founders, with general good conduct in the rulers, with moſt grateful acceptance in the ſober and virtuous of all ranks, had provided for the wants and neceſſities of men; and the revenues, which had cheared the hearts of the naked and hungry, now turned out of the channel of hoſpitality and beneficence, to be diſſipated and waſted in the vo-

(a) Theſe had paſſed under the name and character of idle gentlemen; but were ſuſpected of being no better than ſpies; and employed to ſend their remarks to thoſe agents near the court, who were watchful to any delinquency among either laity or clergy. But ſince viſitors had been appointed, theſe and their attendants did frequently come down, and, ordering the beſt fare to be provided, lived here as long as they found convenient.

(b) The viſitors were accompanied by Sir Thomas Pope; who, though no viſitor, yet attended on this occaſion, as if to give ſolemnity to this important ceremony. He had been knighted, in 1536, when others had received honours and titles from the the king; and was at this time treaſurer and ſecond officer of the Augmentation Court; and aged about thirty. More will be ſaid of him hereafter; but it is highly probable he now firſt became acquainted with thoſe ample manors and eſtates which he afterwards procured.

luptuous

luptuous pleaſures, and baſe gratifications, of the court and its followers.

Boreman's treachery and mean compliance was rewarded with a grant from the king of 266l. a year, during life, by a charter dated December the 14th: ſome ſmall yearly penſions were granted by the ſame inſtrument to the chief of his brethren, the monks, as under noted; but what became of the abbot is not known.

	l.	s.	d.	
To Richard Boreman, abbot,	266	13	4	or 400 marks.
To Thomas Kingſbury, prior,	33	6	8	
To John Alban, - -	13	6	8	
To Thomas Iſland, - -	8	0	0	
To William Hemingford, -	8	0	0	
To William Eſtridge, - -	8	0	0	
To William Aſhwell, - -	10	0	0	
To John Wendover, - -	7	0	0	
To Thomas Newnham, -	10	0	0	
To William Wynch, - -	6	13	4	
To Ralph Barry, - -	8	13	4	
To William Albon, - -	12	0	0	
To Geoffery Sterling, - -	8	0	0	
To Thomas Merchant, -	8	0	0	
To Edward Hills, - -	8	0	0	
To John Wheathamſtead, -	6	13	4	
To Ralph Campion, - -	6	13	4	
To Robert Bury, - -	6	13	4	
To Robert Moreton, - -	8	0	0	
To Henry Beſtney, - -	8	0	0	
To John Brightwiſe, - -	6	0	0	
To Stephen Baily, - -	13	6	8	
To William Eſte, - -	12	0	0	
To Ralph Rickmereſworth, -	8	0	0	
To John Salter, - -	13	6	8	
To Edward Sidney, - -	8	0	0	
To Thomas Curtis, - -	6	0	0	
To Thomas Bartlin, - -	6	0	0	
To Richard Bennet, - -	8	0	0	
To William Leonard, -	8	0	0	
To Robert Gregory, - -	6	0	0	
To Robert Gyles, - -	6	13	4	

		l.	s.	d.
	To Peter Catton, - -	6	0	0
	To Thomas Albon, -	8	0	0
	To Thomas Byngham, -	5	0	0
	To Roger Mighell, - -	5	0	0
	To William Allen, - -	5	0	0
	To William Adam, -	6	13	4
	To Richard Bever, - -	6	13	4
40.	To Richard Milmars, -	6	13	4
		482	0	8

I ſhould here conclude my hiſtory of this abbey, and forbear to proſecute the ſubject any farther, were it not that the work of this monſtrous innovation, wherein ſacrilege was called reforming, and which had now been tranſacting ever ſince 1534, was completed at this time, with regard only to this abbey, the fate of which we ſee brought near a concluſion; and in it the fate of ſome hundreds more. But the ſubject is ſo replete with conſequences, and the change was ſuch a revolution in the clerical part of the Conſtitution, that curioſity is raiſed to know what effects theſe violent convulſions produced.

And here it is impoſſible to reſolve the firſt principles of this great commotion into any other motive than the extreme unbounded rapacity of the king and his favorites. The expences of his court being oſtentatious and profuſe, and exceeding all the legal income, he caſt his avaricious eye on the poſſeſſions of the moſt weak and helpleſs body to be found in his kingdom. In the plenitude of his ſupremacy he might have been tempted to eſtabliſh a rival popedom, to exalt the biſhops and abbots into cardinals, erect a conclave, and, with this power, ſubdue the lay lords, and hold them and their eſtates as fiefs of his holy ſee; but he forbore this plan, as well knowing the lords to be a martial race of men, and the leaders of multitudes like themſelves: or, he might, without any ſcruples of conſcience, as eaſily have aſſumed the poſt and dignity of a new grand ſignior, have authorized the Koran, and eſtabliſhed polygamy, as more agreeable to his

his vague and carnal principles; but he choſe to fall on the weakeſt, as affording the eaſieſt conqueſt, and the richeſt booty: having induſtriouſly ſpread reports of their miſrule and abuſe, he raiſed a general prejudice againſt them; and boaſting that, if Parliament would give him the monaſteries, he would never apply for aids or ſubſidies, but would be able to keep 40,000 men in arms, for the conſtant defence of the realm; that, his exchequer being thus inriched, the ſplendor of the nation would be augmented; and that, leſt the honour of the kingdom ſhould receive any diminution, there being twenty-nine lords of Parliament, (abbots and priors,) who held *per baroniam*, he would create a number of nobles (a); he thus united the nobles and gentry in his views, and ſeduced them into a temper of compliance. And lucky it was, for the future felicity of the nation, that he was ſo violent and haſty in his deſigns as to regard only the preſent gratification; for, had he been cool and politic, and looked far before him, he might, with prudent management of his revenue, have ſet on foot and maintained a great ſtanding army, and have ruled without ever calling a Parliament. But his preſent neceſſities made him contemn all diſtant proſpects; and, his profuſe waſte and liberality being gratified, he grew content, and formed no plan dangerous to the liberty of the people, and to the ancient privileges of Parliament.

Had Henry been a man ſuſceptible of prudent counſels, and wiſhing to ſee his people happy, eaſy, and proſperous, he would have preſerved theſe inſtitutions, as being works of more public utility than any other; and which (together with the colleges founded for teaching thoſe ſciences wherein abbeys were defective) were moſt conducive to public benefit: and the crimes and irregularities charged on them, if they had been even all proved, might have been corrected, and the ancient diſcipline reſtored, had they been placed under the inſpection of the biſhops, and made ſubject to their viſitation. Wherever the rule was ſtrictly obſerved, they lived within their income, and expended the remainder in a number of beneficial works, which conduced to a common advantage. And they never could have ſupported a character, for ſo many ages, for civil advantages, had they not been conſidered by all former kings (b) and miniſters, as public agents in their hands, for public uſes; and as capable of ſerving their king in numberleſs occaſions: for, the re-

(a) Coke's Inſtit. vol. IV. p. 44.
(b) The Edwards protected them. See the Appendix.

venues

venues were under a public direction, and the inſtruments of a public benevolence. The monks, in general, were men without a poſſibility of converting the eſtates into a private fortune, living in a denial of all ſelf intereſts; and whoſe avarice as well as labour was employed for a community:—men, by whom perſonal poverty was conſidered as honour, and implicit obedience was in the place of freedom. Theſe houſes might be once the product of enthuſiaſm; but they had ever been thought, and might now have been employed as, the inſtruments of wiſdom. All this, however, availed nothing. The reſentment of the king againſt the pope, his love of power, and the joint rapine into which he found his Parliament ready to concur with him, tempted them to a confiſcation and robbery (a), or, as the church will ever conſider it, to a ſacrilege, that was never equalled in any Chriſtian country. But ſo it was, that Providence rendered them blind with ſelfiſh paſſions, and undiſcerning of general public views and enlarged proſperities, in order to pave the way for introducing a more pure religion and a more rational worſhip. 'He wrought for his 'name's ſake, and brought much good out of evil, and ſhewed that 'the wiſdom of man was but fooliſhneſs with God.'

But no reformation of religious worſhip could have taken place, or have gained eſtabliſhment, if, while Providence was thus raiſing up inſtruments in the king and nobles to remove all obſtacles, the ſame good Providence had not, at the ſame time, inſpired a holy zeal for divine truth, and a firm conſtancy to endure reproach, impriſonment, and death, into the Proteſtant martyrs: who thereby gave a proof to the world, that their faith had in it truth and reality; and that they had in proſpect the permanent bleſſings of a better world, and the ſure favour of a lord and maſter in Heaven. The wild and boiſterous paſſions of men were made ſubſervient to remove all lets and hindrances; but what brought in and confirmed a true faith and pure worſhip was the teſtimony of the ſaints. The Reformed Church grew out of the virtues, ſuffering, and death, of good men.

The king, notwithſtanding his boaſting promiſes that he ſhould have no occaſion to apply to Parliament for ſuccours of money, had yet, between 1535 and this year 1545, convened and aſked aid of Parliament three times; and every time met with full allowance to his requeſts. And theſe aids, or ſubſidies, being for two or three

(a) All which being by ſome called rapine and ſacrilege, I will no way excuſe, ſays Lord Herbert, in his Life of Henry VIII.

years, he was every year receiving the uſual or greater ſupplies from Parliament than he had known in the former part of his reign; not to mention a large free gift from the biſhops and ſecular clergy, aſſembled in convocation, in January 1543, amounting to ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be levied in three years, and the ſame now in 1545. Even in the times of Papal ſupremacy, greater ſums were exacted of the clergy, for the king and government, than from the laity; and the ſituation of the ſecular clergy, under daily fear of ſome ſtorm to break over their heads, rendered them as complying as the lay gentry, though from a different motive.

It is natural to aſk, in the midſt of theſe uſual reſources of wealth, what became of that great tide that flowed-in from the yearly ſpoil, which the viſitors were remitting to the king's Exchequer? No manifeſt uſe did appear; except the founding of ſix biſhoprics, which were endowed with ſome of the abbeys' eſtates, and lands or tithes: and, whatever changes he made in the chapters of cathedrals, by new endowments, they coſt him nothing, and were made out of ſome confiſcated lands or tithes. It was found that the land-rents of the greater abbeys, which were 645 in number, amounted to the yearly revenue of 161,000l. and probably worth much more; becauſe the abbots, foreſeeing a downfal, had taken large fines, and let very long or very cheap leaſes. There was found alſo, in the ſeveral large houſes, at leaſt 100 000l. in gold and ſilver; and the ſale of houſes, either left ſtanding or demoliſhed, produced a very large but unknown ſum; even after the viſitors had been paid for their journeys and inquiſitorial labours. Certainly nothing appeared like royal munificence;—no great endowments, or gifts to any ſmall one;—no new inſtitution of a liberal kind, either for public or private utility(a);—no ſumptuous building, to perpetuate the honour and fame of this ſelf-conceited monarch. Fooliſh wars, both with France and with Scotland, ſeem to be the only poſſible means of employing his parliamentary gifts. There was oſtenſible proof of a new influx of

(a) It muſt here be excepted that the two greateſt colleges in our univerſities owe to him great augmentations of their revenue; and by him were founded alſo the principal profeſſorſhips in both univerſities. Theſe appear ſplendid and liberal, chiefly for this reaſon, that they are the only marks of that king's bounty; and which he performed from no other motive than leſt he ſhould be outdone by a ſubject: for, the merit of theſe works is due to Wolſey.

wealth

wealth for ten years(a) ſucceſſively, yet no viſible expence. And, what is more extraordinary, in 1544, he cauſed the Parliament to paſs an act(b) for the remiſſion of his debts, contracted with his people by a general loan, exacted upon them; and with a peculiar circumſtance in this ſtatute, that thoſe who had already received payment, in the whole or in part, ſhould refund the ſums into the exchequer.

The Parliament I have ſaid, in this year 1545, granted the king a ſubſidy, while the clergy voted him ſix ſhillings in the pound for two years; and they thought the two late unſucceſsful wars juſtified theſe liberalities. But the Parliament, as if fearful of new demands, to enable themſelves to diſcharge the old, intended to ſave themſelves by being extremely liberal of other people's property; and, by one general vote, gave to the king all the revenues of the univerſities, and of all the chauntries (c), free chapels, and hoſpitals. A con-

(a) In the Bodleian library there is a MS. N° 3502.12. containing an account of the gold and gilt plate delivered to the king in the 31ſt year, and ſigned *Henry Rex* ſix times.

It ſpecifies the weight of each piece, whether candleſticks, ſalts, goblets, cruets or cruiſe; whether cups, images, ſconces, bells, baſons, and ewers; with expences of trimming and garniſhing the jewels and precious ſtones for the king's uſe. The amount

In gold plate is - - - -	575 oz.
In gilt plate - - - - -	5380 oz
Beſide in two beryl candleſticks, - -	90 oz.
Other parcel, gilt, - - -	2571 oz.
Ditto, ditto, - - -	2341 oz.
Ditto, ditto, - - -	10869 oz.
In money, - - - -	23979 l.
For the reception of Anne of Cleves, -	5000 l.

(b) 35 Henry VIII. chap. I.

(c) Chauntries were ſmall chapels, founded and erected near the body of a pariſh-church, for prayer and maſs; or elſe ſome particular altar in a cathedral or pariſh-church, at which maſs was performed for the founder and relations; and an endowment of land made for maintaining one or more prieſts to perform the ſaid ſervice. Theſe were returned (including the chapels, that were independent of any church, and not comprehended in the epiſcopal juriſdiction) as amounting in number to 2374; beſides 90 colleges; and 110 hoſpitals. Colleges, except thoſe in the univerſities, were founded for ſmall fraternities of men living in common, and with a prieſt for worſhip; and hoſpitals were endowments for the infirm, ſick, and aged.

Chauntries were eſtabliſhed, in the church of St. Paul alone, to the number of forty-ſeven: and, in the cathedral at York, they amounted to 200 or more; founded at different times by pious perſons for ſaying maſs, and other duties of prayer and ſinging, to be performed by one, two, or more, prieſts, and at a certain hour of a certain day in every week, or oftener. The endowment conſiſted of a portion of land: and

conceſſion this which greatly pleaſed the king; as it gave him occaſion to diſplay his benignity to theſe ancient ſeminaries of learning, by ſparing them, as he did; and his power, by ſeizing and cruſhing all the latter.

He ſoon declared to the univerſities, that he meant not to diſturb their poſſeſſions, nor violate the venerable inſtitutions and endowments for learning. But, although theſe chauntries and free-chapels were thus given to the king by act of Parliament, and he had appointed commiſſioners to take poſſeſſion of the revenues, yet they had made but ſmall progreſs in the execution of their office at the time of his death, in January 1547. And the protector, in the Parliament called this ſummer, thought it neceſſary to make a renewal of the grant. And the ſtatute promiſes that theſe new revenues ſhall be employed to good and godly uſes; in erecting grammar-ſchools, in farther augmenting the univerſities, and in making better proviſion for the poor and needy. But, as the courtiers had been accuſtomed to ſhare the ſpoil of the regular clergy, they ſcrupled not to feaſt their imaginations with the like ſpoil of the ſeculars; nor was it long before it was ſhared among them; and very few of thoſe promiſed proviſions were made. This proſpect of pillaging the ſeculars, and which comprehended all the biſhops, deans, and chapters, as well as chauntries and free chapels, had cauſed the act both times to paſs the houſes of Parliament,

the biſhop and chapter, or, in pariſh-churches, the rector and vicar, was made the truſtee for receiving the rent, providing the prieſt or prieſts, and defraying the ſalary to them, and all other expences. This was become a great taſk in many cathedrals, and a very troubleſome duty to the pariſh-prieſt; and created a ſort of ſtewardſhip, where, in ſome inſtances, the agent was a loſer; as in caſe of repairs and other defaults of rent. By many of them the agent was a gainer; and the ſurplus was deemed his reward. So that, with good management, they brought good revenue to the principal church. And it was policy to encourage this ſpecies of piety; for, it ſhewed a moſt becoming regard for our departed relations; and it alſo found employment for a number of prieſts. Such a number of attendants on this duty at York filled the church with continual ſinging; and it was very difficult ſo to contrive as to prevent interruption and hinderance. Prior to the Mortmain of Edward III. the founding a chauntry was an eaſy matter, and frequently done; but, after that, not without the royal licence. In the 23d of that Edward, Sir John Poultney, knt. and citizen of London, founded a chauntry, and built a ſmall chapel on the North ſide of St. Paul's for performing the duty; it was to be done by three prieſts, and included praying for the king and realm, and the ſouls of all Chriſtian people: the endowment was his manor, or eſtate, at Shenley; and this was valued, at the ſuppreſſion, at 4 l. 9s. 4d. a year. It is probable this was re-purchaſed by ſome of the family and deſcendants; for this reaſon, becauſe the manor of Shenley Bury was in the Poultneys in the time of James I. and until the ſame was ſold to the Crews in 1666. Weavor's Fun. Mon.

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without the leaſt objection: and, how much ſoever Henry was diſpoſed to favor the Romiſh religion, yet he had ſo enriched the leading men in Parliament, that this tended to widen the breach between England and Rome; and to reduce theſe men to this alternative, either to go on with what they called reforming, or to reſtore all their eſtates and wealth, if Popery ever ſhould return. It is eaſy to gueſs, which part theſe men choſe: and accordingly, after ſharing among them all the chauntry lands, and the eſtates ſurrendered under the laſt act for that purpoſe, we find that this pious protector (though favorable to a better religion and more pure worſhip than the church had ſhewed before), and all his court, and many new lords and gentry, ceaſed not to pillage the biſhops, the chapters of cathedrals, and in ſhort all the ſeculars of every denomination. No act of Parliament did paſs indeed for this ſpecial purpoſe; but this ſacrilegious pillage was effected by threats, or by propoſals of exchange, or by accuſing the poſſeſſors of having incurred a præmunire. And to this purpoſe, and the better to cover the enormity of the practice, a new doctrine was ſpread, though condemned long ago as an hereſy, that all the ſpiritual as well as temporal power, poſſeſſed by the churchmen, was derived from the ſtate; that is, that not only their temporal proviſion and maintenance, but alſo their ſpiritual authority to preach the word of God, and diſpenſe the Holy Sacraments, and exerciſe the functions of Chriſtian worſhip, were derived and granted from the civil power. But this doctrine, called Eraſtian, had been long ago condemned as heretical and prophane. The eſtates of the church had uſed, in all pious eſtimation, to be conſidered as the property of Almighty God; and the miniſtry, the ſtewards and managers only, for all ſacred uſes and pious purpoſes; and the authority of the clergy to preach, diſpenſe the Sacraments, and abſolve from ſin, as derived from the Saviour of the world, their Maſter and Lord, who had come from God.

But ſuch an influence followed the practice of the late reign that the courtiers and gentry under Edward would ſuffer no ſcruples to check the career of their avarice. And we need only conſult two or three pages in the Monaſticon, to ſee what defalcations were made from the eſtates and revenue of the archbiſhop of Canterbury during this ſhort period. It was a time when pious men ſubmitted to any hardſhip rather than renounce their faith. Even Somerſet himſelf went great lengths in this ſort of traffic, having obtained the houſes of three biſhops, viz. Landaff, Coventry, and Worceſter, and the church

of St. Mary le Strand, with the ſites of the ſame, whereon to build that monument of his fame, called *Somerſet-houſe*; and he carried away, for this purpoſe, the materials of St. John's priory, in Clerkenwell.

This rapine of the church eſtates and tithes alſo went on with ſuch uninterrupted ſucceſs that we cannot call it a reſumption, becauſe the property did not revert to the heirs of the donors; but it was a ſacrilegious thirſt, in the protector and his friends, to ſwallow down all eccleſiaſtical property: and ſo unſatisfied was this thirſt that, if queen Elizabeth had not paſſed the reſtraining act, nothing would have been left. Theſe acts provided a proper and neceſſary barrier againſt all the long leaſes and alienations which had been made by the clergy, and might ſtill be made, and alſo againſt the depredations and pillaging made by the laity; and theſe acts preſerved the remainder of the church property unalienable and inviolate.

It muſt be remarked, that, when queen Mary was re-eſtabliſhing Popery, the Commons and Gentry conſented to paſs an act for the purpoſe of reſtoring the ancient religion, and to make any conceſſion in favour of Popery; but not until they received repeated aſſurances, both from the pope and from the queen, that the plunder which they had made of the eccleſiaſtics ſhould not be inquired into; and that the abbey and church lands ſhould remain with the preſent poſſeſſors (a). But, not truſting altogether to promiſes, the Parliament, in the very act (b) by which they repealed the former ſtatutes, made againſt the Papal authority, took care to inſert a clauſe, (after eſtabliſhing the validity of all marriages during this ſchiſm under Edward, and fixing the right of incumbents in their benefices,) whereby they gave ſecurity to the poſſeſſors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of eccleſiaſtic cenſures. Now, if all extremes may be ſaid to have two ends, it is certain that the zeal of the nobility and gentry for their eſtates and new acquiſitions occupied the firſt end, and their zeal for and againſt Popery occupied only the laſt and leaſt extreme. Mary wiſhed to reſtore this abbey, and offered abbot Boreman a freſh grant to this purpoſe; but ſhe found that the monaſtic buildings were all demoliſhed, the church alienated and demiſed away, and all the grants and alienation of the eſtates ſo confirmed and ſecured by the ſaid act of Parliament (enacting that whoever ſhall diſturb or moleſt any perſons for ſuch lands ſhould incur a præmunire) that ſhe

(a) Heylin, p. 41. (b) 1 an 2of Philip and Mary.

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deſiſted from the attempt; and Boreman, who had made two ſurrenders, had no opportunity to be replaced, and to traffic any more.

Among the many civil advantages which theſe religious inſtitutions brought to the public, and many of which I have enumerated, one was, that they found employment for ſuch multitudes of indigent perſons, of both ſexes; and this advantage was not ſmall, in times when, in towns there were few or no manufactures, and in the country very little agriculture; and for this reaſon it was worthy the care and duty of all legiſlators and rulers to uphold theſe communities, and give them countenance. Theſe were wiſe appointments then, with regard to the men; but they were quite neceſſary with regard to the other ſex, who, in that poor and deſtitute condition of ſociety, muſt have periſhed in ſloth and ignorance, had there been no ſuch places to receive, entertain, and inſtruct, them. That confined ſtate of life, which was the lot of all the lower females, gave them no opportunity of advancing themſelves; and, though it might ſecure their virtues, it kept them in the meaneſt and moſt abject dependence. Hence it was, as Speed ſaith, (chap. 11), 'That ſuch a reputed ho-'lineſs was it held in thoſe days, not only to be ſeparated from the 'accompanying with men, but alſo to abandon the country of their 'nativity, and, as ſtrangers in foreign lands, to ſpend the continuance 'of their lives.'

But, in noting the advantage of employing a great part of mankind, I would advert alſo to the nature of their employment: and that was in a ſolicitous care for the dead. Now here, if the Romiſh church framed a worſhip on this ſubject that led to ſuperſtition, and contained many fanciful notions, and if they conducted the ſame on ſelf-intereſted motives; the reformer, perhaps, went into the other extreme, and caſt off all regard for the dead: whereas, there is a middle way, which, caſting aſide the ſuperſtitions of the Papiſt, though it may not afford help to the departed, muſt certainly be an uſeful leſſon to the living; and that is, by anniverſaries of holy remembrance of our departed friends, wherein, ſoftened by the recollection of their loſs, and warmed by the memory of their piety, we might pray to God, and to our Redeemer, to be merciful and lenient to our failings. This might have been done by the reformers, without falling into the errors and ſuperſtitions of the old worſhip; but they omitted an office for this purpoſe, and left men to their private prayers on this head, leſt they ſhould fall into the error of praying to falſe mediators.

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If it be ſaid this might lead into the ancient ſuperſtitions, I think not; and the fault is as great in the reformer by encouraging a total indifference: whereas, a well-compoſed prayer, aided with a public concurrence, would ſerve the purpoſe of a ſtandard, and prevent both extremes.

This laboured concern for the dead had another conſequence, that was not only gainful to theſe houſes, but what alſo kept up their character; and, if new opinions of the dead had not come in, would have maintained them to this day. And this was, that the rich and great were always buried in theſe churches; and, while the poor reverenced theſe houſes for their charity, the rich and opulent revered them for their pious care of the dead. The pariſh-church, with its ſolitary rector or parſon, or more ſolitary vicar, were little regarded for burial, and its prieſt thought to have little intereſt with Heaven. Hence it is, that in no pariſh-church is to be ſeen any tomb or monument with an ancient date; none ſo early as 1400, and very few below that æra. Whereas, Weevor (a) (who, beſides his own collection, collected the collections of many others made at the Reformation) exhibits dates almoſt as high as 1300. Theſe were found in the churches of priories; but were demoliſhed at that period, when even monaſtic braſs was a tempting prize.

But, notwithſtanding the neceſſities of the king, and the concurrence of his avaricious courtiers, theſe cauſes alone would never have operated with full effect toward the utter ſuppreſſion of theſe houſes, had not the meaſure been approved and countenanced by many of the wiſeſt men in the nation, and eſpecially by ſeveral of the greateſt lawyers. Such men as favoured the new doctrines of religion, and ſaw the groſs ſuperſtition and intereſted motives of the Romiſh church, were among the firſt to pull down all the ancient ſupports of that church. But even many Catholics ſaw, that the multitudes of poor, fed at the gates of monaſteries, ought to be employed; and that the art of making cloth, with our own native wool, was an occupation ready and near at hand: a buſineſs this, which they ſaw to be taken up by numbers of emigrants, who fled from the wars and deſolations of Germany. They ſaw that the monks were eaſy maſters and gentle landlords; and that, by not exerting labour, or ſhewing any ſkill or judgement, their lands did not produce ſo much as they might and ought to do. They were ſenſible that induſtry conſtituted the

(a) Funeral Mon. in Norwich dioceſe.

riches

riches of a nation; and that, if the Spaniſh money, now coming into Europe, ſhould find its way into England, the price of every neceſſary would be doubled, and yet the quantity not increaſed, nor the quality improved. It was thought alſo to be contrary to the proſperity of a nation, that ſo much land as the monks had ſhould lie in Mortmain, and never be paſſed to another owner. They thought the ſtate of the nation to be ſtagnant, without that energy and activity which a new circulation of property would give it; and that the religious communities hung like a dead weight, depreſſing its natural ſtrength and vigour.

Theſe ſentiments poſſeſſed the minds of the great lawyers, the judges, and officers of the law. More thought thus, when he ſucceeded Wolſey as chancellor; thus thought Audley, when made ſpeaker of the Commons; and thus thought Rich, when made chancellor of the augmentations; and Pope, and others, who filled up that new court. Hence it was, that ſuch groſs invaſion of all right and property, and ſuch outrageous inſult of juſtice, went quietly on, without the leaſt contradiction from the lawyers. And, if it be thought the moſt flagrant ingratitude in the king to proſecute More, and Fiſher, and then Cromwell, who had been his moſt faithful ſervants, we muſt reſolve this, not merely into the fierce will of the monarch, but into the ſilent acquieſcence of the lawyers; who, though they muſt condemn the deed, ſecretly approved every bloody ſtep that led the way to ſo general a benefit; otherwiſe they would have ſaved thoſe honeſt men, and might have ſaved their ſovereign's honour and character. I am unwilling to impute this tame ſilence of thoſe able lawyers, then acting and adviſing, to any other motive: for, I will not ſuppoſe they could conſent to ſhed the blood of their brethren, unleſs they had ſeen the ſuppoſed crimes of thoſe men to be obſtructing the great work they had in hand. It may be known from the hiſtory of thoſe times, that the Lower Houſe (as then called) did not conſiſt of more than 300 perſons (a); and that many of theſe were lawyers; and many others retainers of the court, though reſpectable country gentlemen. And Audley, who was made keeper of the Great Seal on the reſignation of Sir Thomas More, was choſen ſpeaker alſo of that Parliament, and continued ſuch during the ſix years in which it ſat. And thus, by this ſtudied conjunction of in-

(a) See Plowden's *Jura Anglicana*.

tereſt, all the bills for extirpating the pope, and for gratifying the king, were ſeen to paſs without any obſtruction.

The conduct of this whole buſineſs was in the hands of Audley, Rich, and ſome others; who, acting an under part, prepared the bills. And in that bill, whereon it was debated to whom the Parliament ſhould aſſign the abbey-lands, and in which it was determined, that the king, and others under him, ſhould hold them *juſt in the ſame manner and as the monks had holden them*; the framers of the bill meant no more than that the king and others ſhould hold them in *Frankalmoigne*, which was a kind of tenure that exempted the holder from ſuit and ſervice to any ſuperior lord, for, thus the monks had holden them. It would have been better, and more clear, to have ſaid the king ſhall hold them in *free Socage*. But here lurked a very ſtudied and latent ambiguity; for, it was ſaid that, when theſe lands were given, the vicars would make claim of the corn-tithes. The proprietors ſet up a claim to another exemption, namely, from theſe tithes, and ſtretched the words to that ſenſe, *to hold the lands diſcharged of tithes*. Suits were inſtituted to recover, but the lawyers adhered to the words, and gave judgement in favour of the new lay-proprietor; who now has united the corn-tithe to the rent, and left the vicar as deſtitute as before, with more duty to be performed, liable to more calls for his charity, and moreover to maintain a wife and family. And thus has it happened, that, in many towns and large villages, the duty is great, and the proviſion very ſlender.

But this is not the only inſtance where a good intention was very much perverted; and where the diſtant and future good of the nation ſtopped ſhort, and degenerated into the ſelfiſh advantages of the individual. It is to be noted alſo, that the lands, &c. given to the king, and by him ſold or given to others, had been granted *in capite*, and made ſubject to a certain rent, with relief from the heir. They might have produced a very great annual ſum, and yet the courtiers have been gratified: no more ſupplies might have been wanted, nor even aſked: the crown might have diſplayed great ſplendor: a good force might have been maintained for the defence of the realm, ſufficient proviſion made for the new church, and univerſal content diffuſed through the land. But, amid the craving and contending paſſions of men, no ſober counſels can be heard.

CHAP-

CHAPTER X.

PART I.

Of the Cells.

IT is proper to be remembered, that all the ſmall religious houſes, that is, under 200l. a year, were diſſolved by the 27th of Henry VIH. Others of a larger revenue fell in conſequence of the act 31ſt of Henry already noted. But it is well known, that the priories, or cells, though ſmall, yet were much coveted, and ſoon bought or begged of the king; and, in the ſteward's account of this abbey's poſſeſſions in the crown, in the year 1544, there is not one priory or cell remaining under charge. The reaſon why they went into lay-hands ſo ſoon was, becauſe they afforded a houſe and dwelling, a better eſtate than mere landed property.

I will firſt recite what can be found relating to the foundation and final diſpoſal of the cells belonging to this abbey, and then I will ſhew what became of the great eſtates.

Binham.

This priory was founded by Peter de Valoignes, the great Norman, who almoſt ſucceeded in robbing the abbey of the wood of Northaw, and who lived at Hertingford Bury. This man and his wife Albreda, with the conſent of Henry I. and of their own relations, gave and granted to God, St. Mary, and St. Alban, the church of St. Mary at Binham, and all his manor, with the meadows, woods, &c. as free as he had held it of the king; appointing his heirs to be protectors of the ſaid church and town, and no wiſe waſters or deſtroyers of the ſame. He farther granted to the ſaid church, two parts of his tithes at Derſingham and Ingoldſthorpe, and of the manors of Riburg and Snaring, and of nine manors more; this church to be ſubject to that of St. Alban, paying to the ſame one mark a year. The abbot of St. Alban is allowed once a year to ſtay at Binham not above eight days; and with only thirteen horſes, unleſs deſired by the prior. Theſe gifts were all confirmed by Roger the ſon of Valoignes, and by Peter the grandſon, and Robert his ſon; and by the biſhop of Norwich.

Of Binham, the laſt prior, who occurs in 1509, was John Alban; and of any future ſuperiors no account remains.

Sir Henry Spelman ſays, in his Hiſtory of Sacrilege, that 'this 'priory was granted by Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Paſton; who left 'it to Mr. Edward Paſton, his ſon and heir; who, living about eighty 'years, continued the poſſeſſion of it till ——— Caroli R. and 'having buried his ſon and heir apparent, left it to his grandchild 'Mr. Paſton, the third owner of it; and therefore now in the ward-'ſhip of the king. Mr. Edward Paſton many years ſince was deſirous 'to build a manſionhouſe upon, or near unto, the priory; and at-'tempting, for that purpoſe, to clear ſome of the ground, a piece of 'wall fell upon a workman, and ſlew him. Perplexed with this ac-'cident in the beginning of the buſineſs, he gave it wholly over, and 'would by no means all his life after be perſuaded to re-attempt it: 'but built his manſionhouſe, a very fair one, at Appleton.' It was valued by the viſitors at 161l. 1s. 0d. a year; but at the ſuppreſſion was found to be only 140l. 5s. 4d. and was ſaid to maintain twelve monks beſide the prior.

This priory had the tithes of Ryburgh Parva, now a vicarage in the gift of Sir Edmund Bacon, and the remaining tithes alſo of Ingoldſthorpe and Derſingham; and to which, when made vicarages,

the prior preſented. He was himſelf vicar of Binham; and thus united theſe two contending and rival branches of the church. When a priory was founded and endowed, it was made a joint concern of the neighbouring churches; and, if it could not obtain the tithes, it generally ſucceeded in obtaining a penſion from the rectors. Thus Binham had from the rector of Edgefield 1l. 13s. 4d. and from the rector of Sandringham, ol. 6s. 8d. (a).

It hath been an old obſervation, and with much juſtice and truth, that theſe monaſtic founders always made choice of ſuch places for eſtabliſhments as were pleaſant and fruitful, and commodious for the neceſſaries of life. Theſe places were indeed ſuch as their benefactors were pleaſed to give, but if in ſome inſtances they were at firſt leſs remarkable in theſe qualities, the labour and induſtry of the brethren in a few years brought them to ſuch improvement. This proves only that monks and priors came into a country which was not wholly occupied, and not yet become very populous; and that, in their profeſſions of religion and more ſtrict holineſs, they did not overlook or contemn all the comforts of this world. Place theſe men of mortification in any ſituation whatever in England, and they could not long be deſtitute of any of the ſubſtantial neceſſaries, but ſoon be able to live in a temperate and ſparing ſufficiency. It is true likewiſe that the rigor of their rules, and all the auſterities of their duty, lay on the ordinary monks, and more eaſe and freedom was indulged to their governors. But, if we compare the life of theſe men in England, with deſcriptions of abbeys abroad, and eſpecially in Spain, we ſhall ſee that the former lived in Paradiſe compared with the latter (b).

HERT-

(a) See more of Binham in Blomfield's Norfolk.

(b) Of this I will quote one inſtance from Cotton's Life of the Duke D'Eſpernon, printed 1670.

'From Barcelona,' ſaith he, 'the duke went to Montſerrat, where he continued 'three days entire at his devotion; not without admiring the excellent œconomy of 'this abbey, where there are ordinarily above two thouſand five-hundred people pro- 'vided for every day; for which all the proviſions, ſo much as wood and water, muſt 'be fetched a great way off upon mules, the rock being ſo dry and unfruitful as 'neither to afford the one nor the other of theſe, much leſs the other neceſſaries of life. 'During the duke's abode in this place, thoſe of his followers who were the nimbleſt 'of foot had the curioſity to climb the top of the mountain to ſee the hermitages; 'which, being thirteen in number, are ſituated upon the moſt inacceſſible precipices 'of the rock, and inhabited by ſo many devout perſons, who ſubſiſt upon almoſt 'no other nouriſhment than herbs and fruits. Though we met with great difficulty 'and danger in this attempt, and had very much ado to ſatisfy our deſires, we ſaw,

'never-

HERTFORD.

The priory at Hertford I have ſpoken of before; and have only to add, that the names of nine only of the priors can be recovered, according to Willis (a), and that the laſt, Thomas Hampton, was elected in 1514, and was probably the prior who reſigned; for, this being one of the leſs monaſteries was diſſolved in the 27th of Henry: and it is likely, that whatever memorials they had, the ſame periſhed, or went with the houſe (b).

It had been founded by Ralph de Limiſi, a Norman chief, who came over and ſettled here, by the allotment of the Conqueror, and was probably a friend as well as countryman of abbot Paul; and that cauſed its connection with this mother abbey. It was valued by the viſitors at 86l. 14s. 8d. a year; but was found at the ſurrender to be only 72l. 14s. 2d. This Limiſi had by grant from the Conqueror the manor of Pirton. This priory maintained twelve monks and a prior. Alan, the ſon of Ralph, gave to it the church and tithes of Tolenton in Warwickſhire, and two yard-lands in Ickleford; and theſe remained with them till their diſſolution. In the twelfth year of Edward II. a great diſpute aroſe between the monks of this cell and the burgeſſes of the town of Hertford, about right of common. It was agreed that the latter ſhould releaſe all right and claim to the paſture of a meadow,

'nevertheleſs, one of the moſt unwieldy and unready footed animals, that is to ſay, a 'mule, that went twice a week the ſame way, alone and without being guided, to 'carry theſe good people their allowance; and who could with great ſecurity ſet his 'four feet in very narrow paths, where we had much ado to diſpoſe of our two; ſo 'great a privilege has cuſtom. But what we thought the moſt ſtrange of all was to ſee 'birds of all ſorts, and of thoſe kinds which with us are the moſt wild and untractable, 'ſo familiar with theſe holy men as to pick meat out of their mouths, and ſuffer 'themſelves to be handled: living in as great ſecurity with them as among us thoſe 'do of more docile natures, which we have reclaimed and made tame with the greateſt 'diligence and art.

'The duke preſented the abbey with many rich ornaments; adding to his preſents 'an alms of 500 crowns of gold, for 3000 maſſes. The religious governors of this 'abbey never take any money for their hoſpitality; which they in charity beſtow upon 'pilgrims indifferently, of what condition ſoever, for three days together: but they 'alſo never refuſe how much ſoever any one is diſpoſed to give for maſſes.' This was in 1622.

(a) Hiſtory of Abbeys, vol. II. pp. 41 and 127.

(b) Mon. II. 129.

called

called Wildmarſh, and the monks ſhould grant them common in two moors, called the Holms; and that in all other commonable lands they ſhould paſture together. Three years after the diſſolution Henry VIII. granted this priory, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances, contiguous thereto, unto Sir Anthony Denny, gentleman of his privy chamber: his ſons ſold it; and, in 1638, it came into the hands of the Harriſon family. This priory had a penſion of 1l. 6s. 8d. from the rector of Cavendiſh in Suffolk.

Mergate, or Cadington.

This cell was founded within the pariſh of Cadington in the county of Bedford, near Merkgate, now called Market-ſtreet, by abbot Geoffry of St. Albans, about the year 1145, by the name of the Holy Trinity *in Boſco*, or in the wood. He built it twice from the very foundations, having enemies who burnt it down on the firſt building. He erected and endowed it for Chriſtina, who was a woman of family, and her ſiſter nuns there ſerving God under her rule and government; and gave to this cell two parts of the tithe-corn of the whole pariſh of Watford. The cell and church being firſt built within the domains of the church of London, they made a grant of the ſame to theſe nuns; and the biſhop of Lincoln, named Alexander, dedicated their church. This grant is extant in the Monaſt. vol. I. p. 350, wherein the church of St. Paul's receives three ſhillings yearly as a quit rent. It was returned to the Exchequer as valued at 146l. 16s. 1d. but at the ſuppreſſion at 114l. 16s. 1d. Mr. Willis ſays, that Joan Zouch was the laſt prioreſs; deriving her name probably from a large farm ſo called in the vicinage. It appears by undoubted records, that this houſe had the patronage of ſeveral vicarages; as in Warwickſhire of the following; viz.

Colſhill v.
Bignell or Bickenhill v.
Kingſbury or Limſbury v.
Lea Marſton c.
Whitacre Inferior c.

And of the following vicarages in Bedfordſhire.

Sondon or Stondon v.
Stratley v.

The

The impropriations or great tithes of all theſe churches belonged alſo to this houſe, but moſt probably were rent from it, long before the time of their viſitation. It had alſo 20s. a year out of the great tithes of Higham Gobion in Bedfordſhire. We find not that any of the ſiſters, or even the head, or prioreſs, had any penſion ſettled on them, when they were turned out of doors and ſent into the wide world. The ſite and lands were granted, in the 2d of Edward VI. to George Ferrers. Leland in Itin. I. p. 116, thinks it was granted firſt to lord Berners.

Belvoir.

This caſtle and manor was given by William the Conqueror to one of his followers, Robert de Tothenei, who took on him the name of Robert de Belvoir, changing his own name, and giving this place a Norman appellation. He built a church cloſe to the caſtle, and dedicated it to St. Mary; but, being unable to finiſh it, he gave it to the abbey of St. Alban, to be dependent on it as a cell, on condition that abbot Paul ſhould finiſh it, and place there four monks; who ſhould pray for the ſoul of him, the founder; for thoſe of king William, his wife and family, and all his relations; and that he himſelf, and his wife, might be enrolled as brethren of St. Alban. He endowed this houſe with the town of Haringwold, with the towns of Horton, Frantun, Shaperton, and many other pariſhes adjoining; which, probably, when tillage was little practiſed or underſtood, produced very little beſide the tithe of wool. William de Albeney his ſon, who came to this eſtate and caſtle, gave the manſe that had been his chapel, with houſes and land adjoining, and alſo one ſheaf of each ſort of grain from every acre of his land at Belvoir, Wulſthorp, Botesford, Orkington, and Stokes. Robert de Toteney alſo gave it an endowment of fiſh, from his mill. The poſſeſſions of this houſe were valued by the viſitors at the annual rate of 155l. 5s. 10. but found at the ſuppreſſion to be only 104l. 12s. 10d. The ſite was granted, in 33 Henry VIII. to the earl of Rutland and Rob. Tirwhit. The earl's family had large poſſeſſions near Belvoir, as in Bottesford, Granby, Woolſthorpe, &c. but this was a better ſituation for a large manſion. The grave of Toteni was opened in 1726 by Dr. Stukeley, and, in 1792, by Mr. Gough and Mr. Nichols, which laſt hath recorded all the particulars of this place in his Hiſtory of Leiceſterſhire. See alſo Dugdale's Baronage.

Hat-

Hatfield Peverel in Eſſex.

In the Monaſticon, vol. I. there is a grant of this Peverel, (who was a Norman chief, and had a gift from the Conqueror at this place) whereby he gives, to the church of St. Mary of Hatfield, his own manſion and all his houſes, to build dwellings for the monks whom he intended to place there; with all things given by his predeceſſors to that church; adding three fields adjoining to the church; and other lands called Hoiwood, Alvelwood, Copingo, and Colingas; and the church of Ayeton and Chriſteſey, with its tithe; and that of Weſton. All this, for the ſouls of king William and king Henry, and his own parents and anceſtors.

There is another grant whereby Andrew Nevil reſigns all right and title of the church of Aſſington in Norfolk to the prior and convent of this Hatfield Peverel.

In the 13th of Edward I. when he was trying the titles of the abbots and priors to their eſtates, and iſſued *quo warrantos* for that purpoſe, an inquiſition was made at Chelmsford, and decreed, that the advowſon of the priory of Hatfield did belong to the abbot of St. Albans; and not to Humphry de Bohun, earl of Hertford and Eſſex, who had obtained the ſame.

It was valued by the viſitors at 83l. 19s. 7d. a year; but at the ſuppreſſion was worth no more clear than 60l. 14s. 11d.

This priory had the tithes of Acton near Sudbury, and made the vicar, and paid him a penſion of 1l. 6s. 8d. It had a prior, and no more than four monks: the ſite was granted in the 29th of Henry VIII. to Giles Leigh (a).

Sopwell

was founded by abbot Geoffry about 1140, on his obſerving two poor women dwelling there in a wretched hut of their own conſtructing; and living a moſt auſtere life on bread and water, and in regular devotion to God. Their piety induced him to build a houſe for their comfortable living; and to beſtow on them ſome poſſeſſions. He appointed alſo a chapel and a church-yard; ordaining that none ſhould be buried there except the nuns; none to be admitted into the houſe but maidens; and the number not to exceed thirteen.

(a) See Newcourt's Repert. and Morant's Eſſex.

Henry de Albini or Albeney, of the houſe of Todenei, gave to this houſe two hides of land, with his wife's conſent, in their manor of Cotes, in Beaulieu. His ſon Robert, and his mother Cicely, gave a rood more, in the ſame manor. Richard de Tany, or Todenei, gave them the land called Black Hides, in Ridge pariſh.

Abbot Michael, about 1338, ordained certain rules for the regulation of this houſe, and enjoined a better order and obſervance than they had before practiſed. They are as follow: 1. That the commemoration of St. Alban ſhould be kept as uſual. 2. That not more than three nuns ſhould ſit in the chapter. 3. That ſilence be obſerved, as by the rule of St. Benedict, in the church or chapel, in the cloiſter, in the refectory, and the dormitory. 4. That a little bell do ring in the morning, as notice to riſe and appear; and that none leave the dormitory before the bell rings. 5. That the garden-door be not opened (for walking) before the hour of prime, or firſt hour of devotion; and in ſummer, that the garden and the parlour doors be not opened until the hour of none (nine) in the morning: and to be always ſhut when the corfue rings. 6. That no ſiſter hold converſation in the parlour (a) without her cowl on, and her face covered with her veil. 7. That tailors or other artiſts be perſons of good character, but to work in ſome place aſſigned them without the monaſtery; and never to be admitted into chambers or other private places. 8. That, if any ſiſter be under a ſentence of penance, this ſhall not exclude her from the duties of the church. 9. The ſick to be kept in the infirmary. 10. No nun to lodge out of the houſe; and no gueſt within it. 11. All the ſiſters to be preſent at the maſs of our Lady.

Their poſſeſſions (which have been mentioned before, and in the life of Geoffry) were valued by the viſitors at 581. 8s. od. a year; but afterwards reckoned to be only 40l. 7s. 10d, clear, and this maintained thirteen ſiſters, a chaplain, and ſome domeſtics.

The king, in 1541, granted this houſe, and the ſite thereof, to Sir Richard Lee; who, leaving at his death only two daughters, this place came to the eldeſt, who had married Edwyn Sadleir of Temple Dinſley. His ſecond ſon Richard dwelt here and had children, and the eldeſt, by name Robert, at his death left Helen, an only child and heir. This Helen married Thomas Saunders of Beechwood; and, his children dying in their infancy (except one named Anne), he ſold this houſe and land adjacent to Sir Harbottle Grimſton, and from him

(a) Converſation was the ſole uſe of the parlour: it was the room of audience, and of addreſs, from *à parler*, and was among the Norman improvements.

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it deſcended to his ſon Sir Samuel Grimſton; and in its later deſcent it hath accompanied Gorhambury. This Sir Richard Lee was deſcended from a genteel family in Suſſex; where they had flouriſhed in three or four generations. His mother was named Hall, and was the ſiſter's daughter of the famous Edmund Dudley, the extortioner, under Henry VII. Richard was bred to arms; and it is ſaid that he had been, or was, about 1540, captain of the penſioners; and he was probably dwelling at Sopwell, when in 1543 he was commiſſioned by the king, 'with Antonio de Bergoman, and John Thomas Scala, 'expert Italians in the ſkill of fortifying, to view the ſtate of Tyne-'mouth (a).' On this expedition he accompanied the army into Scotland; and, in the plunder of Edinburgh, he brought away from Holyrood-houſe a curious font of braſs, adorned with figures emboſſed. He afterward ſet this font up in the abbey-church. It had on it a proud inſcription (b) 'that it had ſerved for the baptizing the king's 'children in Scotland.' But this privilege, though it raiſed veneration in the minds of the pious, yet could not ſave it from the rapine of Cromwell's ſoldiers, after being uſed in this church about 100 years. Sir Richard had a very handſome wife, (whoſe maiden name was Margaret Greenfield) and who was in no ſmall favour with the king: and by her ſolicitations this grant of Sopwell had been obtained; and at the ſame time a grant to his brother Thomas Lee, of St. Julian's, and ſome lands belonging to it. He obtained alſo at that time the grant of the monaſtery, and the ſite thereof, with all the ground lying round the church; and in the grant was included the pariſh church of St. Andrew (c). The king ſeldom granted a church until he had ſold the bells, and ſtript it of the lead and iron; and in every

(a) See Lodge's Talbot papers, vol. A. f. 247.

(b) See Camden.

(c) It appears not at what time this church was built; but probably it was prior to Offa's foundation of the abbey, or at the beginning of the town, about 100 years after, when the pariſh of St. Andrew comprehended all the town then erected, and formed the precinct of the abbey. As the town increaſed, the other churches were built; and as the abbey increaſed under Paul, it then eclipſed the pariſh-church; and at the diſſolution quite extinguiſhed the name and memory of St. Andrew. This church had no endowment, and depended on offerings and legacies. It was in the patronage of the abbot and chapter, and had a vicar. In the archdeacon's Conſiſtory Court are ſome volumes of wills as old as 1415, in which may be ſeen many legacies to the vicar of St. Andrew's; and in the will of one Henry Ferncomb, a brewer of this town, dated 1445, he bequeathed to the vicar of St. Andrew's two quarters of coals *(duo quartaria carbonum)*, and to thirty-ſix poor perſons thirty-ſix quarters. This was meant of charcoal; for ſea-coal or pit-coal was not at that time known in this country; and the large black ſpots in many of the fields indicate the making of charcoal, ſtocking up the woods and converting the ſame into fuel.

grant he reſerved the bells and lead. But in this caſe he had reſerved the whole abbey-church, and gave Sir Richard only the monaſtery and ſite thereof. The grant bears date February 8, 1539-40. This beneficial grant, which was not, like land, fit to return a yearly rent to its owner, was by ſome conſidered as a recompence for arrears of pay for Sir Richard's military ſervices; for, he ſoon began to demoliſh the monaſtery and ſell the materials. He did the ſame by St. Andrew's church, and the abbey-church was uſed as a place of worſhip; but remained in the crown until the charter of incorporation given in 1553, by Edward VI. at which time the king ſold it to the townſmen for 400l. by them paid; and by an article in the charter this bargain is confirmed, and the great abbey-church 'demiſed to the 'corporation for their church; and to be by them uſed, and by them 'given on a vacancy.' Sir Richard, with the materials, repaired and enlarged Sopwell, and made it his habitation; while his brother Thomas Lee lived at St. Julians. He now alſo built the wall that encloſed the lands of Sopwell from the London road, and made there a park. An ancient coat of arms cut in ſtone, and affixed in the garden-wall, might once belong to him or to his ſon and ſucceſſor Edwyn Sadleir; for, as the king's arms had of late years been firſt ordered to be ſet up in churches, in the room and place of the popes; ſo many new lords and owners of houſes ſet up their armorial bearings at this time, in token of a new proprietor. The manor of Newland, or Squillers, being parcel of the abbeys late poſſeſſions, was granted to Sir Richard at the ſame time (I think) to be holden by the yearly rent of 5l. 4s. 0d. This was ſold afterward by Sadleir to one Grace, of London, a goldſmith; whoſe daughter and heir married one Rowbotham; the laſt of which family died in 1672, and bequeathed ſome legacies of charity to the miniſter and to the poor of St. Peter's pariſh, in which church he is buried. And this eſtate is ſince converted to a more noble charity, when it was purchaſed by the duke of Marlborough, and aſſigned for the building and endowing the admirable foundation which bears the name of that duke.

I find no other grant made to Sir Richard by Henry VIII. except the manor of Hexton, in the 36th of Henry 1545; but in the 1ſt year of Edward VI. he received the manor and rectory of Newent, together with a large wood called Yorkledon thereunto belonging, in the county of Gloceſter. And in the ſame year, and perhaps in the ſame grant, the manor or lands of Beckford in Gloceſter, which had been a priory of regular canons of St. Auguſtine, and founded by Robert Fitz Alan in the 56th of Henry III. and by him endowed with Beckford, Aſton, and Grafton; and of late totally ſuppreſſed by

by Henry VIII. Sir Richard lived till 1575, and at his death he left two daughters, but no ſon. The eldeſt, named (a) Anne, married Edwyn Sadleir, as before mentioned, the ſecond ſon of Sir Ralph Sadleir, of Hendon; and the youngeſt, named Mary, was married firſt to Sir Humphrey Coningſby, and ſecondly to Mr. Pemberton, of this town. Sir Ralph had bought Temple Dinſley, and there his ſon Edwyn reſided.

When we obſerve how very ſoon after the Diſſolution this grant was made to Lee, it is more than probable that the Diſſolution had been haſtened by the very urgent ſolicitations of Lee, previous to that day; for, in this ſort of coin were many of the king's creditors paid, beſide thoſe of the military; and in the grants made about this time, we find the grantees to be diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral offices about the court, eſpecially of the houſehold. Lee, whoſe profeſſion was that of demoliſhing, was here in his element; and, before the town charter was granted, in 1553, two months before king Edward died, he had pulled down and ſold all the materials of the monaſtery, and all its buildings. In the third and fourth of Queen Mary, ſhe ordered Boreman to purchaſe the ſite and the old monaſtery; and Boreman treated, and the price was ſettled; but, when ſhe found there was nothing capable of being reſtored, ſhe relinquiſhed the deſign; and the ſite remained among the poſſeſſions of Lee, with no more buildings on it than a part of one of the offices, ſince converted into a dwelling-houſe; which, together with the ſite, now belongeth to Mrs. Clark.

On the death of Sir Richard Lee, in 1575, Edwyn Sadleir, who had married the eldeſt daughter, removed to this place. They had four ſons: and this ſeat, with the lands belonging to it, was ſettled on Richard, the ſecond ſon. This Richard married Joyce, the daughter of Robert Honeywood, of Charing in Kent, Eſq. and lived at this place, and had ten children. The eldeſt of theſe, named Robert, ſucceeded; and was a captain of militia in this country, and a juſtice for this liberty about 1660. He left only one child; a daughter, named Helen, and his heireſs. She was married to Thomas Saunders, of Beechwood, Eſq. who had many children; but all dying in their infancy, except one, named Anne, he ſold this houſe and lands to Sir Harb. Grimſton, ſoon after the Reſtoration; and the ſame hath ever ſince accompanied the deſcent of Gorham, &c. The

(a) In the chancel of St. Peter's church there is a vault, in which are depoſited the bodies of the ſaid Sir Richard, his wife, and his two daughters; as the inſcription ſhews. See Chauncey.

houſe fell to decay about the time when Saunders ſold it, in the reign of Charles II. Among ſuch parts as were then taken down, there were ten large circular medallions of ſtone, repreſenting ſome of the Roman emperors, very ancient, and well copied from the beſt coins of thoſe perſons. Theſe were purchaſed by the lord and owner of Saliſbury manor in the pariſh of Shenley, and by him affixed into the wall of his hall, then building anew; and there ſtill remaining. They repreſent Julius Cæſar, Auguſtus, Galba, Veſpaſian, Titus, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, and Conſtantine; and Cleopatra, Fauſtina, and Zenobia.

They are probably as old as the time of Wheathamſtead; and had been cut by the workmen employed in his tomb, or by thoſe who cut and built the rich altar ſcreen in the time of Edward IV (a). But a reader will ſay, perhaps, with what propriety were theſe made the ornaments of a nunnery? To this I anſwer, that the inhabitants wanted not leſſons or examples of all the ſofter virtues, and ſober graces of the mind; but they might find an entertainment in contemplating the great and boiſterous characters that had appeared in the world, had been the inſtruments of great events, ruled at the head of mankind, and who had had their full ſway in this world; but had failed of that tranquil peace, and ſerene ſecurity, which dwelt within the walls of Sopwell. But, whatever might be their reflections on viewing this aſſembly of heroes and viragoes, I I have no doubt but that moſt of the ladies who came into this retreat, as we know they were of high rank, ſo it is probable they had been educated in a knowledge of hiſtory, and, like Julia Berners, in many faſhionable ſciences.

The ſhort time in which the commiſſioners kept poſſeſſion at the ſurrender, we may ſuppoſe was fully employed in packing up the valuables and ſelling the movables. It is probable that here, as in other places, all gold, and ſilver, and precious ſtones, if found, were conveyed to the jewel-office; the books to the king's library; and the parchments, containing deeds, grants, chartularies, books of account, &c. to the office of augmentations. Of the firſt, I fear none is now known, and perhaps no where to be found in its firſt ſhape. Of the ſecond (the books) ſome of them are at this day in

(a) In the church of St. Michael is interred, as the inſcription ſheweth, Thomas Wolvey, or Wolven, ſtyled *Latomus in arte*, and ſquire to the illuſtrious prince Richard II. and alſo there is interred Richard Wolvey, his ſon, ſtyled *Lathonius* or *Latomus*, that is, ſtonecutter. The former died in 1430 and the latter in 1494. Theſe men, probably, were the artiſts who cut the medallions, built the ſcreen, and ſet up the tomb of Wheathamſtead.

the

the king's library in the Britiſh Muſeum, among which is the curious copy of M. Paris, written in his own hand. Of the third there exiſt many of the original charters, which Dugdale hath printed, but very few of the other books, deeds, and documents. I fear they never went ſo far as to the Augmentation-Office, and ſerved for the ſecret peruſal of the commiſſioners, who, having learnt from them the names and ſituations of the reſpective eſtates, deſtroyed the originals as waſte and refuſe. But of theſe books there now remains a very beautiful MS. entitled *Regiſtrum de Terris adquiſitis, per Joan. Whet. & Tho. Ramryge*, compiled by Blakeney, who was ſecretary to the latter. It is finely written, beautifully embelliſhed in the initials, and hath been well preſerved. It was once the property of Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel, and is now in the library of the Royal Society of London. The reader will obſerve I have availed myſelf of this MS. in the preceding part of the work.

The Priory of Wymondham

was founded by William de Albinio, or Albeney, cupbearer to Henry I.(a). By his grant it appears, that he gave in pure and perpetual alms, for the ſoul of himſelf, his wife, and his relations, all the ſaid church, with all the appurtenances; the tithes, the keeping of the courts, two mills, thirty acres of arable and the paſture adjoining, the woods of Biſkelmid, and Southwood, Tysford-park, Wickam, &c. the monks to chooſe their own prior: the abbot of St. Alban's to be honorably received if he choſe to come; and to be paid a mark of ſilver in token of ſubjection. By another grant he gives to the prior and monks the manor of Hapſburg. By another grant, Henry III. confirms all theſe donations; as doth alſo William, earl of Arundel and Suſſex, grandſon to the ſame founder. This priory was afterwards made an abbey by Ogard, then patron; with the conſent of Henry VI. and by the bull of pope Nicolas V. In which he charges the biſhop of Norwich to take care that no moleſtation be given to this abbey by the abbot of St. Alban's, or any other perſon (b). The viſitors valued this houſe at 75l. 5s. 4d. a year; but at the ſuppreſſion the clear value was found to be 55l. 18s. 0d.

The Albeneys (or D'Aubignys, in French), who were deſcended from Todenei, the founder of Belvoir, were great benefactors to this

(a) This was a deſcendant of Todenei.
(b) This change has been already noticed in John of Wheathamſtead's ſecond rule.

priory,

priory, and from their eſtate at Clophill they founded and endowed the little priory of Beaulieu. So that an hereditary love to this abbey long prevailed in that family. In the Muſeum (a) is a MS. containing all the charters, grants, &c. to this priory, by which it appears, that it had 250 tenants, and not more than one which paid ſo much as 40s. a year. The rent of the others was accounted in pence, and thoſe in ſmall ſums. This priory had the tithes of Wymondham, and the prior was vicar. It had alſo the tithes of Alton, and of Hapſburgh, and appointed the vicars. The rectory of Grimſton paid to it 40s. yearly.

It was made an abbey about 1448, as above related; granted in the 37th of Henry VIII. to Henry, earl of Surrey, and, in the 5th of Elizabeth to Sir Walter Haddon, for 6l. 9s. 8d. per annum, with ſeveral lands, and particularly in Northfield, late in the occupation of William Kett (b).

The Priory of Tinmouth

was founded in the time of William Rufus, by Robert de Mombray or Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, in compaſſion to Oſwyn, king of Northumberland, who had been baſely murdered by Oſwy. Oſwyn was the laſt of the royal family of Deiri; and Oſwy mounted the throne of the deceaſed about 720 (c). The murderers buried the departed king at the oratory of St. Mary, near the mouth of the Tine, where ſtood the caſtle of earl Mowbray. In honour, then, of the deceaſed, he gave lands for the maintenance of monks, whom he brought from the monaſtery of St. Alban, and made his new foundation dependant on this monaſtery. William the conqueror confirmed the grant of Mowbray; as did alſo Henry I. in one charter, mentioning all the tithes of Northumberland as given to this church; and, in another, the keeping of a court by this priory.

This priory was in high repute with David Bruce of Scotland, and king Henry I. King John confirmed to them all their former poſſeſſions, which was the town of Tinmouth, and near twenty more towns or villages in that country; and Edward the 3d confirms, by a deed, all their poſſeſſions, privileges, and immunities. At the valuation made by the viſitors in the 26th of Henry VIII. or 1537, they ſet its revenue at 397l. 10s. 0d. yearly.

(a) Cott. MS. Titus, c. 8.
(b) Fee farm rolls in Aug. Offi.
(c) William of Malmeſbury, I. 3. Matt. Weſt. p. 118.

The

The ſite and moſt of the lands were granted, 5 Edward VI. to John, duke of Northumberland, who choſe his title in imitation of the antient Mowbray. But in nothing elſe did the compariſon or reſemblance hold good; for, the latter ended his life in piety and humility in this abbey; and the former, through exceſs of pride, ambition, and ſudden elevation to great fortune, died on the ſcaffold. Theſe lands reverted to the crown; and there remained until 1574, when the title of Northumberland was revived in the Percy family; to whom they were then given.

The rectory, and all tithes belonging to the church of Tinmouth, were granted in 30 Elizabeth to Edmund Downing and Miles Dodding, their heirs and aſſigns for ever, together with the patronage of the vicarage; paying to the queen and her ſucceſſors 11 5l. yearly, and 30l. a year to the vicar (a).

WALLINGFORD.

This priory had been founded by abbot Paul; who is ſaid to have repaired the dwellings, built a ſmall church, and to have eſtabliſhed there a prior and certain monks from the great abbey of St. Alban. All this was done by the bounty and munificence of that Norman chief, Robert D'Oiley; to whom the Conqueror gave a large tract of country (b) in the North of Oxfordſhire; the town or city of Oxford, and the caſtle of Wallingford. This chieftain paid due regard to the ſecurity of the places under his care; for, he built the caſtle at Oxford, encloſed the city with walls, ſtill to be ſeen, and made the cauſeway from that place towards Abington two miles in length, over low grounds. Wallingford had, before the time of D'Oiley, been a conſiderable place; having in it 276 houſes in the days of the Confeſſor. The lord of this place, at William's conqueſt, was Wigod a Saxon, whoſe only daughter was given in marriage to D'Oiley. And, on this cloſe connection with Wallingford, he repaired and augmented the works of the caſtle; pulling down eight houſes for its enlargement (c). And William Gemeticenſis remarks, that, on the defeat of Harold, the

(a) Fee-farm Rolls in Augmentation-Office.
(b) Called *Huiccia*, in the Latin *Inquis*, i. e. Hokenorton.
(c) So ſays Doomſday Book.

Conqueror marched his army to this place, before he advanced nearer to London.

As it was a cuſtom with the gentry and lords to build churches and eſtabliſh a body of monkiſh clergy near their caſtle or manſion; ſo this was practiſed here by D'Oiley; and his countryman Paul aided the pious work by ſending monks, gaining thereby the dependance of this ſmall priory to the abbey. The church was dedicated to the Holy Trinity; and D'Oiley granted them only half a hide of land without the city, for an endowment. Richard the IId. gave to theſe monks the rectory and church of Gaſſington in Oxfordſhire, and the grant appears in volume I. of Dug. Mon. This is now a living in the patronage of Trinity College, Oxford. Henry VII. gave theſe monks a grant of 8l. a year to be paid by the town of Wallingford; and alſo the appropriation and advowſon of the church of Chinnor, in the county of Oxford.

Willis, in his Mitred Abbeys, has given the names of twenty priors, from 1195 to 1515, in which year the laſt prior, John Clare, was appointed.

This priory, and alſo the hoſpital of St. Mary Pree, were diſſolved by Woolſey; and are in the number of theſe ſmall endowments to the number of 40, which he procured by a grant from the pope, about 1526, for aboliſhing, and adding their rents to the endowments of his new college at Oxford. They all fell into the king's hands, when Woolſey was attainted; and this made no part of the king's new endowment of that great foundation. Its being diſſolved ſo early is the reaſon why we find it not in the valuation made by the viſitors about 1535 and 36. This cell was granted in 38 Henry VIII. to John Norris.

St. Mary de Pree

Was an hoſpital founded by Warren, when abbot, for the reception of leprous women, who ſubſiſted on ſmall allowances from the abbey; but, becoming more numerous, they procured a ſmall church to be built for devotion, and a church-yard for interments, and had offices on both ſides of the way. In length of time, they had, by donation from ſome unknown benefactor, the tithes of Wing, in Bucks, now a ſmall vicarage. They had alſo 10s. penſion from the tithes of Filgrave. And the munificent duke Humphry gave them the

the rectory and vicarage of Tenby in the county of Pembroke. Henry VIII. in his 32d year, granted the hoſpital and ſite to Ralph Rowlat, Eſq. together with Gorham, Weſtwic, Newnham, Sandridge, Caldecot, Radwell, &c.

St. Julian's.

This was an hoſpital for wretched lepers, and ſubſiſted at firſt by gifts and doles from the abbey's ſteward. At length, ſome kind benefactor gave them the propriety, that is the great tithes, of Henlow in Bedfordſhire, now a ſmall vicarage. Being an hoſpital, it was valued with the abbey; and fell with it. Among the firſt grants made to it was that of a penny per day from the Exchequer by Henry II. The houſe and ſite were granted, in the year 1541, to Sir Richard Lee, knt. for his brother Thomas Lee. At his death, Thomas Lee left only four daughters, and no ſon: and then St. Julian's was ſold to Everard Digby; and from his family it paſſed to one Ellis, a draper in London, who rebuilt the houſe in Charles the IId's time. His ſon ſold it to admiral Killigrew in 1693. From him it came to the Cooks and the Barkers, and now is veſted in Arnot Howard, gent. (a).

Beau-

(a) Rental of the hoſpital of St. Julian, on the feaſt of St. Michael, 1507, 22 Henry VII. Thomas Ramryge abbot.

	l.	s.	d.
Of Mr. Robert Torberville, for houſe there and lands, and for tithes of the ſaid houſe or hoſpital, in the pariſhes of St. Michael and St. Stephen, to him let to farm,	30	0	0
From the ſteward of the kitchen in the abbey, a portion of tithes in Walden abbots, and Aſton abbots,	1	0	0
From the under-ſteward the tithes of the town of St. Alban, belonging to the ſaid hoſpital,	3	0	0
Rent of lands in Sarrat, but belonging to this hoſpital,	0	13	4
From the ſheriff of Hertford, the king's alms, as granted formerly,	1	10	5
From the prior and convent of Newnham, near Bedford, for a portion of tithes which they hold of this hoſpital in Stamford,	0	13	4
From the abbeſs and convent of Elſtow, a portion of tithes which they hold of this hoſpital in the pariſh of Flete,	2	6	8
From the abbot and convent of Warden, in Bedfordſhire, the rent of one virgate (rood) of land holden in this hoſpital,	0	1	0
From the rector of Eſtwyk, in Bedfordſhire, for a portion of tithes held in that pariſh, but given to this hoſpital,	0	10	0
From the prior and convent of Lanthony, near Gloceſter, for a portion of tithes which they hold of this hoſpital, in the pariſh of Henlow, in Bedfordſhire,	0	16	0

Beaulieu.

Of this cell I have ſpoken before, when I recounted the ſeveral cells in the days of their general proſperity. It was a place in Bedfordſhire, and received its name, being Norman, and alſo its eſtabliſhment, from Robert Albeney, a relation to the founder of Wymondham priory. And probably this was done about the time of abbot Paul, and by a fellow Norman. The place was before called Moddry, had a church dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, and had been founded as an hermitage by one Ralph. It was now given, with all its appurtenances, by Robert Albeney to the honour of God and St. Alban; and repleniſhed with monks from the great abbey. Robert endowed it with the mill of Turhall or Turville, the church of Melbrock, the church of Rhinthall and that of Clophill; ten acres of land at Stephall, the wood of Haſildon, the lordſhips of Walkegge and of Cotes, and other lands: as his two grants, ſtill extant in the Monaſticon, vol. I. do teſtify. This place was ſituate in Clophill pariſh. See more of it in the life of Wheathampſtead, who relinquiſhed the cell. And the ſite, together with its neighbouring lands, are now comprehended in the Kent eſtate, with Wreſt, &c. belonging to the lady Grey, but from its name is probably a beautiful ſituation. Leland ſays, that one of the monks, having killed a butcher, they were all obliged to quit this place.

From the prioreſs and convent of the Trinity de Boſco, near Merkyate, for a portion of tithes in Stretley,	0	10	0
From the prioreſs and convent of Sopwell, for a portion of tithes held by them in Codicote,	0	6	8
From William Fletcher, the rent of one croft in the pariſh of St. Stephen,	0	2	6
From the heirs of Robert Newberry, for the rent of an inn called the Peacock, in the town of St. Alban,	0	8	0
From Thomas Porter, rent of one tenement in the ſtreet of St. Peter,	0	10	1
	41	8	0

Ad finem Cot. MS. Claud. D. 1.

PART

PART II.

Of the Abbey's Estates.

The poſſeſſions of the abbey at the time of the diſſolution cannot be aſcertained or known, farther than by the grants or donations made of them after. The ſame may be ſaid of their ſpiritual eſtates. The monks were proprietors of Wingrave, and of Turville in Bucks, and of abbeys Aſton and Winſlow, in the ſame county, with its chapel; of Harewood Parva, and Granborough; of Luton, in Bedfordſhire, and of Great Gaddeſden. But, as they were always receiving, ſo were they often loſing by the very inſecure nature of all titles in thoſe days, eſpecially in ſuch eſtate as was given to the church in frank-almoigne, owing to the feudal tenures; for, in theſe caſes, the next heir would often re-enter and diſpoſſeſs the donee; and the king allowed ſuch intruſion, that he might not loſe his privileges and ſervices. The ſame reaſons held good with all the lords and gentry, who let out demeſnes to under-tenants. The feudal laws, which then formed the conſtitution of the kingdom, afforded them a plea, or at leaſt a pretence, for revoking gifts, grants, and even the ſale of lands; though, properly ſpeaking, there could be no ſale, or alienation by purchaſe, with ſuch good aſſurance in law as is practiſed in theſe days. The heir was in thoſe times more the darling of the law than at preſent; and all gifts and grants were eaſily ſet aſide by him, under pretence that he was in danger of loſing his ſuit and ſervice, and that the kingdom was deprived of the military duty, owing from the eſtate in queſtion. Hence it was, that grants, to the religious eſpecially, were ſigned and confirmed by the ſon and wife of the donor, to prevent a forfeiture on their part, or reſumption on the lords. In ſhort, even grants from the crown were only for the life of the donor; and the next ſucceſſor would reſume the gift, unleſs he could be prevailed on to confirm the former grant. And this is the reaſon why gifts and donations are ſo often confirmed. It was neceſſary, even with Magna Charta.

In

In ſpeaking of the cell of Sopwell I have mentioned the grant of the ſite of the abbey, and the gardens, and the ground adjoining. The next grant which was made of the abbey's eſtates was to Ralph Rowlat, and this was on May 12, 1541. This gentleman's family had been long ſettled at Holywell; and lived ſometimes at Byſſmead in Bedfordſhire, where they had been leſſees of the manor and rectory, under this abbey, to which the ſaid manor and rectory had been granted in 1341. At the diſſolution, this Rowlat purchaſed that manor and rectory in 1540. His ſon Ralph Rowlat was knighted in 1543, and had married Dorothy, the daughter of John Deveniſh, Eſq. of Weſton; but died without iſſue in his father's lifetime (a). In the South aile of the abbey church, near the entrance into the choir, lies a flat ſtone, now much decayed and worn, and without any date or inſcription. This is ſaid to be laid over their grave. But Weevor, in his *Fun. Mon.* printed in 1631, ſaith, this inſcription is over the Rowlats: 'Here lieth Raph Rowlat, citizen of London, merchant 'of the Staple, and Joan his wife; which Raph died 1519.' This was the father of the grantee, and the preſent defaced ſtone had this inſcription. In this 32d year of Henry VIII. viz. 1541, he obtained that large grant which comprehended a very ſplendid portion of the late abbey's eſtates; viz. Gorham, Weſtwick, Pree, Sandridge, Newnham, Caldecot, Radwell, and Apſa, or Napſbury. Theſe poſſeſſions raiſed him to a conſpicuous point of view, and the next year he was made ſheriff for this county. In the firſt year of king Edward, 1548, he ſerved in Parliament for this county, with Edward Denny, Eſq. and was made ſheriff again in the firſt of Elizabeth, 1559.

His ſon dying without iſſue, and in his father's life-time, the daughters were coheirs; and only two, viz. Mary, (though in the epitaph (b) called Margery, late wife of John Maynard, Eſq.) and Elizabeth. Maynard's wife died without children, and he ſold Gorham, and the lands which were his portion, to Nicolas Bacon, about 1550, or ſoon after. Elizabeth was married to Ralph Jennings, Eſq. of Church, in the county of Somerſet; and, on the partition of the eſtates, the manor of Sandridge, together with Holywell, went to this Jennings; and his deſcendants enjoyed the ſame until theſe eſtates came to three coheirs; the youngeſt of whom, named Sarah, purchaſed the ſhares of the other two; and, having married John lord

(a) Mon. III. 97. (b) Near to Rowlat's ſtone.

Churchill,

Churchill, became ducheſs of Marlborough; a lady, not only eminent for her high rank, but conſpicuous for thoſe talents and ſplendid virtues that farther adorn and dignify high rank and great fortune.

John Maynard, and ſeveral of his family, are interred near Rowlat's ſtone; and of this family was deſcended the famous Serjeant Maynard, and alſo the preſent peer of this name. Nicolas Bacon probably came to live at Gorham, in the reign of Edward VI. or earlier, becauſe he obtained the charter of incorporation in 1553, on ſeeing all rule and authority in the town quite overthrown with the fall of the abbot. He found at Gorham a ſtately houſe, and ſuitable to his rank, of great age, and perhaps built when abbot Robert firſt granted theſe lands to his kinſman, from Gorham in Normandy; but certainly a houſe worthy of a counteſs of Oxford, who dwelt here in the time of Thomas de la Mare. It ſeems to have incloſed three ſides of a ſquare; and Sir Nicolas, (for, he was knighted, and made lord keeper in 1558,) in order to entertain the queen, built a handſome gallery on the Weſt ſide, projecting from the houſe: and here the queen often made her reſidence, and dated many ſtate papers at this houſe: this gallery was ſtanding, with all its original furniture, &c. until the demolition of the old houſe, about ten years ſince; and exhibited a very curious ſpecimen of the ancient grandeur (a). Sir Nicolas was of Norfolk, and bred up in Bennet College, Cambridge: he then came to one of the inns of court; and, having been noticed by Audley, he was made attorney general to the Augmentation-Office, in 1536, when Pope was made treaſurer. This laid the foundation of a firm friendſhip between them, and gave them opportunities of aſſiſting each other in making good purchaſes. Pope procured Tyttenhangre in 1547, and lived there till his death, in 1579.

Weſtwick, which formerly was the moſt conſiderable of the two places, had ever accompanied Gorham, and was included in this grant. It is now only a barn.

Pree, being in the crown, ever ſince the attaint and forfeiture of Woolſey, was now granted with Gorham; as lying contiguous to thoſe lands. The old chapel is now a barn; and the burial-ground a farm-yard.

(a) This houſe is ſaid to have been built by Sir Nicolas; but it was certainly much more ancient than his time; for, on demoliſhing the ſame, a few years ſince, it appeared that the walls had been built in cheſt-work, long before the invention of brick or regular building with ſtone. In the Aſhmole Muſeum, Oxford, in Aubrey's MS. lives, is a particular deſcription of it, in the time of James I.

Newnham fell to one of the coheirs of Rowlat; and her huſband ſold it to Richard Hole, of London, grocer. It went from him to a family named Dyer, and thence to Mr. Hutton; and has now deſcended to Philip York, Eſq. of Denbighſhire.

Caldecot was part of Maynard's portion; and, in the fourth of Philip and Mary, he ſold it to one Sapcote, who ſold it again to Richard Hale, abovementioned; and in that family it reſts.

Radwell. The coheirs of Rowlat, ſold this to one Parker, and from him it hath come through ſeveral hands to a family named Pym.

The manor of *Apſa*, or *Napſhury*, was ſold alſo by the coheirs to one Marſton; from him it came to the Biſcoes, who lived at Colney; and one of whom, William Biſcoe, was, in 1700, a juſtice of the peace for this county. From him it hath come to the Gees.

Northaugh was granted, in 1541, to William Cavendiſh, the attendant and gentleman uſher of cardinal Woolſey. This place, when given by Lanfranc to the abbey, in the time of William the Conqueror, was waſte ground, called *Sylva et Nemus Northagæ*; and is not valued or mentioned in Doomeſday, a ſure ſign of its being worth very little. It appears not what rent it ever paid to the abbey. William Cavendiſh held it under the title of Northaugh, Nynne, and Cuffely; and, in the time of Edward VI. paid rent to the crown of 3l. 12s. 2d. He conveyed it to Sir Ambroſe Dudley, the ſon of duke Dudley, and brother to John, earl of Leiceſter. This man built a very ſtately houſe called Nynhall, ſituated in the Bottom, and adorned with handſome gardens and woods; but all demoliſhed in the laſt twenty years. From him it came into the poſſeſſions of lord Ruſſel of Thornhaugh, and then to Richard Sidley, who, in 1626, was appointed ſheriff of this county. From him it came to William Leman, Eſq. and from that family to William Strode, Eſq.

At the firſt erection of a church at this place, which probably was by Lanfranc, when the conqueror gave him this wild and rude ſpot of waſte land, then beginning to be cultivated, the ſaid church was put under the care of St. Peter's vicar, and reckoned a chapel belonging to St. Peter's. But, when granted to Cavendiſh, it obtained the privileges of a donative, and now differs little from a private chapel of the lords.

The manor of *Oxey*, with *Willinghall* was granted about the ſame time to one Joſkyns; and he ſold it to Heyden, whoſe ancient reſidence was the Grove. This man ſold it to Sir James Altham, whoſe heireſs, marrying John lord Vaughan, earl of Carberry, conveyed the

the manor to her huſband; and he ſold it to Sir William Bucknall, who was knighted in 1670, made alderman of the city of London, and erected a handſome ſeat at this place.

Brantfield was granted, in 1541 or 2, to G. Dacres, Eſq. and from him it deſcended, by purchaſe, to three or four others, till, in the 37th of Elizabeth, it came to Sir Henry Boteler; and when, through default of heirs male, it came to ſix coheirs, George Villers, viſcount Grandiſon of Ireland, purchaſed the intereſt of five, and was lord hereof in 1700.

Before I relate more of the grants made of the abbey's eſtates, I will point out the poſſeſſions, rents, and revenues, as they appeared in 1545, in the ſteward's accounts (a).

Account of the lands and poſſeſſions of the late monaſtery of St. Alban, in the county of Herts, in 1544. Thomas Maydwell, bailiff of our lord the king at that place, and during that time.

		l.	s.	d.
	In the town, rent of free tenants,	13	8	$2\frac{1}{2}$
	——— by lands and tenements,	33	1	4
	Divers penſions and portions of tithe in the town,	9	3	4
	Clerk of the market, paid,	13	13	4
	Other lands and tenements within the town, belonging to the late office of ſub-cellerar,	18	16	0
	Rents of aſſize to ditto,	0	16	8
	Cuſtomary tenants of Parke to ditto,	8	3	$10\frac{1}{2}$
	——— in Tittenhangre,	4	13	4
Burſton.	Thomas Maydwell, bailiff.			
	Free rents,	2	1	$9\frac{1}{4}$
	Cuſtomary ditto,	8	0	$7\frac{1}{2}$
	The manor, by John Kynge, farmer,	6	6	8
Hexton.	Free rents,	0	4	3
	Cuſtomary ditto,	16	2	$5\frac{1}{2}$
	Changeable rents,	0	7	$6\frac{1}{2}$
	The rectory worth *per annum*,	12	0	0
	The manor,	7	16	8
	For a water-mill,	2	6	8
	Portion of tithes extinguiſhed by the diſſolution,	0	0	0
	By leaſe of lands to Agnes Goldſmith,	7	6	8

(a) Augmentation-Office in Hert. Rot.

	l.	s.	d.
Paid to the vicar of Hexton, —	1	6	8
Priory of *Pray*, (Pre), before it was granted, Adam Pocock collector of the rents.			
In rent of houſes belonging to this hoſpital,	22	17	8
By free rents within the town,	0	5	4
By lands leaſed in Kyngſbury,	6	6	8
Deduct as allowed, 1 8 8			
——— for repairs, 2 13 6			
The late office of Coquinar, Henry Audley Collector,			
By free rents within the town,	8	17	2
By lands and tenements without,	24	6	8
Rent of free tenants in St. Stephen's,	1	0	11
Rent of lands and tenements in St. Michael,	0	6	2
Land let in St. Michael, —	0	5	0
By Kychenors, a manor in Barnet,	0	3	1
——— by cuſtomary tenants,	0	8	9
In Parke manor, by tenants free and cuſtomary,	1	13	6
To the late office of ſacriſt, Chriſtopher Plough, collector.			
Rent of free tenants in the town, —	1	13	10
Lands and tenements in the town leaſed,	8	16	4
At Rydon or Roydon, rent of a croft,	0	1	0
——— free rents there,	0	10	0
At Kympton, free rents, —	0	13	4
At *Chalfound* and *Hamſtead* (*Chenies*) (a) by rent from the manors, paid by John lord Ruſſel,	2	0	0
Demeſne lands. From Sir Francis Bryan, leſſee, for ſundry portions of lands and tithes,	71	7	8

(a) Chenies eſtate now came to the Ruſſel family, from a marriage of this lord Ruſſel with the heireſs of the lord Chenies (See Dugdale Baron.). This is ſtill among the Ruſſel eſtates, and here is their burial-place. It was that Lord's principal ſeat, and here was he interred.

St. An-

	l.	s.	d.
St. Andrew's chapel.			
By oblations, &c. clear of charges in the ſervice,	12	15	4
Kyngſbury-manor.			
By free tenants, —— —	0	10	8
By cuſtomary tenants, —— —	18	2	4
By tenants at will, —— —	0	7	8
By lands leaſed *per* indenture, —	9	3	8
From which a penſion to the vicar of 1l.			
Office of archdeacon. No rents or profits due to the king after the expences of the archdeacon were diſcharged.			
Newland and Squillers manors.			
Rent of manor, &c. ——	28	4	4
Kyngſbury manor.			
John Cox, farmer, — —	20	0	0
Tithe, Thomas Blacket, farmer,	4	6	8
Parke manor.			
Thomas Maydwell, receiver.			
By portions of tithes, lands, &c.	120	7	8
Parke Bury manor.			
Robert Brennyng, farmer, —	24	13	4
Parke Mille and More Mill.			
John Redwood, farmer, ——	8	13	4
Cowley mill and Stanford mill.			
Thomas Bagham, farmer, —	4	0	0
Eyewood.			
William Bailey, — —	7	13	4
Sopwell mill, in Parke.			
John Murfin, occupier, ——	13	0	0
Beach Grange in Parke.			
John Foſter, farmer, ——	11	0	0
Merdon manor and tithes.			
Thomas Maydwell, — —	7	0	0
Tytenhangre manor and tithes.			
Thomas Maydwell, — —	38	0	9½
Rudgell or Rydge.			
Coney Warren, with herbage and Pannage, John Bolleman,	34	13	4

	l.	s.	d.
Sandridge-rectory and Grange of St. Peter.			
Thomas Shipwith, farmer, —	30	0	0
Rikmerſworth manor. Hutchinſon Bailiff.			
In Pinesfield, —— —	7	0	0
Received of the vicar of Rikmereſworth,	5	6	8
Free rents, —— —	0	4	2
Cuſtomary rents, —— —	43	6	9¼
Rents for capons and hens, —	0	3	4
—— from Weſt mill, — —	3	6	8
Perquiſites of courts, —— —	1	7	10
Rickmereſworth rectory.			
Henry Gunne, farmer, ——	27	0	0
N. B. At this time only two manors remained in this pariſh, the others had been granted.			
North Haugh.			
Manor contains Cuffley, with the manor of Childwick, and a farm called Mariſton, in Tewinge, granted to Willian Cavendiſh, in the 31ſt of Henry, and therefore owes,	0	0	0
Barnet and Eaſt Barnet manor.			
John Coningſby, Eſq. bailiff.			
By free tenants, — —	0	9	10
By cuſtom, —— —	42	7	3
By tenants at will, ——	0	4	0½
By lands let, —— —	5	2	5
By two groves called Monk Frith,	3	0	0
By a grove called Sun's Grove, —	4	9	8
Abbot's Walden manor.			
John Mitchel, bailiff.			
By a capital meſſuage called Legates, otherwiſe Howenden, let to Richard Hill, Eſq. the whole rent,	40	10	2¾
Rectory of abbot's Walden, ——	19	0	0
Codicote manor.			
John Mitchel, bailiff, —	34	14	6
Caiſho manor and Watford.			
John lord Ruſſel, great admiral of England, bailiff.			

	l.	s.	d.
By free tenants, — —	14	9	2
— cuſtom, — —	41	11	6½
— tenants at will, — —	0	15	4
Lands-parcel of the rectory of Watford,	0	7	9
Rent in corn, viz. oats, one quarter,	0	1	6
Manor of Caiſsho, let to William Dauncey, Eſq.	14	2	0
Harwood's, a meſſuage in Watford, let to Roger Weedon,	8	13	4
The ley in Watford, ——	3	0	0
Water-mill, with the toll, —	13	0	0
Rectory of Watford, — —	18	13	4
Belonging to Merkyate, viz. two parts in ten, —— ——	0	0	0
Portions of tithe in Watford, —	11	2	0
Perquiſites of courts, — —	1	13	6
Croſley manor.			
By tenants free and cuſtomary, and the manor of Croxley and Snellſhall,	22	15	5
Abbots Langley manor.			
By tenants free and cuſtomary, —	62	15	11½
Rectory granted to William Hipgrave in fee, —— —	0	0	0
Sarret manor.			
William Hipgrave, bailiff. Including Newhall in Watford,	13	3	4½
Sopwell Bury.			
Granted to Sir Richard Lee, on February 8, 1540.			
Manor of Newland.			
John Lyon, leſſee, — —	7	15	0
Rectory in St. Stephen.			
Manors of Newnham, Radwell, and Caldecot.			
Granted to Rowlett, 1541, with the tithes of Newnham.			
Manor of Brantfield. Granted to Robett Davers, Eſq.			
Manor of Wiggenhall, with Oxey.			
Granted to James Joſkyn.			
Manor of Norton and rectory.			
John Bowles, leſſee, — —	57	4	0

Mano

	l.	s.	d.
Manor of Garſton.			
By free tenants, —— — —	1	16	7
Cuſtom, — —	0	2	8
Manor, —— — —	12	0	0
Lordſhip of Redborn.			
Edward Abraham, bailiff, with portions of tithes, — ——	63	5	8
Manor of Redborn.			
Henry Beech, leſſee, ——	15	6	8
Rectory of Redborn. —— ——	20	0	0
Manor of Aygnells.			
John Michel, bailiff, ——	4	13	5¼
Site of the priory of Redborn, with the manor of the priory.			
Granted to John Cocks.			
Manor of Weſtwick and Gorham.			
Granted to Rowlat 1541			
Shepehall.			
Lands and tenements, —	9	9	0
Richard Hodges, bailiff.			
Manor granted to George Nodes 1544.			
Manor of Wallington.			
Granted to John Shewſter, and Elizabeth his wife in, 1541.			
Bygrave.			
Lands called Monk lands, containing 500 acres. Bowles, farmer,	4	0	0
Hoſpital of St. Julian.			
Richard Aley, leſſee, — —	30	0	0
Manor of Winſlow.			
Granted to Richard Brome, Eſq. worth	65	7	1½
Rectory worth, — —	14	0	6
Turfield in Bucks,			
John Royſton, occupier.			
The manor and rectory.	3	6	8
Rectory of Wingrave.			
Thomas Duncomb, leſſee, —	17	0	0
Manor of Abbots Aſton and Rectory.			
Granted 1541 to lord Ruſſel.			
Manor of Luton with the tithes of Luton and Chartey,	100	2	0
John Minty, bailiff.			

Manor

		l.	s.	d.
Manor of Dellow in Luton.				
Thomas Dormer, leſſee,	—	10	0	0
Rectory of Dunſtable Houghton.				
George Cavendiſh, farmer,	——	41	0	0
Tenements in London.				
Robert Brand, collector,	—	28	6	8
Appleton in Rydale rectory.				
Richard Reaſon, farmer,	—	22	0	0
Manor of Norton in Luton, ——	—	11	0	0
Rectory of Conſcliffe in Durham.				
Anthony Horn, farmer,	——	22	6	8
Rectory of Elyham or Æglingham, —	—	25	0	0
Rectory of Hertburn, ——	——	10	6	8
Rectory of Everſden Magna.				
John Lete Farmer,	——	11	6	8
Rectory of Aſton Rowant, with Stoken church.				
Bart. Pigot, farmer,	— —	20	0	0
Manor of Combe in Suſſex.				
Granted to Andrew lord Windſor, formerly paid,		8	0	0
Corn-tithes in the pariſh of All Saints, in Sudbury.				
Thomas Martyn Ferworth,	—	3	6	8
With many ſmall rents iſſuing from lands and tenements ſituate in diſtant pariſhes.				
Talington manor and rectory.				
William Chychen, bailiff.	——	23	2	9¼
Manor and rectory of Horningold.				
Anthony Brewell, bailiff,	——	27	12	10
Priory of Belvoir.				
From lands and tithes,	——	87	10	2
Monktown, or Tenby, in Pembrokeſhire.				
John Vaughan, farmer,	—	60	0	0
Wyng rectory.				
Sir Robert Dormer, leſſee,	—	18	13	4

If it be aſked what remuneration was given to thoſe men who had deviſed this ſcheme, and carried it on through Parliament during ſix or ſeven years, I will give an inſtance or two of the king's munificence to two of the principal characters, and moſt earneſt promoters of the work. I have already noted the great proſperity which attended Sir William Pawlet; and I will now ſhew the advancement of Sir John Ruſſel. It is unneceſſary to ſay how attentive he was to the court, and to the meaſures there contrived; but, ſoon after the Great Diſſolution, he had conferred on him four of the greateſt abbeys which fell to the king: namely, Taviſtoke in Devon, valued at 902l. yearly rent; Croyland at 1803l.; Thorney at 411l.; and Woburn at 391l. He had a large acceſſion by his marriage. In 1539 he was advanced to the peerage, by the title of lord Ruſſel; Baron of Taviſtoke and Thornaugh, (a new eſtate in the county of Northampton); then made lord preſident of the council by Henry VIII. and lord admiral, and created earl of Bedford by Edward. He died in 1554.

The eſtates of Thorney, lying in the Fen's of Ely, his grandſon Francis, in the time of James I. and Charles, attempted great improvements by draining them. In this work he was aided by the advice and opinion of the great Dugdale; and he ſucceeded, though at much preſent expence, in reclaiming large tracts of land from the waters. Hence is it, that we ſee in the maps of that country the appellation of Bedford prefixed to drains, rivers, lands, and levels.

Had this vaſt accumulation of wealth been adminiſtered with diſcretion and prudence, it might have added to the ſplendor of the throne, and to the external defence of the kingdom; but, as it was, though much was granted, or ſold, to ſatisfy the juſt claims of the officers about the court, ſome ſquandered in gaming, and more given in a capricious generoſity; yet this general diſperſion ſpread a ſudden proſperity over the country. It gave riſe to a new ſet of nobles and gentry; many of whom flouriſh at this day, with increaſed fame and honours.

This great event ſo luckily coincided with the revival of learning in Italy that it gave riſe to a new ſyſtem of genteel education, and ſo well with the troubles and perſecutions abroad that we may thence date the beginning of our woollen manufacture. There is ſcarce an ancient manſion now belonging to our gentry, which was not a religious houſe before the diſſolution, or hath been built in the ſite of one ſince. Nor is it any prophanation to promote chearful mirth

and

and good humour in that hall, where once reigned nought but gloomy ſilence and painful auſterity.

The next perſon whom I ſhall note, as partaking largely of the king's munificence, was Sir Thomas Audley.

In the 24th year of Henry, being the year 1533, and on February 24, there was ſurrendered the priory of the Holy Trinity, ſituate without Aldgate, and the moſt conſiderable foundation of the religious ſort in London; founded by Henry I. and largely endowed. The ſurrender was gained by flatteries to the prior; for, this was three years before the act paſſed for diſſolving the ſmaller houſes. The ſame was inſtantly given to Sir Thomas Audley, who had been ſpeaker of the Parliament againſt Woolſey in 1529 and 30, as may be ſeen in Hall. I have remarked that Audley was made keeper of the great ſeal, and chancellor, in 1532; and, wanting a fine houſe in London, or having determined to ſhew the king how to deal with the adherents of Rome, he adviſed and accompliſhed this ſurrender. The canons being ſent to other houſes, the whole buildings were given to Audley, but with what eſtates it appears not. He demoliſhed the church, &c. erected a new and ſpacious houſe, and dwelt there until his death in 1544. This place then came to the duke of Norfolk, Lord Treaſurer, who had married Audley's eldeſt daughter. Here the duke lived until his death in 1554, and the manſion was called Duke's Place.

A grave hath lately been diſcovered in the church of St. John, in the city of Norwich, and thought to contain the relicts of that lady, or of her younger ſiſter Mary, who died young and unmarried. The ducheſs was named Margaret, and had been married firſt to Henry, the youngeſt ſon of John Dudley (duke of Northumberland) who had been ſlain at the fight of St. Quintin.

She bore a ſon to the duke of Norfolk; who, in 1 James, was reſtored to the honour of earl of Suffolk, and to the eſtates brought him by his mother. And he dwelt in Duke's Place, near Aldgate.

Audley obtained alſo a grant of the late diſſolved Chartreuſe, near Smithfield (a); and that came with his daughter to the duke of Norfolk; and his ſon Thomas, earl of Suffolk, ſold the ſaid premiſſes, then called Howard houſe, in the year 1611. This houſe, now

(a) Tanner in his *Notitia* ſays, that this place was granted, in 1542, to John Bridges, and Thomas Hale, for their joint lives. From that period it was granted to Sir Edward North; whoſe ſon ſold it to the duke of Norfolk for 2500l. and his ſon, Thomas, earl of Suffolk, ſold it, together with other eſtates, in the 9th of James, for 13,000l. to Thomas Sutton, Eſq.

one of the beſt ſeminaries for learning, and the beſt governed endowed charity in the kingdom, hath ſome wonderful events in its hiſtory. It was firſt bought, encloſed, and conſecrated, by Lord Manny, in 1349, for the burial-place of thoſe who had died in great numbers of the plague; and a religious fraternity there eſtabliſhed. It was now, in Henry's time, a well-endowed priory of Carthuſian monks; containing about thirty in number, under a prior. This man, by name John Houghton, refuſed to own the king's ſupremacy; and for this he was convicted of treaſon in 1535, hanged at Tyburn, and quartered. At the ſame time two of his brethren underwent the ſame fate(a); and one quarter of Houghton's body was hung up at the great gate; and ten more of the brethren lingered to death in priſon, the ſame year, for the ſame offence. Then William Trafford was elected prior; who, with nineteen of his monks, ſubſcribed to the new ſupremacy; while nine refuſed. However, no more convictions or trials followed; but they ſurrendered in 1538, while terror and diſguſt ſtruck every beholder.

In 1537 (28th of Henry) there was granted to Sir Thomas Audley, then chancellor, the diſſolved priory of St. Julian and St. Botolph, in Colcheſter, valued at 113l. *per annum*, together with the church and rectory, to be holden, *in capite*, by knight's ſervice. And in four years after he alienated the ſame to John Golder and his heirs. But in the 18th of Elizabeth the advowſon of this church, with other churches in Colcheſter, was held by Robert Audley, ſon and heir of Thomas Audley, of Beerchurch, of the queen, *in capite*, by knights ſervice.

In this ſame year the king granted to Audley 40l. a year, out of the diſſolved priory of Hatfield Regis in Eſſex (b). And in the following year, 1538, (29th of Henry,) there was granted to Audley the priory of Britwell, in Eſſex, valued at 194l. *per ann.* with its ſite, lands, and eſtates, to be holden *in capite*. This tenure ceaſed at his death; and then his brother obtained the ſame by licence in the 5th of Edward VI. and ſold it to the lord Rich; in whoſe family it continued until male iſſue failed; and the whole of his eſtates came among coheireſſes in 1659. This family was deſcended from Sir Richard Rich, who was made the firſt chancellor of the Augmentations. And in 27th Henry VIII. Rich obtained a grant of the priory of Lees in Eſſex, and made it the ſeat of his family; whence ſprang,

(a) See Stow, p. 571. (b) Mon. I. 297.

in

in the reign of James I. two earldoms; viz. of Warwic and of Holland, ſince extinct.

The abbey of Walden, valued at 406l. a year, was ſurrendered in 1538, and the next year was granted to Sir Thomas Audley, then chancellor; and he was, by letters patent, dated November 30, of that year, 1539, created lord Audley of Walden; and to his heirs male. He died April 30, 1544, aged 56, and was buried in his new chapel at Walden; and in 1543 a grant was made to him of the hoſpital of Crouched Friers, otherwiſe called the Guild of St. Helen, ſituate in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet; ſuppreſſed ſome years before, and valued at 7l. a year, but at a ſmall diſtance from his manſion-houſe.

The above-mentioned Thomas, earl of Suffolk, became lord treaſurer under James; was turned out, and fined in the Star-Chamber, for extortion; but was more afflicted by the wickedneſs of his daughter, lady Frances, who, having married Devereux, earl of Eſſex, was divorced from him, then intrigued with and married Carr earl of Somerſet, and theſe together were convicted and ſentenced to death for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. Sir Henry Spelman was ſo ſtruck with the misfortunes of many families, and, among the reſt, of his own, who had partaken ill of the ſpoil of abbeys, that he ſcrupled not to ſay, 'they had judgements;' and he compiled a book, publiſhed in 1667 by his own ſon, on this ſubject; and called 'The 'Hiſtory of Sacrilege,' or, 'De non temerandis Eccleſiis.' This earl of Suffolk ſpent ſix years in erecting, at a vaſt expence, a large and beautiful houſe on the ruins of the ancient abbey of Walden, and named it Audley-inn. In ſplendor and magnificence, as well as in magnitude and convenience, it was exceeded by none in England, except Hampton Court. But it never proſpered, ſays the Monaſticon (a); by which, I ſuppoſe, the author means, that it never manifeſted that hoſpitality that feeds the poor, or that numerous iſſue of children, which is among earthly bleſſings, or that regular deſcent in a lineal ſucceſſion which is a mark of God's favour, or that ſtability and duration of family which follows the deeds of upright, pious, faithful, men. Great houſes are no better than monuments.

Audley had alſo, in 1543, a grant of the ſite, manor, and rectory, of Tiltey, in Eſſex, being an abbey of Ciſtertian monks, and valued

(a) II. 299.

by Speed at 1771. a year. He had grants alſo of Corney manor in Layſton; the manor of Weſtmill, of Meſdon (belonging before to the abbey of St. Mary de Graces, near the Tower), of Little Hormead, of Aſpenden, and of Braughin, all in the county of Hertford; which laſt had belonged to the priory of the Holy Trinity. Theſe deſcended to the duke of Norfolk; but Aſpenden returned to the crown at Audley's death. But, as an inſtance of farther remuneration to the ſeveral perſons who concurred in Parliament to effect this great work, it need only be obſerved how ſhort-lived was this Court of Augmentations: it was inſtituted in 1536, with a great number of officers; and in eight or nine years Henry thought fit to aboliſh it by letters patent, and to eſtabliſh it anew upon a much narrower plan, whereby more than three-fourths of the ancient officers were diſmiſſed. The plea was, their buſineſs was very little, and their ſalaries very great. The reaſon why their duty and buſineſs were diminiſhed was; becauſe moſt of the eſtates and property firſt committed to their charge was alienated and gone; and it is probable that the officers were among thoſe who ſerved themſelves firſt; and with good ſalaries they were ſoon enabled to make purchaſes. Sir Thomas Pope, who was conſtituted treaſurer, or ſecond officer, had acquired, by the year 1553, more than thirty manors. And, in his charter of foundation for his college at Oxford, dated March 4, 1754-5, are recited twenty-five manors and thirteen advowſons; beſides impropriations and penſions, with all which he is licenſed to enfeoff his college (a). The office of Augmentation went on for a few years; but on this reduced plan the ſalaries amounted to more than 7000l. a year; and in the firſt year of queen Mary ſhe procured an act to paſs for the total abolition of the office, as having no longer any property under their care, and nothing left even to pay the officers; and thus, in eighteen years, all that vaſt acceſſion of wealth, which was taken from the clergy, to augment the revenue and render the crown more ſplendid, was diſſipated among the gentry; and a new ſet of men aroſe, who would never ſuffer Popery to be re-eſtabliſhed; even if it could have produced more merits in its favour. The crown was now left without any permanent ſhare or benefit; and, in the fourth year of Philip and Mary, the neceſſities of the crown were ſuch as to induce the queen to conſtitute a commiſſion of the principal officers of ſtate to review the crown lands and eſtates, and to ſell for a price ſuch parcels

(a) See Warton's Life of Sir Thomas Pope, p. 24.

as

as remained in the Exchequer, and had eſcaped the profuſe liberality of Henry, or which ſhould appear not to have been ſpecifically purchaſed; an inſtance of which ſhall appear in Rydge.

The great acquiſitions made by Pope would have brought a blemiſh on his fame and character, had he not applied a great part of it to the founding of Trinity college in Oxford. For, this was devoting his wealth to the public ſervice, and providing for the happineſs of mankind in a better manner than had been done before by that revenue. He certainly intended to improve the minds of men by liberal ſcience, as the beſt way to prepare them for a rational faith and a purity of morals; both of which had been overlooked when men were made to leap at once into a perfection of holineſs in the cloiſter. This ſame thought actuated Audley, when he a few years before reendowed Magdalen College in Cambridge; and Sir Thomas White, the lord-mayor of London, when he, at the ſame time with Pope, founded and endowed St. John's college, in Oxford.

Theſe were extraordinary inſtances in the application; but all the officers of that court, and the viſitors who were firſt employed in the work, were ſeen to riſe to a ſudden eminence. There was not a nobleman of that time who was not benefited, and not a commoner who did not find opportunities of gaining advantages in fortune, and many of them a ſpeedy diſtinction in rank. Dr. Petre, from being ſelected from one of the inns of court, and appointed a viſitor, raiſed himſelf ſo high, by his ſkill and experience in public buſineſs, that he was made ſecretary of ſtate under Edward, and Mary; and, by his acquiſitions of the church-property, to ſuch eminence and fortune, that James, in 1603, thought fit to ennoble the family. A moſt ſingular inſtance of prudence was diſcernible in that man; for, when it was ſomewhat uncertain, in the beginning of Mary's reign, what turn things would take, and whether a reſumption might not be thought a neceſſary meaſure to relieve the wants of the crown, he procured a ſpecial grant or bull, from the pope (a), to be allowed to keep and retain all his acquiſitions. Gyffard, who viſited in the North with Belaſyſe, and who interceded with Cromwell for ſaving the monaſtery of Woolſtrope, near Belvoir, to the king's great diſpleaſure (who ſaid they had received rewards to write thus), gained ſome good eſtates in Kent, ſettled there, was made ſheriff, and, ſome time after, choſen into Parliament; while his aſſociate in the viſitation ſettled in York-

(a) In Stevens's Mon.

ſhire,

ſhire, and laid the foundation of a family ſince ennobled; and as conſpicuous for their virtues as for their fortunes. In the Weſt of England very ſplendid eſtates were collected and united in one family, named Seymour; to which they have ever ſince been attached, with no ſmall increaſe of honour and title. And the ſame was effected in another family named Thynne, whoſe founder, Sir John Thynne (a), being an officer of the firſt Court of Augmentations, I believe auditor, the intimate friend and adviſer of protector Somerſet, poſſeſſed himſelf of many curious deeds and writings, which had, before the diſſolution, belonged to religious houſes; and which he preſerved when the court was aboliſhed. If theſe writings are ſtill in being, they would afford much curious hiſtory in monaſtic matters, and not in the leaſt degree endanger any man's title (b).

Having mentioned Sir Thomas Pope as a liberal partaker in the monaſtic ſpoil, I will begin with ſhewing what he gained of this abbey's late poſſeſſions. And here I find, that in the laſt year of Henry (1547) he received a grant of the abbey's eſtate of Tyttenhangre, in the pariſh of *Rydge*. This eſtate, whole pariſh, and tithes, had formerly been beſtowed by Richard Albiney, a deſcendant of Tothenei, and of that family who bore an hereditary love to St. Alban. They had received grants, from the Conqueror, of lands at Flamſtead, and this donation in Rydge muſt have been made to the abbey in the time of Geoffry the abbot, or earlier, becauſe Blackhides, in Rydge, was aſſigned to the maintenance of Sopwell, founded by Geoffrey. The grant of this eſtate of Tyttenhangre to Pope ſeems to have been gratuitous; but it included not Blackhides only, but alſo the almoner's tithe; as the ſame had been ſet apart by Michael Mentmore the abbot (c). But Henry died before the grant was ſigned and completed; and full confirmation was given to it in the firſt year of Edward; and the deed is ſigned, *(Hiſce oculis vidi,)* Ed-

(a) Sir John's father was a citizen of London, and a man of letters. He was the firſt who collected and publiſhed all the works of Chaucer, in the early part of the reign of Henry the VIIIth; and by that circumſtance brought himſelf and his ſon into repute, and into favour at Court. He was buried in the church of All-Hallows Barking, in Thames-ſtreet.

(b) See Birch's catalogue of them in the Muſeum, for they ſtill exiſt.

(c) For, the manor of Blackhide, alias Croſiers, had been granted to Sir Richard Lee, on the 15th of April, in the 33d of Henry VIII. with a reſerved rent of 1l. 16s. 6d. and Cellbarnes alſo the ſame day, together with three crofts, and other ſmall parcels of land held of the manor of Tyttenhangre, with the like reſerved rent. And Blackhide was ſold afterwards to Sir Thomas Pope. See Fee-farm rolls in Augmentation-Office.

ward

ward Somerſet, in a very fair and good hand. Pope enjoyed this benefaction, and lived here until his death in 1559; but in no employ or public office during Edward's reign; never oppoſing or reſiſting the new ordinances in religion, though ſtill retaining his attachment to the old faith and worſhip. And, in the reign of Mary, he was received into favour again, made one of the Privy Council, and appointed cofferer of the Houſehold. He was employed in ſeveral commiſſions of truſt, and, above all, in that of being the keeper or governor of the princeſs Elizabeth, who, during the two firſt years of Mary lived at Aſhridge (a) as in her own houſe it is ſaid, under the charge of Sir Henry Beddingfield; and, during the reſt of Mary's time, at the palace at Hatfield, under the care of Sir Thomas Pope. At his death, in January, 1559, two months after his royal miſtreſs, he left his eſtate in Rydge (as he had improved it) to his lady and her heirs; without any relation or connection of it, to the college (b). Lady Pope ſoon after married Sir Hugh Pawlet, of Hinton St. George, in the county of Somerſet, who died in 1571; and this lady lived here to a great age, and died in 1593; leaving this eſtate to her nephew Thomas Blount, of which family ſhe had deſcended, being a daughter of Walter Blount, Eſq. of Blount's Hall in Staffordſhire. In 1579, ſhe gave the tithes of Rydge and advowſon of the vicarage, to Trinity College, Oxford. The circumſtances of this donation were theſe: her nephew, Richard Blount, had left 100l. to the college, to maintain an exhibitioner, and for other purpoſes. Lady Pawlet agreed with the executors to give the rectory of Rydge, on condition ſhe might receive the 100l. in hand paid. This was agreed, and the rent is now better adapted to maintain a ſcholar, and fulfil the other bequeſts; and it is covenanted, that the ſaid ſcholar, if of this pariſh, ſhall have a preference to all others. With this donation ſhe annexed the advowſon to the college and their leſſee: and the owner of Tyttenhangre hath ever had a leaſe of this rectory, and with it the privilege of the advowſon. This eſtate thus came to the Blounts: and this family, in the laſt century, produced three or four very eminent men; conſiderable for their rank and public character; and no leſs diſtinguiſhed as men of

(a) See Warton's Life of Pope.
This place was in the crown, and was granted in the 17th of Elizabeth to John Dudley and John Ayſcough, in exchange for ſome other eſtates; and they ſold it to the lord keeper Egerton.
(b) Of Trinity at Oxford, founded by him in 1556. Warton.

letters

letters and as authors. When this family became extinct, by the death of Sir Henry Pope Blount, near forty years ago, it devolved to the Freemans; and from them, on failure of heirs male, to the right hon. Philip, earl of Hardwic, the preſent poſſeſſor.

In the third and fourth years of Philip and Mary, a commiſſion was appointed, as I have ſaid, to value and ſell for the benefit of the crown. The commiſſioners were:

Sir Thomas Cornwallys, knight comptroller of the houſehold;
Sir Edward Wal.legrave, chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaſter;
Sir Francis Englefield, maſter of the court of wards and liveries;
Sir William Petre, chancellor of the order of the garter;
Sir John Baker, chancellor of the Exchequer;
Sir William Cordall, maſter of the rolls; and
Sir William Myldmay, knights;

and they were directed 'to rate and eſtimate all and every part of any 'grant not heretofore valued though given.' So that now a price was to be paid for any part of a grant not ſpecifically mentioned therein. It was diſcovered, that, though the eſtate of Tyttenhangre was given, the manor was not included; and here the annual rents reſerved *cum ſuis juribus et pertin. in com. Hert.* amounted to 5l. 11s. 3¼d. This was valued at twenty years purchaſe, and the money to be paid in hand before the end of June; and this bears date on June 16, 1557. The rectory of Garſington alſo was given to Sir Thomas Pope, on the 22d of June, 1557. It had formerly belonged to this abbey; but was now choſen by Pope to be annexed to his new college; and intended for the repoſe and ſecurity of the fellows and ſcholars in caſe of any peſtilence; and it was furniſhed with a rectory-houſe, fit for their reception, and reſorted to whenever the plague viſited Oxford. This rectory was now valued at the yearly rent of 18l. 19s. 8d. and eſtimated at one year's purchaſe to Pope; although the ſame had been valued, and lately, at three years' purchaſe, to Thomas Hawes, Eſq. 'one of our phyſicians (a).'

The pariſh of *Rydge* has no place in Doomſday-Book; which argues that it was of no value, and perhaps all waſte land, or covered with wood. The ſame may be ſaid of the village of *Totteridge*; it has no mention in that eſtimate; and it is no improbable etymology, that as ridge ſignifies a long range of high land, this place being

(a) Harl. MSS. 607 des Ratez 13 p.

nearer to St. Alban's, was ſimply ſtiled Rydge; and the next, or farther high land, was called by the plain appellation of The other Rydge, or T'other Rydge; and was at ſome future time incloſed and cultivated by ſome of the biſhops of Ely, who lived at Hatfield; and thus furniſhed with a church made dependant on Hatfield: it was not made a diſtinct pariſh until the 43d of Elizabeth, when a parochial tax was ordained for the poor.

In *Barnet* the abbey had long poſſeſſed the manor and tithes. Mary, in the firſt year of her reign, granted the former to Anthony Butler, Eſq. and the ſame continued in his deſcendants until the 17th of James I. then it paſſed to Sir John Wild, and it remained in his family till the 18th of Charles I. It then paſſed through ſeveral hands, until the 3d of James II. when it was ſold to John Niccol, Eſq. of Hendon-place, in Middleſex. From him it paſſed by ſale, in 1695, to Sir Thomas Cooke, knt. alderman of London. He ſold it to James the firſt duke of Chandos, in the time of George I. who procured an act of Parliament, in 1729, to incloſe a certain quantity of acres on the common, and give to the poor 40l. yearly in conſideration thereof. But the terms were not complied with, and the incloſure was laid open.

The ſteward of this manor is appointed by letters patent, in conformity to the practice under the abbots. The famous Noy, attorney general under Charles I. held this office by ſuch honourable grant.

Under the above commiſſion the following valuation was made within this manor, entitled,

Lands in Herts, ſold in the fourth and fifth of Philip and Mary (a).

In Barnet, three acres called Croſs Croft, with one barn and a meadow of nine acres, together with an orchard, and a pool in Wood-ſtreet, in the occupation of John Marſh of Chip Barnet, of the yearly rent of 26s. 8d.

Two crofts called milcroſts, with the hedgerowes of the ſame, of the yearly value of 6d.

Sixteen acres in the tenure of William Preſton, of London, of the yearly value of 43s. 4d.

Theſe premiſſes, ſay the commiſſioners, were part of the poſſeſſions of the late monaſtery of St. Alban, and ſome time holden by copy of court-roll, as of the manor of Barnet; and afterward by John Wheatham, and his ſucceſſor, were purchaſed; and ſo ſevered and

(a) Ex Harl. MS. 608.

divided from the ſaid manor. And, ſo being thereof ſeized, they did, notwithſtanding, contrary to law, demiſe and let the ſame to divers perſons, by copy of court-roll of the ſaid manor of Barnet, to be holden at the will of the lord; which copies and tenure have ſo continued erroneouſly againſt the laws by the ſpace of ſixty years and more, as by an inquiſition hereof taken at Chipen Barnet aforeſaid, before Sir William Stamford, knt. (a) one of the juſtices of the Common Pleas, and Edward Taylor, Eſq. the ſixth day of June, in the fourth and fifth years of Philip and Mary, more plainly appeareth.

'The clere yearly value of the premiſes, was 70s. 6d. which, rated at 'twenty-three years purchaſe, amounts to 81l. 1s. 6d. The money to 'be paid in twelve days.

'The king and queen to diſcharge the purchaſer of all things and 'incumbrances made and done by their majeſties, except leaſes.

'The purchaſer to diſcharge the king and queen of all fees and re-'prizes going out of the premiſes.

'The tenure in ſocage.

'The purchaſer to have the iſſues from the feaſt of Pentecoſte laſt paſt.

'The purchaſer to be bound for the woods.

'The lead, bells, and advowſons, to be excepted.

'Signed William Cordall, John Baker, Walter Myldemaye.'

The purchaſer was the above-mentioned John Marſh, whoſe family hath continued till about forty years ago, when it expired in Marſh Wolfe, Eſq,

Another ſale of lands, at the ſame time, was of two acres, called Pynfold Grove, lying at or near Dogget's Hill, in Eaſt Barnet, valued at 2s. 9¼d. *per* year, and at twenty-three years purchaſe was ſold to Richard Nicholls of Barnet, on the ſame covenants as above.

Sold alſo at the ſame time lands in Eaſt Barnet called Boreſland, Scheller's Croft, Butler's Mead, Dogget's Hill Grove, Highfield Hedge, Hebe Hedge, and Ruſſel Grove.

The yearly value was 5l. and at 23 years purchaſe was 115l. ſold to Henry Bellamy, of London, mercer.

Sold alſo, in Eaſt Barnet, on the 19th day of July, 1559, two groves (*Boſci et Subboſci*) called Preſtons and Hograves, containing by eſtimation thirty acres, *ſive plus ſive minus*, in the occupation of Thomas Savage, at the yearly rent of 25s. 4d. and Savage was the purchaſer.

Eaſt Barnet is the more ancient pariſh, and indeed the mother-church; for, as I have ſhewn before, the church at Barnet town

(a) This Sir William Stamford is interred in the church of Hadley, and did probably live there in his own houſe, &c.

was

was built about 1400 by John Moot. And it is probable that no diſtinction of pariſhes took place, in regard to the poor, until the 43d of Elizabeth, though it had long been two pariſhes, and one manor. The execution of that act, calculated for the relief of the poor, gave riſe to many parochial diſtinctions and diviſions. The tithes and the patronage having paſſed to the crown at the diſſolution, the former were annexed to the church, and from a ſmall vicarage the church is become a good rectory. The crown then preſented, and hath done ſo ever ſince upon every vacancy. This was a wiſe precaution; as it not only reſtored the incumbent to ſome degree of rank and conſideration; but it reſerved to the crown a capacity of conferring a favour. Yet this wiſe precaution was not followed in ſcarce any other inſtance.

The pariſh of *St. Peter* was large; and here the incumbent was indulged with no retribution of great tithe; and perhaps the crown, and its counſellors, thought him well provided without any grant of tithes; becauſe the offerings at the altar were abundant and valuable; inſomuch, that the infirmary was formerly maintained and ſupplied from them; but, when the Popiſh religion and worſhip was aboliſhed, the worſhipers relinquiſhed the good practices with the bad, and offerings diminiſhed. And, ſo ill-accuſtomed were the vicars to gather their portions of tithe, and even to aſcertain their rights, that it was neceſſary, ſo early as the 2d of Edward VI. to make a law to give them relief, and to compel the pariſhioners to pay all *accuſtomed* tithes, offerings, obventions, &c. That portion of this pariſh's tithe, which was called the almoner's tithe, was granted firſt to Lee, and came then to Sir Thomas Pope. The tithe of the reſt of the pariſh was given or ſold to two or three private perſons, and are now the property of two gentlemen named Reading and Pym.

A ſmall manor in this pariſh named *Beech*, from one Godfrey de Beche, who obtained the ſame from the Conqueror, was granted to Anthony Denny, Eſq. a gentleman of the chamber to Henry VIII. he obtained many other grants in this neighbourhood, as well as from the poſſeſſions of Waltham abbey, and procured to his ſon the title of Earl of Norwich. It was ſold afterwards to a family named Dell. The manor of *Butterwick* alſo was granted to Denny; and then ſold to Sir Richard Cox, maſter of the houſehold under queen Elizabeth, king James, and king Charles the Firſt; and in this family it hath remained to this day: and the late proprietor was Alban Cox, Eſq.

Although there is undoubted proof that the abbot built the three churches at the entrances into the town; and that the churches of St. Stephen and St. Michael, now ſtanding, are thoſe identical churches then built, and are indeed moſt admirable ſpecimens of the Saxon ſtyle of building; yet we cannot ſay the ſame of the church of St. Peter. The preſent edifice differs from the others ſo much that it is not of the ſame age, and more reſembles the improved ſtyle of building which took place in the time of Henry III. when the firſt ſet of churches were worn out, and it was neceſſary to rebuild ſeveral. Then it was, that the low ſolid pier, and the ſemicircular arch, gave way, to the tall ſlender pillar, and the pointed arch; then the cieling roſe higher, the work was leſs ſolid and maſſy, and the ſpaces were more wide and ample. If it be ſaid, why did not the firſt church of St. Peter ſtand and endure like its cotemporaries? I will give this plain reaſon; becauſe it was not built of the Roman tile as the other two were, but of ſuch materials, chalk, flint, and rubble, as were near at hand. This was very conſpicuous at opening the piers of the tower a few years ago; the whole of which is probably of the firſt conſtruction, and carries with it a different ſtyle from the reſt of the church; but had not a fragment in it of the Roman materials. Theſe laſt are ſo ſtrong, by being well made, and well burnt at firſt, and then ſo well laid, cemented, and bonded, (as it is called) in the works, that they bid fair to out-laſt all ſtone, marble, or iron. And I ſhall hold this opinion, that St. Peter's church is not older than Henry the IIId's time, until I ſee ſome written evidence to the contrary.

The pariſh of *St. Michael* containeth little more to be ſaid of it, than to trace the deſcent of Gorhambury. Sir Nicolas Bacon (a) became poſſeſſor of it from Maynard; and, having enlarged and em-

(a) He placed the following lines over the front of the houſe, at the entrance into the great hall; but they muſt be conſidered only as deſcribing the *finiſh* and *improvements* he had made, and not the *building* of the houſe:

Hæc cum perfecit Nicolaus tecta Baconus,
Elizabeth regni luſtra fuêre duo;
Factus eques, magni cuſtos fuit ille ſigilli:
Gloria ſit ſoli tota tributa Deo.
Mediocria firma. 1568.

The foundations of the firſt original houſe here built, and inhabited by Robert de Corham, are diſcernible in the preſent park, ſituate eaſtward of the new manſion, and near the famous row of cheſnut-trees celebrated in Evelyn's Sylva, and beſpeak a large building to have once ſtood there.

beſtowed the ſame for the entertainment of the queen, departed this life in 1579, having enjoyed the honourable office of lord keeper of the Great Seal from the firſt year of her reign. By his firſt wife, whoſe name I cannot find, he was the father of that baronet's family of Redgrave in Suffolk (a), who have borne a title and rank of eminent diſtinction; and by his ſecond wife, who was Anne, the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Giddy Hall in Eſſex, and who had been the governeſs of Edward VI. he had two ſons; viz. Anthony, who died young, and Francis, the illuſtrious lord Verulam, and moſt learned lawyer and philoſopher. This ſecond ſon married Alice, a daughter of Benedict Barnham, alderman of London, who is interred (as a mural tablet ſhews) in the cathedral of Chicheſter; and whoſe other daughter was the unfortunate wife of the lord Caſtlehaven; who, for his ill treatment of her, was, with his accomplices, hanged. This eminent lord Verulam had no children (b); and, dying, bequeathed his eſtate and manor-houſe, &c. to Sir Thomas Meautys, knt. who had been his private ſecretary, and clerk of the Privy Council under James I. and Charles. This Meautys died without children, and the eſtate paſſed to his next heir, Sir Thomas Meautys, who was his firſt couſin. This man had married Anne, the daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon, of Oxford Hall in Suffolk, knt. And at his death he gave this eſtate to his wife for life, with remainder to his heirs. His wife ſurvived him, with one daughter named Jane. Sir Harbottle Grimſton married the widow; and, Jane dying aged 10 or 11 years, the reverſion deſcended to Hercules Meautys, a ſon of a brother of the late Sir Thomas; and Hercules ſold all his right and title therein to Sir Harbottle. This gentleman's family had been long ſeated at Bradfield in Eſſex; and received the title of baronet in the year 1612. And this Harbottle had married to his firſt wife, a daughter of Sir George Croke, knt. one of the juſtices of the Common Pleas, and who ſignalized his name by pleading againſt the ſhip money in Charles Iſt's time; and by her he had two ſons, viz. George, who married a daughter of Dr. Alſton, of London, and died childleſs; and Samuel, who ſucceeded his father; and two daughters; viz. Mary, who was married to Sir Capel Luckyn, of Little Waltham in Eſſex, baronet, and Elizabeth, who was married to George Grubham Howe of Barwick, in the county of Wilts,

(a) Now of Ravening in Norfolk, and premier baronet.
(b) See the ſtate-trials.

and

and made baronet in 1660. The ſecond wife of Sir Harbottle was the above-mentioned Anne, the relict of Sir Thomas Meautys. Before he came to live here he ſerved in Parliament for Colcheſter, before the Reſtoration; and at that event he was choſen ſpeaker of the Commons, and contributed much to the reſtoration of the monarchy and the church. He was ſoon after made maſter of the rolls, and filled that office with great reputation until his death, in 1683. Sir Samuel Grimſton, bart. his ſon and heir, married a daughter of Henry Finch, earl of Nottingham, and had by her one daughter, who was married to the marquis of Halifax. After his firſt lady's death he married a daughter of the earl of Thanet, ſerved in Parliament for St. Alban's in five ſeveral Parliaments, and died in 1704; and, leaving no iſſue male, the eſtate, &c. devolved to lady Luckyn and her eldeſt ſon.

As for ſuch parts of this neighbouring country as did not belong to this abbey, it is probable this was the cauſe that moſt of the adjacent churches, if not the manors, had been given to other abbeys before, and made part of their endowments. Thus the Benedictine monaſtery of Walden in Eſſex, founded by Geoffrey de Mandeville, a great Norman, in 1136, had the following churches beſtowed on it by this founder, *Walden*, *Waltham*, *Eſtre*, *Sabriteſwerd*, *Thorley*, *Gedeleſton*, *Eneſield*, *Edelmeſtan*, *Mimmes* (a), *Senley*, *Northall*, *Digenſwell*, *Stratly*, *Ainho*, and the hermitage of *Hadeley*. The original grant of theſe endowments is extant in the Latin Dugdale.

(a) The Frowyks had long been ſettled in this pariſh of Mymmes. The firſt of this name, whom I find mentioned, is Iſabell Frowyk, who in 1288 poſſeſſed a windmill in the pariſh of South Myms, and twenty acres of land contiguous. The abbey of Walden in Eſſex, founded by Geoffry de Mandeville, was poſſeſſed (by the gift of the ſaid Geoffry, who alſo was owner of all the chace, and large eſtates in this country) of the tithes of Myms, and demanded the ſame as due from the ſaid mill and the twenty acres. The ſaid Iſabell refuſed; the abbey ſued her in the Court of the biſhop of London; and in this year the ſaid court pronounced judgement againſt her. *Ex Regiſtro Cartarum de Mon. de Walden.* Harl. MSS, 3677.

The next I find, in 1299 named Sir Thomas Frowyk, to have been a founder and benefactor to Guildhall Chapel.

Then Sir Henry Frowyk, who dwelt at Gonwelſbury, and lieth buried in Acton Church; and whoſe daughter and coheir, Elizabeth, was grandmother to Sir Henry Spelman. And therefore it is probable the ſaid Sir Henry Frowyk died in the time of Henry VIII.

And it is alſo probable that his father is the perſon named Sir Thomas Frowyk, lord chief juſtice of the Common Pleas, who lieth buried in Finchley Church, and who died 1506, Weevor. See alſo a pedigree of the Frowyks in Chauncey, p. 462.

This

This Geoffrey obtained grants of the manor and chace of Enfield, and lived therein, having a large houſe within the moat near to the Camlod way, and now encloſed in that allotment which hath been called Trent Place. From his ſiſter, who, on the death of his ſons became heireſs of all his eſtates and married William de Say, ſpring the Bohuns, earls of Eſſex, Hereford, and Northampton; and the heireſs in time of Richard II. being married to the eldeſt ſon of the duke of Lancaſter, contributed to elevate her conſort to the throne of this realm by the name of Henry the IVth. When he conſtituted the dutchy court of Lancaſter, theſe great eſtates, with others, obtained by him, made part of the dutchy revenue; but the churches above-mentioned continued in the abbey of Walden, until the time of the diſſolution.

In the pariſh of St. Michael the abbey's poſſeſſions had been great; but when I have ſpoken of the manor of Gorham, there remains little elſe worthy of notice. The tithe of St. Michael's had always been divided into portions, and aſſigned to different officers of the houſe; that is, the abbey was intitled to the tenth of all the corn and of the graſs; but a certain part of that tenth was allotted to the cellerer, and another part to the infirmarar, and another part to the coquinar; and theſe portions did not ariſe out of certain lands, and compoſe the tithes of thoſe lands; but were arbitrary aſſignments out of the whole, made by the abbot, as occaſions aroſe and neceſſities required. But now, the whole corn tithe on the North ſide of the river belongs to one perſon, as impropriator; and that on the South to another; the graſs tithe of the whole pariſh to another: and this diſtribution took place when the crown, having poſſeſſion of the whole, made ſuch diviſion as it thought proper; and left the rights and dues of the vicar unimpaired and unaltered.

The manor of *Chilwic*, which from early times was among the abbey's beſt eſtates, was granted away to Sir William Cavendiſh by Henry VIII. together with Northaugh. But he kept not theſe eſtates any long time; and, as the cuſtom then was with the nobles and gentry to accommodate each other, and often to oblige the crown, he exchanged them for others, ſituate in Derbyſhire. This gentleman ſprang from a family in Suffolk, named Garnons formerly; but which, dwelling at Cavendiſh, aſſumed this for their ſurname. The famous navigator Cavendiſh, who finiſhed his voyage round the world in 1588, was of this family; though his relation to Sir William

liam is no where clearly made out. But John de Cavendiſh, chief juſtice of the King's Bench in Richard the IId's time, and murdered by the rebels under Tyler in 1381, was an undoubted anceſtor of this Sir William. This gentleman had been a faithful attendant and friend of Cardinal Woolſey; and, at the death of this his maſter, the king ſent a meſſage to him requeſting to ſee him. The diſcourſe at this interview is recorded by hiſtorians, and the event was, that the king took him into his ſervice, and made him of his chamber, with directions to go to my lord of Norfolk, and *he ſhall pay you*, ſaid the king, *your whole year's wages, and a reward beſides.* In this ſituation he ingratiated himſelf with Henry, was made, in 1539, one of the auditors of the Court of Augmentations; and, in 1545, he was appointed treaſurer of the chamber, and one of the council. In 1539 he was one of thoſe who came down to this abbey, together with the viſitors, and Sir Thomas Pope, to receive the ſurrender. And in this office he failed not to reap in that harveſt, to which every ſkilful man then put his ſickle. His own acquiſitions, and the very fortunate marriage which he made with the widow of Robert Barley, Eſq. of the county of Derby (a), called him to ſuch rank, fortune, and eminence, that his ſon was created the firſt earl of Devonſhire, in the third of James I. and the family hath ever ſince been ennobled by illuſtrious deſcendants and branches, as much diſtinguiſhed by their good name as by their honours and ample inheritances. How long Chilwic remained in the hands of Sir William Cavendiſh, or to whom he conveyed this manor, I find not; nor who poſſeſſed the ſame until it was conveyed to Joſhua Lomax, eſq. about the year 1666.

The manor of *Kingſbury* in this pariſh is of ancient note and royal fame; for, here was holden a council of biſhops and great men (b), in 851, convened by Bertulph, king of Mercia, and ſucceſſor to Offa. The acts of this council are recorded in Spelman's Collection,

(a) This lady had been the daughter and coheir of John Hardwick, of Hardwick, in the county of Derby, eſq and brought a great part of his eſtate to Sir William Cavendiſh; and alſo all the eſtate of Robert Barley. After Sir William's death, ſhe married Sir Wil. St. Loo, captain of the guard to queen Elizabeth, and owner of a great eſtate. In her third widowhood ſhe married George, earl of Shrewſbury. She had children only by Sir William Cavendiſh. And to theſe ſhe brought the whole eſtates of Barley and St. Loo, one moiety of her paternal eſtate of Hardwick, and a conſiderable part of the Shrewſbury eſtate; and procured alſo an intermarriage of a ſon and daughter with a daughter and ſon of that earl.

(b) Spelman's Councils.

by

by which it appears, that they conſulted no leſs on the public affairs of the church and ſtate than on the ſpecial buſineſs of the eſtates and marſhes given and granted to the abbey of Croyland. This incident makes it highly probable, that in this place had been one of the many palaces at which Offa uſed to reſide, and others of the Saxon kings; who were conſtantly travelling through their dominions, not only to provide for the defence thereof, but to diſpenſe juſtice, and adminiſter the law. Something of royalty appears in the very name, and a beautiful ſituation to the North-Eaſt of this town, called Cunningham-hill, (Koningham,) though now only a farm, denotes this place alſo as a royal ſeat. Now, from this certain proof of its royalty in the Saxon times, we may affirm, without preſumption, that this was a diſtinguiſhed place in the time of the Romans, and perhaps earlier; even when Caſſivelaunus was king of this country and went forth to oppoſe Cæſar. Could we have certain proof that Cæſar approached to this town, then called Verulam, this would ſtrengthen my conjecture that the Britiſh king did reſide here; becauſe we well know that Cæſar always pointed his march againſt the principal towns or cities, and tried thus to open a communication with his enemy. And this town was made a principal ſeat of the Romans, and by them augmented and fortified, and made the ſeat of juſtice and a place of arms, becauſe they found it ſomewhat conſiderable, and the reſidence of the Britiſh chief. If we look down below the time of Bertulph's Council, though no mention is made of it, yet it continued a royal houſe until the time of king Stephen and Henry II. who gave it up to the abbot, as above related. But what denotes its grandeur and its uſes, at the time of the Conqueſt, and in that reign, is this, that at the ſurvey, directed by William, here was a *vivarium* (a), or place for keeping wild beaſts and choice animals; a privilege and a dignity that belonged only to the king. Here was the only place of this kind in the whole kingdom; and therefore this may well be ſuppoſed to be among the ſplendid luxuries of the preceding ſovereigns. To encloſe land for the ſafe cuſtody of beaſts, or, in other words, to make a park, was a Norman improvement; the right reſided ſolely in the king; and it was an infringement of the common law to ſhut up and confine beaſts of the chace in ſafe cuſtody without the king's ſpecial licence; hence called a writ of free warren. This palace, or caſtle, for it appears to

(a) See Doomſday.

have been incloſed within certain moats and defences of water, was become the reſort of the kings and nobles; and they were ſo numerous, with their attendants, as to be a burden to the abbey; and on the complaint of Ælfric to king Ethelred, to whom he had been chancellor, the king conſented to ſell to the abbot the royal manor of Kingſbury, together with the parks and woods belonging; reſerving to himſelf only one ſmall fortreſs or tower near the monaſtery, as a token of his royalty. And this tower was the gateway or entrance from the market-place, near the preſent Chriſtopher Inn, leading into the Park; which comprehended a large ſpace of ground behind the preſent town, and extending almoſt to Chilwic. This was probably the limit of the preſent manor; and this remained with the abbey until the diſſolution. After which it was granted to John Cox, and his grandſon ſold it to Sir Francis Bacon; who, when he fell under the cenſure of Parliament, conveyed this manor, together with Gorhambury, to Sir Thomas Meautys; and from him it went in like manner to Sir Harbottle Grimſton. The ſaid fortreſs, or tower, has been entirely ruined and demoliſhed; though, if the preſent old tower in the market can be found to contain in it any of the Roman brick, it may plead to be very ancient, if not that ſame tower left by Etheldred (a).

But, if this tower cannot make good its claim to great antiquity, I will mention here a certain part of the foundation of the church which has undeniable proofs of its very great age. This is the foundation of the North wall toward the Weſt end. Here, at the diſtance of

(a) But if Kingſbury bears not the name of any particular king, and is honoured only with a general title of ſovereignty, be it known that the name of Germanus ſtill remains and flouriſhes to this day; the old ſite of Verulam is ſtill called St. German's Farm. All the broad part of the ſame, extending from the Britiſh bank to the Hampſtead road, is called by that name; and containing more than ſeventy acres, divided into ſix or ſeven fields, called Dorvaille, upper, lower, and middle; which alludes to the name of theſe lands in the time of Henry III. when they were called Derefold, as in p. 142. After the fall and ruin of Verulam, and when the Saxons gained the aſcendency, this ſite received the name of Germanus, as if in pious regard to his memory; and is a mark of the zeal and devotion of its newly converted maſters. Theſe fields ſtill bear this name; and, in the ſpot where Dr. Stukeley has placed St. German's chapel, here ſtood a very reſpectable manſion of brick, with a court in front, and ſtables, &c. a place fit for genteel inhabitants; and the chapel was ſituated near the Britiſh bank in the corner of a little meadow. This was the condition of St. German's farm in the year 1637; as it appears by a plan and drawing of the ſame now in the hands of its owner, Ralph Smith, gent. At which time the property of St. German's farm was in Sir Thomas Cotton, baronet, of Conington, in the county of Huntingdon, and ſon of the great antiquarian Sir Robert Cotton.

fifteen or twenty yards from the North Weſt corner, the foundation is ſeen to diverge from the ſtraight line and incline to the North, making there an obtuſe angle. When this foundation appears thus contrary to all the rules of building, the reaſon ſeems to be, that the old foundation toward the Weſt was found by Paul's architects to point not to the Eaſt, but many degrees from that, toward the South; and if they had continued the new wall in a direct line, the Eaſt end would have pointed to S.S.E. They therefore, to avoid ſuch an error, if not an impiety, directed the new foundation more to the Eaſt; yet ſtill, after all their correction, they ſet the church three points South of the Eaſt. If the two foundations be examined with a hammer, or ſome pointed inſtrument, it will be found that the Weſt end is of the motherſtone in large blocks; and, from the angle Eaſtward, it conſiſts of the Roman tile or brick, with clunch and flint. Now, it is probable that this motherſtone foundation was older than Paul's time, and not laid by his builders; but they, finding it erroneous in its poſition yet too ſtrong to be removed, endeavoured to correct the error by beginning their work nearer to the Eaſtern poſition. If this argument be juſt, we muſt conclude this part of the foundation to have been laid by Offa in 793. Nor let any perſon ſtart at the thoughts of a thouſand years; when the bank that formed the head of the pool is ſtill entire (except at the paſſage cut for the river), and was certainly conſtructed before we have any notices of ſuch a place as Verulam; that is, ſoon after the time of our Saviour, or more probably long before. And there is nothing in England that can boaſt with certainty a more ſublime antiquity beſide Stonehenge. They are both of the druidical age.

The preſent pariſh of *St. Stephen* was of little note in the early times, but thought to be among the firſt poſſeſſions of the abbey: though the pariſh-church was built a hundred years before the Conqueſt yet the pariſh was generally known by the name of the manor therein contained; which at that time was no other than the Weald or Wild, This manor extended over all the preſent pariſh, from the lands of Gorham and Weſtwic, as far to the South as the manor of Hendon and county of Middleſex; bounded on the Weſt by Aldenham, and Eaſtward by the manor of Tyttenhangre. This whole diſtrict was all foreſt and woods, its highways dangerous from robbers, with little or no cultivation in it; and, after the founding of St. Julian's, the pariſh was more known by that name than by St. Stephen's.

It was in this wild condition at the Conqueſt, and certainly had at that time very few inhabitants. The Normans took poſſeſſion of this large tract, and firſt began to incloſe and cultivate(a); and the manor of Park, as its Norman name imports, was the firſt incloſure: this was done early, and perhaps in the time of Henry I. and, ſubſequent to that, ſeveral other ſmall manors were derived out of the Weald; and, being in new and more induſtrious hands, they were cleared and reclaimed from their wild ſtate; ſuch was Newbury, Boreham, Shenleybury, and Saliſbury. Napſbury, called Apſa in the firſt memoirs of the abbey, was an early gift, and a good farm; and Titburſt, another manor adjoining to the weald, belonged early to the church of Weſtminſter. The Normans generally gave the appellation of *bury* to their new habitations; whereas the Saxons were accuſtomed to call them by the terminations of *ham* and *hide*. And another mark of a late incloſure in this pariſh is the term *Hedges*, now given to a large farm in this pariſh; and which is of the ſame import as *hatch* and *hatches* in many other places: but all which imply and ſignify land incloſed from the adjoining waſte. Very little can be diſcovered of theſe manors, or of their owners and inhabitants, prior to the diſſolution. And even of the weald, the parent manor of the reſt, I can find no inhabitant's name earlier than Humphrey duke of Gloceſter; and then of Haſtings, lord chamberlain to Edward IV. But theſe were no more than renters. It is ſaid by Chauncey that the lands of Weald were poſſeſſed 'by John Somerſham, lord of Cornerd in Suffolk, in the 7th of Ed-'ward II. and that his only daughter married Thomas Frowyck of Old 'Fold in South Myms; who enjoyed them in the time of Henry. V. 'That his deſcendant married Anne, the daughter and co-heir of Robert 'Knowles, lord of North Myms; and that their only daughter, and heir-'eſs, Elizabeth, married John Coningſby, the third ſon of Sir Humphry 'Coningſby, chief juſtice of the King's Bench in the time of Henry. 'This John poſſeſſed theſe manors, and was conſtituted ſheriff for this 'county and Eſſex in the thirty-eighth of the ſame king.' Now, if this be true, and there is no reaſon to contradict it, it follows, that the owner of the weald manor was not the abbey; and that Frowyck was the lord thereof at the time of Humphry and of Haſtings. And there are other reaſons that induce me to think, the abbey never did poſſeſs

(a) By grants and leaſes under the king or abbey; for, here were the abbey's principal woods.

this

this manor, though it might have woodlands, or ſome eſtates therein, by virtue of a leaſe. For, firſt, I can find no mention of this manor among the firſt endowments, nor any grant of the ſame after the diſſolution; and, which is a ſtronger reaſon than all that the abbey never had owned it, the tithes have ever been in lay hands, and none of the lands are exempt from tithes, except by late purchaſe from the impropriator; whereas, had the lands been the property of the abbey at the diſſolution, they would have claimed an exemption by the ſtatute of 31ſt Henry, and been all tithe-free to this day. The manor of Weald I ſay never was granted as other manors were; but the new manor of Park was granted, having been in the hands of the abbey at the time of the diſſolution.

The truth is, that St. Stephen's pariſh is not named in Domeſday; and is meant under the general title of Terra Sancti Albani, without the name of any manor, and no valuation made; by which I conjecture, the whole was waſte ground and of no value, until the manor of Park was formed. At the Diſſolution, Park manor fell to the Crown; and in the 33d Henry, viz. 1541, an act of Parliament paſſed 'to enable 'Anthony Denny, Eſq. one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber, 'to hold to him, and to his heirs, all the manor of the king of Park-'bury in the county of Hertford, and all the land, tenements, and 'hereditaments, with the appurtenances in Park called Boreham, 'Spirth, or Frith, and Grimes Gate Field; with ſundry other lands, 'tithes, and manerial rights (a). And this continued in Denny's family until the 1ſt of James I. when Edward lord Denny ſold this manor of Park to Robert Briſcoe, Eſq. who ſold it in 1607 to Sir Baptiſt Hicks; and, his daughter Mary being married to Sir Charles Moryſon of Caſhiobury, this manor paſſed with this marriage. Sir Charles died in 1628, leaving Elizabeth his ſole daughter and heireſs; who afterward became the wife of Arthur, lord Capel, of Hadham; and thus brought the manor of Park into the family of the earls of Eſſex. In the grants of confirmation given by Henry I. and Henry II. this is called the manor of Park with all the Soke.

The Weld or Weald manor continued in the family of the Coningſbys until the daughter of Sir Henry Coningſby, by name Geneveiva, eſpouſed Thomas Aram, Eſq. of Gray's inn, about 1670; to whom Sir Henry conveyed this manor. From him (b), who died in 1716, it

(a) See Chauncey, p. 504.
(b) He was buried in Shenley church; and Geneveiva alſo, in 1707.

came

came to the Briſcoes, then to the Byngs, from that family it went to John Maſon, eſq. about the year 1750; and in 1772 to the right hon. Richard, then lord viſcount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, and ſince created earl Howe, of the kingdom of Great Britain. And in every deſcent, ſince the time of Aram, the manor hath paſſed by purchaſe.

Aldenham had been among the firſt gifts and endowments made to the abbey; and this by Offa or his ſon. The name is Saxon, and denotes an ancient habitation in oppoſition to modern burys, and new places of abode. I have remarked in p. 43 of this hiſtory, that Frederic the abbot, in William's time, demiſed this manor for twenty years to Theobald, then abbot, and the convent of Weſtminſter; and that the latter refuſed to give it up at the expiration of that term: he had taken it on condition to guard the highways to London; and, pretending to loſſes and injuries, was contending to hold it longer. The abbots of St. Alban's, we find, leaſed the ſame afterwards to one Taillebois and his ſons, on the ſame condition; and to make acknowledgement to the abbey by rendering a yearly rent. It is ſaid alſo in p. 67, that in the time of Henry II. the abbot of Weſtminſter, named Lawrence, ſued, in the king's exchequer, the abbot named Robert and convent of St. Alban's, and their leſſee Robert Taillebois, with a view to recover; and that Lawrence, fearing the judgement of the court, and being rejected in his offer of twenty-three marks to Taillebois to relinquiſh his right, a compromiſe took place; and Robert confirmed this leſſee in his right to pannage in the wood of Aldenham.

Theſe tranſactions ſeem to bear hard on the characters of thoſe two venerable prelates; and M. Paris, the relater, leaves the matter ſo involved as to approach towards calumny on thoſe reſpectable men. But ſomething offers itſelf in Madox's *Formulare Anglicanum*, that not only vindicates them, but juſtifies the hiſtorian; for, in his chapter on confirmations and releaſes, Madox refers to an example of the latter (a), now extant among the records of the church of Weſtminſter, wherein the above abbot Robert, and the convent of St. Alban, quit claim to Lawrence, the abbot and the convent of Weſtminſter, 'in all their land in Aldenham.'

(a) Dated the 11th year of Henry II. in the king's exchequer; and atteſted by all the juſticiaries and great officers of the law.

Now

Now I obſerve here, that the term *land* doth not mean the manor; for, how could the leſſee be confirmed by Robert, if he had quitted all right and intereſt in the manor? but by land, I apprehend, is meant the new incloſures made by Theobald; and which ſince have borne his name, and are called Theobald-ſtreet, and to incloſe which he took an opportunity, when he firſt received a demiſe of the manor from the abbot Frederic. Paris ſays, that Theobald gave great trouble and moleſtation to the abbey of St. Alban; but this aroſe, probably, from the new privilege which Theobald was taking, and which was unexpected by Frederic; and this conteſt did not end until the 11th year of Henry II. when, as Paris ſays, a compromiſe took place; the manor remained with St. Alban, and the new incloſure was adjudged to Weſtminſter, who had borne all the charge and expence, and were creating a new eſtate upon the waſte of the manor. It is probable, that at this time the name of Tytburſt might begin; and ſome manerial rights be granted in the compromiſe above-mentioned. As Theobald had thus encloſed lands in Aldenham; and kept poſſeſſion of that eſtate a long time, ſo we find his ſucceſſor, Lawrence, doing the ſame in Hendon; which manor had long been in the church of Weſtminſter before, and where a long green lane ſtill records the memory of that famous abbot, who incloſed the lands adjoining. Had the compromiſe (by which is meant this quitting claim named in the deed) meant the manor, I think the word *manor*, and not *land*, would have been the juſt expreſſion; becauſe, when we ſay the abbey was poſſeſſed of ſuch a manor, this does not argue that the abbot and monks were intitled to all the rents iſſuing out of the lands, but only to the rights and privileges of lordſhip; which was a degree of primary and original ownerſhip over ſuch lands: which the lords demiſed under peculiar terms and conditions to leſſees and tenants. There was very little land perfectly free or allodial, and the general tenure was by leaſe for lives, or by copy of court-roll, with villanage; and very little was in demeſne, or paid an annual rent to the lord. The feudal law was at this time in its full ſtrength and vigour; and, on any failure of male heir, or of the conditions in the grant, the land was liable to a forfeiture, and the lord could reſume: ſo inſecure was a title to land in thoſe days: and hence it is that in the Norman reigns we find ſo many confirmations ſucceſſively made to the ſame perſons; or to their heirs and ſucceſſors of the ſame lands and poſſeſſions; and theſe, either by precept or writ from the king, or

other

other lords, to put the feoffees or their heirs and ſucceſſors into ſeizin after they had been diſſeiſed; or to keep them in ſeiſin undiſturbed; or elſe by charter of expreſs confirmation (a).

This manor of Aldenham was granted ſoon after the diſſolution to Henry Stepney; and his heir ſold it to Sir Edward Carey, who lived here in queen Elizabeth's reign, and his arms are now to be ſeen engraved on a ſtone affixed to the front wall of a pigeon-houſe ſituate in the farm-yard near to the church. This gentleman's ſon, named Henry, died at Theobald's Park in 1633; having received ſome grievous hurt by the fall of a ſcaffold, there erected, at a celebrated feſtivity. His ſon was Lucius Carey, made ſecretary of ſtate by Charles I. and ſlain at Newbury in 1643, fighting for his maſter and ſovereign. In 1640, he ſold this manor, as it was ſaid, to aid the royal cauſe. He bears a moſt ſingularly high character in Clarendon's Hiſtory (b). It was ſold to Sir Job Harby, one of the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms under Charles I. And his ſon, Sir Eraſmus Harby, ſold it, about 1660, to Denzel, lord Holles, of Ifield in Suſſex. His ſon, Sir Francis Holles, lived here, and ſucceeded to the title, and died in March 1690, aged 63, and was buried in this church. His London houſe was in Lincoln's Inn Fields. His ſon, named Denzel, ſucceeded to his titles and eſtates; a very promiſing youth; but he died in a fever, in 1693, aged eighteen years and nine months, and was buried here alſo. Being unmarried, he was the laſt deſcendant of this branch of the family: his title became extinct: and his eſtates devolved to his next heir, John, duke of Newcaſtle, who was grandſon and heir to John Holles, elder brother of Denzel, the firſt lord Holles, of Ifield, and couſin to the deceaſed. The ſaid John, duke of Newcaſtle's youngeſt ſiſter, named lady Grace, (her father being earl of Clare,) married Sir Thomas Pelham, of Laughton in Suſſex, created lord Pelham in 1706; and, dying in 1712, he left by her two ſons, viz. Thomas duke of Newcaſtle, the zealous friend of the Hanover ſucceſſion, and moſt eminent ſtateſman in the reigns of George the Iſt and IId. and another ſon, Henry, Chancellor of the Exchequer under George II. and, John duke of Newcaſtle, dying without iſſue male, he left all his eſtates to his ſiſter's ſon, Thomas, afterwards duke of Newcaſtle, now his adopted heir; and this manor of Aldenham, among many other. And here he pulled down a large manſion-houſe about 70 years ago, and ſold the materials, and forty

(a) Madox's Form. Anglic. (b) Vol. I. p. 340.

years ſince ſold the manor to Mrs. Vandewall. The advowſon had ever accompanied the manor.

In Watford the manor and the tithes had been among the earlieſt endowments of the abbey; and were given by Offa. At the diſſolution, or ſoon after, the care of theſe was committed to John lord Ruſſel, then living at Chenies, in the county of Bucks. And his memory is ſtill preſerved, in a certain farm called by his name but ſince adorned with a fair houſe, and all convenient accommodations; and inhabited by the lady Capels, ſiſters of the preſent earl of Eſſex. The manor of Watford was granted about the end of Elizabeth's reign to the lord chancellor Egerton, baron of Elleſmere, about the time when he acquired Aſhridge. And in his family did this manor remain until ſold to the earl of Eſſex, in 1760, or near that time.

The manor of Caſhiobury was under the care of the lord Ruſſel, and granted, in 1546, to Richard Moriſon or Moryſine, Eſq. and here ended the ſtewardſhip of lord Ruſſel. He had received a grant of Taviſtoke in 1540, and might have an expectation of obtaining this manor alſo; for Woeburn was not granted to him till the firſt of Edward VI. (1548) and Thorney two years after. Moriſon had been bred at Oxford (a); and, for his learning and ingenuity had been recommended to cardinal Pole, and brought by him into the notice of Henry, who knighted him. He was employed with Sir Philip Hoby in ſeveral embaſſies to the emperor, and ever approved himſelf eminent both in ability and integrity. He was rewarded by king Henry VIII. with this gift. This place had probably no conſpicuous perſon as an inhabitant, or indeed any houſe or dwelling fit for ſuch, before this time. Moriſon began a very handſome ſtructure, but went abroad into Italy before the ſame was near finiſhed, and died at Straſbourg in 1556. His lady was Bridget, daughter of John lord Huſſey, and after his deceaſe ſhe married, in 1561, Henry, earl of Rutland. This earl died in 1563; and then ſhe married Francis, earl of Bedford, who died in 1585. By theſe ſhe had no iſſue; and died in 1600, aged 75, having one ſon by Moriſon named Charles.

This Sir Charles Moriſon was conſtituted ſheriff of Herts in 1579, married Dorothy, the daughter of Nicolas Clerk, Eſq. and had by her a ſon named Charles, and daughter Bridget, married to Robert, earl of Suſſex. This Charles died in 1599, one year before his mother,

(a) Wood's Athen. Oxon.

and was ſucceeded in his eſtates by his ſon Charles. This Charles was made a baronet in 1611; a knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles I. in 1625, and ſerved in Parliament for Hertford in 1628, and died in Auguſt of that year, aged 41; leaving an only child and daughter, named Elizabeth, who became the wife of Arthur lord Capel of Little Hadham. Being an heireſs, ſhe brought with her the patrimony of her father: viz. the manor of Caſhiobury; the tithes of Watford; the manor of Park, in St. Stephen's pariſh; and King's Langley park; which was the ſite and park of the old palace at that place. In Watford pariſh is a ſmall manor called Carland belonging to Merton Coll. in Oxford, and among its earlieſt endowments.

Rickmanſworth was among the firſt donations made to this abbey; and, by the name of Pynefield, which was given by Offa's ſon, was meant this preſent pariſh; for it is there and afterwards explained by ſpecifying the four or five ſeveral manors which now lie within this limit; ſo that Pynefield probably extended at that time over the preſent pariſh, at leaſt over all the high land ſituate therein, and was ſo called from the abundance of pines there growing, which were the natural and indigenous growth of this iſland; though the fir is denied to be ſuch by Cæſar.

The firſt time we meet with the name of Rickmereſworth is in the age of the Conqueror in Domeſday; where it is aſſeſſed at fifteen hides, and the woodland was capable of feeding 1200 hogs. The fifteen hides argued the quantity of land under tillage; as finding employment for fifteen teams; and the latter implies that there was a large ſpace of ground covered with wood and timber. The name of Rickmereſworth, ſignified and denominated the low land(a), ſituate near the rivers, as the word Pynefield implied the high ground and upland part. At what time it was laid out as a pariſh is not known; but that was a work of the Saxons, ſoon after they received Chriſtianity, and pariſhes were generally made and laid out conformable to the limits of the manors. As manors, therefore, were prior to pariſhes, they were probably the work of the Britons; and the word is truly to be derived from the Britiſh *manor*, an hamlet, farm, abode; and not from the Norman *manoir*, as is generally ſuppoſed. And, if this etymology be juſt and right, it gives a reaſon why the names of ſome manors are ſo obſolete and obſcure as to be unintel-

(a) Worth ſignifies a place ſituate at the junction of two waters or rivers.

ligible,

ligible, and the meaning is to be ſought for in the Britiſh tongue, and prior to the Saxon times. There is juſt reaſon to think that the Britons, after the improvements made by the Romans; were found, on the Saxon invaſion, in a ſtate of civilization; with their lands cultivated, their habitations convenient, with great command of men and cattle about them. This was the condition of every great man, though it was not the general appearance of the country; and what is this, but the condition of the Saxon chiefs, and then of the Normans? with this difference only, that the Saxons and Normans were more warlike, and more obliged to defend their new conqueſts by arms, and to eſtabliſh new laws and more regular order of government, than what had prevailed before. Now, although this may occur in many manors and places, yet here we find nothing but Saxon; and, when Egfrid gave Pyneſield to his father's church, he gave it in a cultivated ſtate, and capable of yielding a rent. In Domeſday it is valued at 20l. a year; including a mill whoſe rent was 5s. 4d. a year, and a fiſhery worth 4s.

This donation is ſaid to have contained at that time five manors; and there were five, ſpecified by name in the time of Henry VI. when Butler attempted to defraud the abbot, and there are five manors at this time ſo held and acknowledged; and probably the very ſame as were comprehended in Pyneſield, though the ſame may have ſuffered ſome change in name. The preſent manors are, that of Rickmerſworth; of the moor; of Croſley or Croxley; of Micklefield, and the manor of the rectory or church. All theſe were held and poſſeſſed by the abbey, from the time of Offa in 793 to 1539, 746 years. What was their ſtate and deſtination after the ſurrender I will now ſhew.

The manor of Rickmerſworth claims to be paramount; not only over the other four, but alſo over other pretended manors, and is very extenſive.

The manor-houſe called the bury is ſituate near the church, and has in demeſne a very fine park ſituate at a diſtance, and at the North Eaſt end of the town. The firſt owner I can find of this houſe and manor is Thomas Fotherley; who died, as appears by a ſepulchral inſcription, in 1624; and his wife, named Tabitha, in 1584; at which time they probably dwelt in this houſe. His ſon was Sir Thomas Fotherley, knt. and one of the privy chamber to Charles I. and his ſon ſucceeded in this eſtate, and was in the commiſſion of the peace in the time of Charles II.

The manor of the Moor comprehends the Eaſt and South part of the pariſh, and has been called in the old records the manor of Bachworth; becauſe this latter is included in it. This manor has in it a famous manſion and park called Moor Park, (of near 500 acres,) which has been the ſeat and property of divers famous perſons. The firſt inhabitant whom I can find there was the above named Butler, knt. who had held this manor, and the others contiguous to it, on ſuch eaſy terms, and for ſo long a ſpace, that he almoſt forgot to acknowledge any lord; as was related in the life of Wheathampſtead. After him it became the property of George Nevil, the great and magnificent archbiſhop of York, and he lived here and uſed to entertain Edward IV. when king; who frequently came to this place from Windſor, where he delighted to make his abode. This Nevil was the younger brother of Richard Earl of Warwick, and partook of the favour or diſlike of Edward in the ſame proportion as his ſaid brother. Accordingly, in the year 1472, and ſoon after the earl had been defeated and ſlain at Gladmere-heath, near Barnet, the following ſtratagem was laid to enſnare and ruin this archbiſhop. He was received into favour, and was hunting with the king at Windſor, 'when he 'made relation to him of ſome extraordinary kind of game, where-'with he was wont to ſolace himſelf at a houſe he had built and fur-'niſhed ſumptuouſly, called the Moore in Hertfordſhire. The king 'ſeeming deſirous to be partaker of this ſport, appointed a day when 'he would come hither and hunt, and make merry with him. Here-'upon, the archbiſhop taking his leave, got him home, and thinking 'to entertain the king in the beſt manner it was poſſible for him, he 'ſent for much plate that he had hid during the wars, and alſo bor-'rowed much of his friends. The deer which the king hunted being 'thus brought into the toils; the day before his appointed time he 'ſent for the archbiſhop, commanding him, all excuſes ſet apart, 'to repair preſently to him at Windſor. As ſoon as he came he was 'arreſted of treaſon; all his money, plate, movable goods, to the 'value of twenty thouſand pounds, ſeized upon for the king; and him-'ſelf, a long ſpace after, was kept priſoner at Calais and Guiſnes; 'during which time, the king took upon himſelf all the profits and 'temporalities of the biſhopric. Among other things, then taken 'from him, he had a mitre of ineſtimable value by reaſon of many 'rich ſtones wherewith it was adorned; that the king broke, and 'made thereof a crown for himſelf. This calamity happened unto 'him in the year 1472. By interceſſion and intreaty of his friends, and

'much

'much ado, he obtained his liberty in the year 1476; and, a little while 'enjoying the ſame, with grief and anguiſh of mind as was thought, 'died at Blithlaw, coming from York; and was buried in the min-'ſter there, aged forty-one.

This fact happened at Moore-park, and is related on the undoubted authority of Goodwin, biſhop of Llandaff(a). This manor thus fell to the crown, and here it remained, until Henry VII. in the firſt year of his reign, gave the ſame to John Vere, earl of Oxford, who led the van at Boſworth-field, and contributed much to the ſervice of Henry in gaining the victory of that day; and Henry, in reward thereof, conferred on him this manor, with remainder to the iſſue of his counteſs Margaret, who had been the daughter of Richard, the late earl of Warwick, and niece to the archbiſhop aforeſaid. How long it continued in this family is unknown; but in 1617 James I. granted it by patent to one Woodward, at the requeſt of the earl of Bedford, and in truſt for him. In 1626, the earl ſold it to William, earl of Pembroke. In 1655, it paſt to Sir Richard Franklyn, knt. who in 1660 was made a baronet, and repreſented this county in 1661; and in 1672 he ſold it to Sir William Bucknal, of Oxey. The Veres ſold the houſe and park in 1600 to Robert Carey, third ſon of Lord Hunſdon; who was created lord Cary of Lepington in 1620, and earl of Monmouth in 1625, and who died at Moore-park in 1639. His ſon Henry ſucceeded to his honours of fortune, and, dying in 1661, was buried in this pariſh-church. Soon after, this ſeat was ſold to Sir John Franklyn, the father of Sir Richard. This Sir Richard ſold it to Thomas, earl of Oſſory, (eldeſt ſon to the duke of Ormond,) which Thomas was called to the houſe of Peers in 1666, by the ſtyle and title of lord Butler of(b) Moore-park. He commanded a ſquadron of ſhips in the great ſea-fight with the Dutch in 1672 (c); and ſoon after ſold this ſeat and park to James Fitzroy, duke of Monmouth. At his deceaſe, in 1685, it came to his ducheſs Anne, daughter of the earl of Buccleugh; and ſhe married, ſecondly,

(a) De Præſulibus, edit. 1615.

(b) This lord Butler had married a lady of high rank and fortune in Holland, and deſcended from Maurice, prince of Orange; and under the direction of this lady, and agreeably to her taſte, here were laid out very ſplendid gardens, at this time quite new in England, but equalled by none ſince in the pleaſantneſs and expence thereof, and celebrated by Sir William Temple.

(c) In this year the following gentlemen of this county were made baronets: Sir John Keate, of the Hoo; Sir Job Harby, of Aldenham; Sir Thomas Hewit, of Piſhobury; Sir Heneage Fetherſton, of Blakeſware.

the

the lord Cornwallis of that time, Before her death, ſhe ſold it to Hoſkin Stiles, Eſq. who built the preſent houſe. His heir or executors ſold it to George lord Anſon; and his heir to Sir Lawrence Dundas in 1765; and his ſon hath ſold it to Thomas Rouſe, Eſq.

The manor of Micklefield now belongs to a family named Skidmore.

The manor of the rectory, together with the tithes, was granted away to ſome perſon, who exchanged the ſame with the biſhop of London. And to that ſee this manor and tithes do ſtill belong, and alſo the patronage of the church.

The manor of Crokeſly, or Croſley, continued in the crown until queen Elizabeth granted the ſame to Dr. Caius, to make part of the endowment of his new college, ſtill bearing his name at Cambridge. This ſtill belongs to the ſaid college, and here is yet ſtanding the great barn built on this manor by Moot, and now about 300 years old.

When it is ſaid that theſe manors and eſtates were granted, it is implied generally, that it was for a compenſation, though the ſame be not mentioned. But there is ground ſufficient to ſhew, that many perſons who had demands on the king for wages, &c. were recompenſed by ſome of theſe grants: thus, in Codicote, the manor of Siſſivernes was granted to John Penn, who was groom of the privy chamber, and barber and porter to the king. This man had married the daughter and heir of one Chevall, who had for three or four generations held the lands under leaſe from the abbot; and now the manor was given as a gratuity. And in Shephall, the manor, which had been an early gift to the church, as appears by Domeſday, was given by Henry VIII. to one George Nodes. He had been tenant of the land under the abbot; and had ſerved the king as ſerjeant of the buck-hounds; and in this quality ſerved Edward VI. Mary, and Elizabeth. He died in 1564, but his deſcendants lived here in good credit until the year 1688.

As for the diſtant eſtates, little can be ſaid of them, and little can be diſcovered: with regard to Winſlow I find the following remark.

'The manor of Bigging, with that of Winſlow, Shipton, Grene-
'borough, and Little Horwood, were leaſed in the 31ſt of Henry
'VIII. to Richard Breame, Eſq. yeoman of the houſehold, and Mar-
'garet his wife, during their lives, and to the longeſt liver of them.
'This leaſe was of the yearly value of 52l. 4s. 7d. beſides the par-
'ſonage of Wynſlow, Greneborough, and Little Horwood, valued at
'29l. 7s. 8d. The ſaid leſſees paid a yearly reſerved rent of 16l. os. 1d.
'The commiſſioners under Philip and Mary ſay, they find the manor
'of

'of Bigging to be granted to Benedict Lee, Eſq. by letters patent 'dated June 28, in 1 Edward VI. for twenty-one years after the ex-'piration of the former; and Margaret was then living; and the ſaid 'parſonage given to the clergy by act of Parliament (a).'

The ſaid commiſſioners valued Bigging at 10l. a year, and at twenty years purchaſe, and ſold it to Lee at that rate. The lead, bells, and advowſon, to be excepted (b).

The manor of Combes, in Suſſex, was granted to the lord Windſor of that time; but is now the property of Sir Thomas Bridger.

This lord Windſor had a grant alſo of the manor of Houndeſlowe, parcel of the manor of Hampton Court, and formerly annexed to the priory of Houndeſlowe; this was rated in 1557 to him at the clear yearly value of 41l. 3s. 4d. and at twenty-two years purchaſe.

The rectory of Hockliffe in Bucks was valued at one year's purchaſe; viz. 16l. 9s. 6d. and ſold to one Henham of London (c).

Among the earlieſt and largeſt of the donations with which this abbey was endowed, was the manor or manors contained in the pariſh of Luton, together with the tithes. Theſe all remained with the abbey until the diſſolution, at which time the ſame was obtained by Sir Thomas Pope, and ſettled on his new endowment of Trinity College, Oxford. The preſident and fellows are ſtill the lords of the ſame; and Luton is one of their beſt eſtates. They leaſed it formerly to the family of the Napiers; and in 1764 their intereſt therein was ſold to John earl of Bute.

The manor of Eaſtwell had long been the property of the abbey; but a family named Herbert and Fitzherbert had been the inhabitants, and probably the leſſees. Eaſtwell was now granted to Sir Thomas Moyle, of North Cadbury, in the county of Somerſet, knt. and Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations; and his eldeſt daughter and co-heir, being married to Sir Thomas Finch, of Burmarche (d), in Kent, brought Eaſtwell to the Finches. Of Sir Thomas was deſcended his ſon Sir Moyle Finch, who in the reign of Elizabeth was lord of this place; and, having married the ſole daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Heneage, knt. treaſurer of the chamber, vice-chamberlain of the

(a) The preſent owner of this extenſive manor is Lownds Selby, Eſq.

(b) Les Ratez, p. 607, 147. (c) Les Ratez.

(d) Burmarche was a grant to Sir Thomas Finch, and had been part or parcel of the lands belonging to the late diſſolved monaſtery of St. Auſtin's in Canterbury. But Sir Thomas Finch was originally of Netherfield, Ikleſam, and Marle, in Suſſex, near Haſtings and Winchelſea.

houſehold, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter to queen Elizabeth, and alſo of her privy council, laid the foundation of great fortune and great honours. This lady, in 1628, was ennobled by the title of viſcounteſs Maidſton, and then of counteſs of Winchelſea. Her ſon was the firſt earl of Winchelſea, and her third grandſon became earl of Nottingham, and was ſeated at Ravenſton in Bucks, and purchaſed large eſtates near Daventry. Eaſtwell was given by Daniel, the late earl of Wincheſter, to the hon. Finch Hatton, the eldeſt ſon of his younger brother Edward Finch, though the ſame was the original eſtate of the family.

PART

PART III.

CONCLUSION.

THUS, reader, have I led thee through a period of one thouſand years; from the riſe and origin, through the progreſs and maturity, and to the end and downfal of theſe monaſtic inſtitutions; for, though I profeſs to give the hiſtory of one alone, yet they are ſo much alike, that the general rule and œconomy of all are exhibited herein. And in peruſal of this account it is impoſſible not to obſerve, and to compare in our mind, the difference of the two branches of the church, the monaſtic clergy and the parochial or ſecular. The firſt were poſſeſſed of authority and power, of affluence and riches, of high rank and dignity; while the latter were ever low and depreſſed, with a bare ſubſiſtence, with a tenure only for life, ſubject to numberleſs indignities and oppreſſions from the rich lords and potent laity, and at too great a diſtance from their heads and leaders, the biſhops, to be benefited by them, or even noticed; not to mention the envy and calumny they were made to ſuffer from the monks; and the frauds, encroachments, uſurpations, and impoſitions, from the friers and mendicant clergy.

From the beginning of monachiſm we ſee theſe bodies ſupported and countenanced by a foreign head, and all their allegiance and attachment directed to that principle, and contributing to enable the pope to govern this kingdom; or, at leaſt, under the pretence of guarding religion, to have at command a vaſt multitude of ſubjects and dependents; and to extract from the people great ſums of money, to be ſent to Rome. We ſee William the Conqueror raiſing and elevating the biſhops, and making them more uſeful than before to the new polity and government of the ſtate; but no advantage was derived by him or by them to the parochial clergy. We ſee in the ſubſequent reigns multitudes of monkiſh foundations, as one of the chief fruits and effects of the cruſades. And under the weak reign of Henry III. we may ſee the court and kingdom almoſt wholly governed by them and their leaders. The Edwards, with great wiſdom and juſt policy, ſet bounds both to their riches and to their power; yet they ſaw them too beneficial, in many reſpects, to wiſh them ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed; and, beſide the many uſeful applications made of their wealth, which I have mentioned, there was another which rendered them of ſingular and neceſſary benefit; and that was in being the ſurety and pledge in borrowing great ſums of money; an uſe which even the king experienced and reſorted to; but which was abſolutely neceſſary in the infancy of trade, and when few men had any capitals in money. Theſe bodies, having perpetuity and ſucceſſion, and above all a character of honeſty and probity, were the beſt ſecurity on all bonds and obligations; eſpecially when we conſider, that landed property could give no juſt ſecurity, when every man's title was bad, and he could not bind his heir or ſucceſſor. And in theſe bodies alone did men find ſecurity for moneys lent or engaged for. Such then is one of the great temporal uſes and benefits of religion to the community; and ſo falſe is that opinion, that men will do their duty, and fill up a virtuous conduct from a motive of fear only.

This beneficial uſe kept them up in the times of the Edwards; and continued to do ſo, until other ſecurities began to be found, by enabling the owners of land to perpetuate their intereſt therein, and to exclude the lord of the fee. When Henry VII. made a law to enable men to deviſe their land by their will and teſtament, they began to acquire a new and permanent intereſt; and leſs reſort was had to the punctuality and integrity of the religious.

Indeed, it is but juſt to praiſe theſe inſtitutions wherever utility appears; and, conſidering the times, they doubtleſs did accompliſh many

many works, and perform many ſervices of a public nature, which none but corporate inſtitutions could perform. And, therefore, it is weakneſs and folly in us of theſe days, to harbour and continue that calumny, which Henry's times, for ſelfiſh and mercenary reaſons, ſet on foot. No man is benefited by keeping up the ſlander; and no man's title to their property is injured by profeſſing the truth. At the ſame time, I wiſh not to ſee them revive in any part of the world; but to practiſe, from their example, whatever had in it any religious or moral merit, or was found uſeful to the reſt of mankind; and to bury in oblivion all and every miſdeed they might be guilty of. They never could have ſtood their ground ſo long, if they had not brought with them many civil advantages. And to this purpoſe, their religious character, however deficient, greatly contributed. And they will ever ſtand an unrivalled inſtance of that great truth, that no government can be conducted without the aid of religion; that no obedience will be paid from fear only, but it muſt ariſe for conſcience ſake, and from an inward principle of duty to God.

The word of God, and the knowledge of goſpel truths, is juſtly called light; a name moſt appropriate to the ſun of righteouſneſs. But how nearly was this light extinguiſhed, or at leaſt how greatly obſcured, when ignorance in the Popiſh church was countenanced, encouraged, and eſtabliſhed, *ex induſtria!* and nothing can ſpeak louder the craft of the rulers, and the blindneſs of the ruled, than their doctrine of tranſubſtantiation; which, though of all doctrines the leaſt able to reconcile itſelf to the reaſon and underſtanding of men; yet was maintained with the moſt ardent zeal and ardour by the Popiſh doctors. It was the moſt unintelligible of all doctrines; for, it requires many logical ſteps, and a long train of rational deduction, to prove the connection between eating a conſecrated wafer and the depravity and corruption of human nature. So little inſtruction was there to ſhew the want, and the uſe, and neceſſity, of a ſacrifice for ſin; and in what manner this ſacrifice was repreſented by a wafer, though conſecrated; that the worſhiper took up the belief of a charm as the moſt ready and obvious ſenſe of the rite; or, with more faith, conceived it to be a proviſion *(viaticum)* for the journey of death.

The aim of the church of Rome in teaching and propagating this myſterious doctrine, was to inſpire awe and reſpect; to bend the minds of men to the moſt paſſive ſubmiſſion; and to make them acquieſce in all myſteries, whether contained in the word of God or

ſuggeſted only by pious men. It muſt alſo be thought highly probable, that this doctrine of wonders found a more eaſy reception for this reaſon; becauſe it was firſt opened and encouraged, and then eſtabliſhed in Times when the Roſicrucians flouriſhed (a) and the tranſmutation of metals was ſedulouſly ſtudied. When we reflect that theſe pretenders to chemiſtry, and theſe teachers of Popiſh miracles lived in the ſame ages, no doubt can be made on this concluſion, that they gave mutual aid and encouragement to each other.

At the reformation, when the Sun of righteouſneſs roſe again, and diffuſed anew the light of goſpel truth, we find the great promoters of that work preparing the way to ſalvation by inſtruction. They framed a catechiſm, and directed this ſhort expoſition of the Chriſtian faith to be taught to the youth of all pariſhes. They enjoined preaching, not only to diſpel the miſts of ignorance, but to illumine the ways of duty, in perfect conformity to the orders of Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe direction it was to preach the goſpel to every creature. (Mark XVI. xv.) They laboured in a peculiar manner to rectify the notion of the Euchariſt; and to this purpoſe they publiſhed the ſermons of abbot Ælfric (b) from the Saxon into Engliſh, in order to ſhew, that the doctrine of the reformers on that point was the ſame as had been taught by the Engliſh church, three hundred years before tranſubſtantiation had its riſe or was thought of; and that the church of that time taught as the reformers did, that the Euchariſt was a memorial only of the great ſacrifice for ſin made by Chriſt, and of the ſpiritual benefits derived from that act of the Saviour.

A national church is the civil inſtitution for teaching true religion; and, whenever writers have ſpoken of the alliance between church and ſtate, that expreſſion is ſuitable only to thoſe times, when the church and the ſtate formed two diſtinct, ſeparate, independent, bodies, united by ſome fœderal bond: whereas, at the Reformation, when by a maſterly policy the independence of the church was deſtroyed, and the ſame was made ſubordinate to the ſtate, no longer to act as 'lord 'of the heritage,' but as teachers of the faith, the church was, by new ſettlements, ſo interwoven with the ſtate, that inſtead of being, as before, its rival, or its engine and tool, it became now the firſt and chief eſtabliſhment, calculated to ſupport good and juſt government, and to co-operate with the magiſtracy in promoting obedience to all lawful

(a) Raymund Lully, and others.
(b) Printed by Day, 1565. See p. 24 of this Hiſtory.

 authority,

authority, as one of the duties that belongeth to the character of a Chriſtian. The church was then made a principal branch of the civil eſtabliſhment; its province and duty was, in the firſt place, to preach the faith in Chriſt, and inculcate the moral precepts of the goſpel, and then to preſs the obſervance of thoſe great duties, of juſtice, charity, ſobriety, and chaſtity, which tend to bind and unite men together in ſociety. The church was then made the public inſtructor, to reſtrain the beginnings of vice, and to plant the ſeeds of virtue and truth; juſt as the laws of the ſtate were meant to coerce and to puniſh the crimes of the hand. The church acts by the principles of religion, the ſtate by the force of law and authority. The church acts as the ſoul of the ſtate, to give every member its proper motion and due direction. If modern writers ſpeak of alliance, they can mean by it no other conjunction than ſomething analagous to ſoul and body.

But it is not in the duties of each wherein this union conſiſts; let its revenues be conſidered and its patronage. Where, in the firſt, more than a moiety, or one half, of the church revenues, as once enjoyed, is at preſent in the hands of the laity; and, of the laſt, more than ſeven parts in eight are veſted in the gentry (a) of this kingdom. An effectual bar this againſt the return of Popery; but conſtituting a ſacred truſt in the preſent patrons; and ſuch as not only brings them nigher to the altar of God, but makes them reſponſible for the due performance of the duties belonging to that truſt.

The firſt foundations of the Church of England were laid in the ſincere faith, and unſhaken principles, of the biſhops who ſubmitted to martyrdom; but it received its ſtability, and temporal ſtrength, from the wiſdom and ſagacity, as well as piety, of Elizabeth and her miniſters. We have ſeen this church, though reduced to a few men in the miniſterial office, ſtruggling and contending, for 250 years, againſt the malice of Rome, and the efforts of a ſuperſtitious zeal. But, though it hath ſtood ſafe in time paſt againſt all the aſſaults of ſuperſtition, and the dangers of too much religion; yet future dangers ſeem to threaten it from opinions that have too little religion. The dangers and terrors of ſuperſtition are giving way to thoſe from a contrary and oppoſite quarter; infidelity now threatens; and the ſelf-conceit of human vanity, and pretended ſelf-ſufficiency, almoſt exclude revealed religion, or any help or dependance on Heaven.

(a) That is, all livings, except thoſe in the gift of the king and his chancellor, the biſhops, colleges, and other public bodies.

But,

But, if any men can love the darkneſs of infidelity rather than the light of faith, let them caſt their eyes towards that ruined kingdom, where all thoſe principles have had full ſcope; where may be ſeen not only the full-blown bloſſoms, but the matured fruits, of infidelity: where men, having caſt aſide all belief in God, and all ſenſe of duty, are indulging, without remorſe or ſhame, all the worſt paſſions of a corrupt and depraved nature.

When we contemplate the reduced number of clergy, and the more reduced ſtate of their revenues, as ſettled at the Reformation, it ſtrikes our obſervation alſo, that their labour, and the duties enjoined on them, are threefold more than they were prior to that event. And, though their number is not above 8 or 9000, yet is there no other order, or rank of men, in the kingdom, ſo ill paid or requited for their labours and ſervices. But they are men who derive conſolation from the certainty of future retribution; and that from the hand of a juſt Maſter. They are men with whom poverty is honour and content is riches.

The Church of England, which is the civil eſtabliſhment for the teaching of religion and inſtruction of the people, is formed on the beſt plan that was ever deviſed for that purpoſe; but it is not ſo extenſive in its influence as the wants of the people require. There are numbers of populous villages and new towns ariſing, which are not provided with any religious helps from the eccleſiaſtic eſtabliſhment. The ſpiritual wants of the people point out that new churches ſhould be built, large pariſhes be divided, and new pariſhes made; that chapels of eaſe be made parochial, and more clergy be fixed in the new churches. It might be contrived, that all places of worſhip ſet up and opened by the Diſſenters might yet be ſerved by the clergy of the church. The civil power in this country could make no objection to the building new churches; and creating new pariſhes; but approve it, for this reaſon, becauſe parochial government, and all the duties of pariſh-officers, is much eaſier conducted, and with more certain effect, within ſmall limits, than in large.

This plan of improvement might receive great helps from the governors of queen Anne's bounty; with ſome new powers of extending the uſes of that charity, and of quickening its beneficial intentions. The approbation of Parliament would adjuſt all jarring intereſts; and enable the people, who live now in groſs ignorance and neglect, to receive inſtruction in religion, and, along with it, many civil improvements; for, this is a certain conſequence, that civilization and uſeful

arts

arts follow the abode of a regular miniſter and a fixed church. This increaſe of the clergy in number is ſeen to be neceſſary in all increaſing towns and villages; large pariſhes in the country require it, the wants of the people demand it, all good and pious men would promote it; and, whenever the ſeveral intereſted parties would conſent and unite in the work, Parliament would readily give it authority and confirmation.

The people of England have, by common right, a juſt and legal claim to the worſhip of God as eſtabliſhed by law; and, in order to communicate that right, and enable them to enjoy it, more churches muſt be built, and more clergy ordained to ſerve them. When the monaſtic branch of the church was lopped off, ſeveral of their beſt duties and cares were thrown on the parochial clergy, who, at the time when inſtruction was enjoined and made a principal part of their duty, were thought too few for the work; and now, when the people are doubled in numbers, and ignorance, error, and licentious morals, more prevalent, moſt certainly their ſpiritual wants are more urgent and preſſing; eſpecially when principles moſt dangerous to true religion and good morals, as well as to legal government and juſt order, are ſpreading abroad under the moſt ſpecious pretences, the preſent number of clergy are unequal to the taſk of right inſtruction; and, as the danger is greater as ill principles gain ground, more combatants to oppoſe that danger muſt be provided.

APPENDIX N° I.

See Page 132.

EGO Offa Rex, huic donationi meæ, Signum Crucis impono.
Ego Egfridus, paternæ munificentiæ conſentiens, ſubſcripſi.
Ego Higbertus, Archiepiſcopus, conſenſi & ſubſcripſi.
Ego Ceolphwus, Epiſcopus, conſenſi & ſubſcripſi.
Signum Manus Alhmundi Abbatis.
Signum Beonnani Abbatis.
Signum Brordani Patricii.
Signum Binnani Principis.
Signum Eadgari Ducis.
Signum Cuthberti Ducis.

Another of king Ethelred in 996.

Ego Ethelredus, Anglorum Baſileus, hanc Chartam ſcripſi.
Ego Ælfricus, Dorovern. Arch. Ep. Signum Crucis impoſui.
Ego Ældulfus Ebor. Arch. Ep. conſentaneus extiti.
Ego Ælfeah Winton. Epiſcop. ſimiliter Aſſenſum præbui.
Ego Wulſtan Epiſ. conſenſi.
Ego Elfeah Epiſ. corroboravi.
Ego Athulph Epiſ. conſignavi.
Ego Wulſige Epiſ. conſolidavi.
Ego Ordbright Epiſ. conſigillavi.
Ego Godwinus Epiſ. confirmavi.
Ego Ealdred Epiſ. concluſi.
Ego Elfithryth, Regina.
Ego Elſweard Abbus, & cæteri plurimi.

APPENDIX N° II.

See Pages 134. 144.

STATUTES, on reforming the Monks of the *Black Order*, by Greg. IXth, then Pontiff, in the Year 1238, and to be obſerved by the ſaid Monks.

That no one be admitted a Monk till he is twenty years of age. That, on hearing the bell, they ſhall repair, without delay, into the abbey, leaving and ſetting aſide any buſineſs then in hand; that, in the ſeveral monaſteries, there ſhall be a general confeſſion every month; that, on the firſt Sunday of the month, they ſhall communicate in the body and blood of Chriſt: and, if any one ſhall think proper to abſtain, that he do ſignify the cauſe to the abbot, and approach or abſtain as he ſhall direct. That the rigid diſcipline of the order be obſerved, and ſilence kept in the church, in the hall, in the cloiſter, and in the dormitory; any tranſgreſſion to be puniſhed according to the rules. That all candidates be often inſtructed in the three chief vows, of obedience, of continence, and of poverty: and that, if they are not willing to comply, they may leave at the end of the year; or, if they conform, that they be admitted and receive the benediction. That the office of prior, or dean, or other ruler, be conferred gratis, without gift or compact; if any one ſhall accept, on ſuch terms, or at the recommendation of any layman, let him be deemed ſimoniacal. That no prior be ſet aſide without a juſt cauſe, as being a dilapidator of the houſes, or diſobedient, or rebellious. That no monk be poſſeſſed of more offices or priories than one, nor be a monk in more abbeys than one. That no monk ſhould dwell in any priory or in any grange alone, but another ſhould be joined with him; and, if there is not maintenance for two, then let the firſt be recalled to the cloiſter. That no abbot, when he giveth a charge or ſuperintendence, or the receipt of any rents, to any monk, do make a bargain with him, or take ſureties of him. That when any prior, officer, or monk, having temporal charge, or when any bailiff be ſick, and through infirmity prevented, that ſuch an one do make up his accounts, and give a clear confeſſion of all matters under his care, and reſign the ſame to the abbot. With regard to the diet and cloathing, we direct and enjoin that all the monks be cloathed in one ſort of cloth, or garment; and all the private eating in the chambers be utterly forbidden. But let them be regularly dieted in the ſame refectory, with

the ſame food cooked for all, with the ſame ſort of bread, and the ſame drink; unleſs they are confined in the infirmary, or dine at the abbot's table. And that the hour of refreſhment, according to the ſtrict rule, be at twelve o'clock during winter; at other times let the rule be obſerved as therein directed, and with ſuch moderate diet as is preſcribed; and let no one cauſe delicacies to be prepared for him, or accept of any thing that is preſented: and, if any preſent of that ſort is made, let it be carried to the ſuperior, who will provide that it be uſed by ſuch as, having a weak ſtomach, cannot eat the common fare. In the infirmary, or the refectory, let there be uſed no cup of gold or ſilver, or with a foot or a rim of gold or ſilver; nor let any monk be poſſeſſed of a belt or a knife that hath the leaſt ornament of gold or ſilver. In the infirmary let no perſon eat fleſh-meat, unleſs it be a monk, or convert who ſhall be ſick, or ſome perſon who for bodily weakneſs ſhall have been ſent to the infirmary; and let no monk, whether in the houſe or out and abroad, eat any fleſh, but according to the rule, *viz.* in ſickneſs. Such refreſhments of a fleſh diet, as have been accuſtomed to be uſed in ſome monaſteries, we do utterly forbid; and much more any pudding, ſauſage, or compoſition, made of ſtale meat. And if any abbot or monk on a journey ſhall be compelled, through neceſſity, to eat fleſh, let him turn aſide to ſome religious houſe, if near; otherwiſe, let him take ſuch conſultation for his infirmity, that he give no offence to any other perſon. But, if any one ſhall preſume to eat fleſh contrary to the above, for the firſt and ſecond offence let him be ſubject to the ſtated diſcipline; if he offend a third time, let him, on on the fourth and ſixth following holy days, faſt on bread and water. If an abbot himſelf ſhall offend, in this caſe, let him, on the ſecond, fourth, and ſixth holy days, be content with bread and water; and, if he perſiſt in his practice, and refuſeth the monitions of his dioceſan or viſitors, let him be deprived. Let the ſick and infirm brethren be provided with what is ſuitable, according to the rule; and, if the maſter of the infirmary be found deficient in his care, let him be reproved by his abbot or prior; and an abbot or prior, when the viſitors ſhall come, let him receive, for his offence, condign puniſhment. We farther direct, that ſhoes, and proper clothing, be provided, and that no money be allowed the monks inſtead thereof. Let the monks appear in their common and religious habits, and carry themſelves in a handſome manner in the cloiſter, and when they go abroad; nor let them return without their cowl and regular habit. Let them not have any great coat or upper garment, coloured; nor let any monk preſume to ride with a ſaddle of leſs coſt than is allowed; nor more adorned with a ſuperfluous ornament of nails. Let them have no ſpurs, either gilded or ſilvered; nor the leaſt ornament of iron on the bridles; nor let them uſe gloves with fingers diſtinct, nor boots of a peaked form, or ſharp pointed at the toe.

Let no one uſe any coat of burnet, or of wild ſkins, or any linen ſhirt, or other covering of linen; but let them ſleep in their clothes, and girded, as the rule directs, and have no rents in their clothes. Let no prior, or ſupe-

rior of the cloiſter, or any monk, appropriate to himſelf any chamber, or horſe, or domeſtic, or furniture for a horſe, or make any contention for the uſe of the ſame; but, if it be neceſſary that he go abroad, let him be provided by his ſuperior. We do enjoin that all abbots and priors, when they lend or change the ſecurity, or borrow, they do, in the preſence of the majority preſent, ſignify the ſum, who are the creditors, and when the money is due and payable; and that the ſtate of the houſes may be the better known, we ordain that every three months, in the preſence of the abbot or prior, their officials do exhibit an account of all their receipts and payments with exactneſs and fidelity. The abbots and priors, twice in a year, *viz.* on the firſt of October and firſt of April, having collected all the rents, ſhall lay before the ſenior monks, or the viſitors, a full account of the ſtate of the houſe. But, if any abbot or prior ſhall, with intention of fraud, ſuppreſs any great debts, let him be removed from his employ. But, if the abbot or prior ſhall contract a debt, the monaſtery ſhall not be bound, only ſo far as it ſhall be proved to have been uſeful or beneficial to the monaſtery.

Let no abbot or prior dare to give to ſecular perſons any priory, or grange, or penſion, or a monk's allowance. Let no one ſell, or exchange, or alienate, any penſion, nor give it, except in the manner directed by the rule; but let him know that all alienation is utterly forbidden. Let monks that acquire property be excommunicated by their abbots; and if, at their death, they be found to have property, let them be deprived of church-burial, or be interred as one of the vulgar. Let no one, except for the purpoſes of an office committed to his truſt, be poſſeſſd of a cheſt, or box, with a key, without permiſſion; and, as often as the abbot ſhall require, let the key be given up to him; and, if he keeps one without permiſſion, let him be deemed a perſon having property; and ſentence of excommunication ſhall be ſolemnly proclaimed once a year in the chapter-houſe againſt proprietors. The abbot, who knowingly ſhall conſent to any monks having property, ſhall be ſuſpended for a time; and what is underſtood to be property by the rule of St. Benedict, is, whatever any one receives in his own name, or that of the monaſtery, that is not lent, nor let to hire, nor depoſited in truſt. We alſo farther enjoin, that no abbot do grant to any kinſman, whether in want or not, any of the immovables of the church; nor preſent him with the movables. Whenever any office is ſung, let certain perſons be charged with the care of the cloiſter, the refectory, the dormitory, and the choir; and let no woman enter any of the ſaid places, nor the choir, while ſinging is performing, unleſs by chance it may happen that ſome women are paſſing through the cloiſter or the choir at the time of a dedication or grant made to any church, or on the principal feſtival of the church, or at the funeral obſequies of ſome deceaſed perſon, except women of high rank, and who patronize the abbey, and to them leave ſhall be granted, only at certain times, by the abbot; and with exception alſo to ſuch perſons as ſhall have procured leave of entrance from the apoſtolic ſee. And if any abbot or prior ſhall di-

rect his official to admit a woman, the abbot or prior ſhall faſt one day on bread and water. Moreover, abbots and priors, if they ſhall have to ride with them any ſecular ſervants, either of their own family or of the convent, let them be of mature age, and habited in a decent, not a wanton, manner. We alſo will and command, that, in every abbey or priory, the abbot or prior do take order for hoſpitality and almſgiving, in proportion to the ability of the houſe; a certain quantity for the conſtant poor, and more for the ſtranger. And we forbid, on pain of eternal damnation, any poſſeſſion or rents, given for alms, to be perverted to other uſes. And, becauſe no fraud is to be committed in the almſgiving, no perſon ſhall conceal any part of his victuals left at table, or his old clothes, or old ſhoes, with intent to defraud; but ſhall give up all theſe to the almoner, for him to beſtow on the poor: nor ſhall any thing new be given to any monk who ſhall not yield up the old. We alſo ſtrictly forbid, that leave be given to any monk to go abroad, or out of his houſe, to ſee ſecular matters, except very rarely, and then for a reaſonable cauſe, and with ſuitable company; and they ſhall ſay their *hours* (a) by the way, and be provided with books for the purpoſe; and no monk ſhall ſpeak to any woman, but before two or three reputable witneſſes; nor ſhall any monk be ſerved or attended on by any woman, in any place whatever. And, in fine, ſince abbots and priors ought not to run about and wander abroad, our will is, that they do ſit in the cloiſter in company with the brethren, and be preſent at divine ſervice; eſpecially in the vigils, in the chapter-houſe, and at ſaying grace. And we enjoin that no abbot or monk, who ſhall be within three miles of his abbey or his cell, ſhall eat or paſs the night in the houſe of any ſecular. And farther, ſince the rule when read is often not underſtood by the juniors, we command that the ſame be explained to them in the vulgar tongue in the chapter-houſe. Concerning the riding and airings of the abbots, we wiſh them to obſerve this moderation; that no abbot do take more, out of his ſtanding family, than ten attendants, and among them let a monk be the bearer of his cloak; and let inferior abbots be content with fewer attendants, according to the ability of their houſe. Let the rents, both of the abbey and of the members, be reduced to writing, and an eſtimate taken of the obventions, though they are uncertain; and let the abbot have one copy, and the prior and convent another, each for private uſe. If any abbey be unable to maintain its monks, let them be ſent and received, by ſome more able houſe. And we ordain this rule to be read thrice in the year. We alſo command, that ſuch abbots as ſhall preſide in the provincial chapter do then appoint certain diſcreet men to be viſitors, with power to viſit and inſpect all abbeys then having no abbot, and correct ſuch abuſes as they find, and make report to the chapter the following year; and theſe viſitors ſhall every five years write their proceeding unto us.

* Certain prayers to be ſaid every hour.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX N° III.

See Pages 134 and 144.

ET cum quidam, poſt prandium, proniores ſunt ad loquendum quod non prodeſt quám quod ædificat audientes; ad ampliandum cultum juſtitiæ qui in ſilentio reperitur, eſt Statutum; qùod Parliamentum, quod poſt prandium in quibuſdam Clauſtris fieri conſuevit, penitùs interdicatur: et loco ipſius, vacetur uberius meditationibus et lectionibus repetendis.

In Capitulo tres ſunt voces, ſcilicet Clamantis, Reſpondentis, et Judicantis. Perturbatores Capituli et inobedientes, et cum Prælatis ſuis proterve contendentes, acriter corrigantur; et qui contumaces, a Monaſterio expellantur.

Eccleſia munda fiat, et Ornamenta Eccleſiæ.

Negotiationes in Eccleſiis non exerceantur, niſi temporibus Nundinarum.

Quando Capitulum celebrabitur, primo die celebratur una Miſſa de Spir. Sancto, pro Romano Pontifice; pro Rege Angliæ et Reginâ, et ſuis Hæredibus; et pro familiabus noſtri ordinis. Secundo die Capituli, celebretur una Miſſa pro fidelibus defunctis, pro animabus Regum Angliæ; et noſtri Ordinis benefactoribus.

APPENDIX N° IV.

See Page 141.

HENRICUS, Dei gratiâ, Angliæ, &c. Vicecomiti Hertfertienſi Salut. Si Abbas de Sancto Albano fecerit te ſecurum de clamio ſuo proſequendo, tunc ſummone, per bonos ſummonitores, Galfridum de Chilwic; Galfridum, Wilhelmum, Joannem, & Richardum, filios ejus; Wilhelmum de Gorham; Thomam de Waux; Walterum et Henricum, filios ejus; Adam de Sumery; David de Carpenville, quod ſint coram Juſticiariis ad primam Aſſiſam cum in partes illas venerint; oſtenſuri quave fugaverunt, & lepores ceperunt in liberâ Warrennâ ſuâ de Sancto Albano ſine licentiâ ſuâ; et habens hoc Breve et Submonitores. Teſte meipſo apud Weſtmonaſterium, 26 die Junii, anno Reg. noſt. 24. Acta apud Hertfordiam à die Nativ. beati Joannis Baptiſtæ in unum menſem, coram Wilhelmo de Eboraco Præpoſito de Beverley, Henrico de Bathoniâ, Rogero de Turkebyâ, Gilberto de Preſtunâ, Juſticiariis ibidem itinerantibus.

They are hereby ſummoned, and the charge declared againſt them is, Quod venati ſunt in campis ſuis omnibus in Warrennâ ſubſcriptis, ſcilicet in campis St. Albani, Kyngeſburiâ, Parco, Langelia, Rikemanſworthe, Cudicote, Waldene, Sandruge, Tidenhangre, Barnate, & Redburne, & in terris ſui Dominii, contra libertatem ſuam: quâ uſus eſt à tempore Henrici Regis Senis: unde damnificatus ad valentiam Quadraginta Marcarum.

M. Par. ad an. 1240.

APPENDIX N° V.

See Page 166.

HENRICUS, Dei gratiâ, Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hyberniæ, Dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, et Comes Andegaviæ, omnibus ad quos præſentes Litteræ pervenerint, Salutem. *Quia nobis conſtat, per inſpectionem Chartarum quas Abbas S. Albani habet, quod homines ipſius Abbatis non debent venire extra ſuam Libertatem pro aliqua ſummonitione vel occaſione coram aliquibus Juſticianis vel Inquiſitoribus*; Remiſimus eidem Abbati centum Libras, ad quas Villata et Libertas Sancti Albani amerciatæ fuerunt: Eò quod homines ejuſdem Libertatis non venerunt coram dilectis et fidelibus noſtris Henr. de Mara et Wilhelmo de Wilton apud Ceſterhunce, quæ eſt extra Libertatem prædictam; ad Inquiſitiones faciendas de tranſgreſſione Cambii, et ad amerciendum tranſgreſſiones ejuſdem Cambii. Remiſimus etiam eidem Abbati duas marcas et dimidium, ad quas N. L. A. S. W. S. et Reginaldus Aurifaber, homines ipſius Abbatis de Libertate prædictâ, amerciati fuerunt coram prædictis Hen. et Wilhelmo pro tranſgreſſione prædictâ. In cujus rei teſtimonium has Litteras fieri fecimus Abbati eidem patentes. Teſte Rich. Com. Cornubiæ apud Weſtmon. Die Octobris 13°, Anno Regni 38°.—1254.

APPENDIX N° VI.

See Page 171 and Page 450.

PROTECTION granted by Henry III. to the abbot and monks of Kirkſtall, in the county of York.

Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitain, to all to whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come, greeting. Know ye, that we have taken into our protection and defence, our beloved in Chriſt the abbot and convent of Kirkſtall of the Ciſtertian order, and all their men, lands, things, revenues, and all poſſeſſions, not doing to them, or ſuffering to be done, any wrong, offence, damage, or grievance; and, if any injury be done to them, that you cauſe the ſame to be, without delay, made good to them. In teſtimony whereof, we have cauſed theſe our letters to be paſſed to them; and to be in force for two years. Witneſs myſelf at St. Paul's, London, the 12th of May, in the forty-fifth year of our reign.

*** This was renewed by Edward I. in the 4th year of his reign, and was that year extended to a great many more abbeys; the liſt of which may be ſeen in the *Monaſticon*.

APPENDIX N° VII.

See Page 321.

INVENTORY (inventarium) of all the goods belonging to the altar of St. Lawrence, ſituate in the North wing, and near the belfry, *anno Domini* 1429, in its original (a).

Sunt ibidem tria Lyntea; unum de panno lineo, duo alia de opere Diaperto; cum eorum frontellis; unum de aureo veteri panno, et aliud de panno lineo cum roſario nominatò Staynnato.

Item duo apparatus altaris; unus cum panno ſtannato cum *Mariâ* in eodem inſcriptâ; cum panno ſuperiori et inferiori. Et alius cum panno inferiori tantum modo de bladio veteri rubro.

Sunt duo veſtimenta ſacerdotalia: unum de ſerico panno ſubrubeo; et aliud de Buſtyan albo, cum *Deo gratias* Staynnato.

Item unum miſſale antiquum; quod quondam definebat in capellâ Sti. Stephani; novis ſumptibus William Abbatis, paratum. Item duæ fialæ de ſtanno cum uno pyxide ligneo; pro vino aquâ et oblatis panibus imponendis. Item unum analogium ligneum pro miſſali. Item unum pakyſbred ex paratione Dom. Rob. Waræ tunc coquinarii confectum. Et eſt aliud (Analogium) ſtanneum cum imagin. inſcriptis et inſculptis. Item unum candelabrum de auricalco, cum uno ſyke et duobus noſell. pro lumine temp. hiemali. Item duo pannioli pro manibus celebrantium detergendis. Omnia ex præemptione Williemi Wyntyſhall prænotati. Item eſt ibidem una ciſtula lignea ſatis honeſta, pro omnibus præſcriptis impon. et conſervandis. Item duo pannioli albi cum 5 plagiis et deſuper Staynnati, pro coopturâ imaginum ſanctorum Laurentii et Grimbaldi temp. quadrageſimali ex præemptione ejuſdem. Item unum tintinnabulum et duo candelabra ferrea, fixa ex utrâque parte altaris. Et unum Wyker, (or matt), in longit. altaris per Dom. Rob. Ware collata, pedibus celebrantium ſupponenda.

(a) Ex. Harl. MSS. 3775.

APPENDIX N° VIII.

See Page 327.

THIS indenture made between John Wheathamſtede, abbot of the monaſtery of St. Alban, and the convent of the ſame place, on the one part; and Thomas Knollys, the elder, citizen and grocer of London; Nicholas Wotton, citizen and clothier(a) of London; John Snell, clerk; Thomas Belowe, citizen and grocer of London; Thomas Knollys, the younger; Robert Shilley, Eſq. and Thomas Oxney, citizen and grocer of London, on the other part; and Richard Hardy, citizen and grocer of London; witneſſeth that the aforeſaid Thomas, Nicholas, John, Thomas, Thomas, Robert, Thomas, and Richard, have granted for themſelves and their heirs, to the aforeſaid abbot and convent, and their ſucceſſors, as far as they can give aſſurance, concerning thirty acres of land and paſture belonging to the ſaid abbot and convent, and their ſucceſſors, ſituate in a certain moor, otherwiſe paſture, called Colneyheth, otherwiſe called Tydenhangre heth, lying near a certain farm belonging to the ſaid abbot and convent called Conynges, and contiguous to the ſaid farm, and the ſaid thirty acres of land at their pleaſure, to incloſe and hold in ſeveralty, at all times of the year, againſt the ſaid Thomas, Nicholas, John, Thomas, Thomas, Robert, Thomas, and Richard, their heirs, aſſigns, and tenants, for ever. And farther, the ſaid Thomas, &c. for themſelves and their heirs, have given up, remitted, and by theſe preſents have quitted claim, and all manner of right and claim, which they have, or might any ways have, in the aforeſaid thirty acres of paſture, to the aforeſaid abbot and convent, and their ſucceſſors for ever. And in like manner the aforeſaid abbot and convent have granted for themſelves and their ſucceſſors for ever, to Thomas Knollys the elder, Nicholas Wotton, John Snell, Thomas Belowe, Thomas Knollys the younger, Robert Shilley, Thomas Oxney, and Richard Hardy, their heirs and aſſigns, as far as they (b) can give aſſurance concerning ten acres of wood and paſture, belonging to the ſaid Thomas Nicholas, John Snell, &c. called the Hoke, lying near the ſaid moor or paſture called Colneyheth, otherwiſe called Tydenhangreheth, and to the ſame moor contiguous, and at

(a) Pannarium. (b) Quoad ipſi approbare ſe poſſint.

their pleaſure to incloſe the ſame, and hold the ſame in ſeveralty, at all times of the year, againſt the ſaid abbot and convent and their ſucceſſors, and all their tenants for ever. And moreover, the aforeſaid abbot and convent, for themſelves and their ſucceſſors, have given up and remitted, and by theſe preſents have quitted claim, and all manner of right and claim which they have or might any ways have in the aforeſaid ten acres, unto the aforeſaid Thomas Nicholas, John Snell, &c. their heirs and aſſigns for ever.

And alſo the ſaid abbot and convent, for themſelves and their ſucceſſors have given up, remitted, and quitted claim, to the aforeſaid Thomas, &c. their heirs and aſſigns for ever, all right, title, and claim, which the ſaid abbot and convent have, or they and their ſucceſſors ſhall have, to enjoy any way beyond the lands, or in the lands, of the ſaid Thomas Nicholas, John Snell, &c. their heirs and aſſigns in North Mymmes, beſides the King's highways, and a certain common way in the field called Churchfield there. And alſo the ſaid abbot and convent have granted for themſelves and their heirs for ever, to the aforeſaid Thomas Nicholas, John Snell, &c. their heirs and aſſigns for ever, a parcel of the aforeſaid moor, called Colneymerſh, containing thirty-ſix acres of paſture. Nor will they incloſe or hold in ſeveralty any parcel of the ſame without the conſent of the ſaid Thomas Nicholas, John Snell, &c. beſides the thirty acres contiguous to the farm, called Conynges, as hath been above related.

And in like manner it is agreed between the ſaid parties, and with their common conſent, that the ſaid abbot and convent ſhall have, next year, and for one turn, the eſcape of animals or cattle, called the Indrove, and impark at their pleaſure, or confine any animals or cattle which they ſhall find in the ſaid moor, with power to demand ſatisfaction for all cattle whoſe owners have no right of common in the ſaid moor. And that, in the next year after, the ſaid Thomas, &c. ſhall have the Indrove, and with like liberty to impark and confine all cattle whoſe owners have in like manner no right of common. And this practice ſhall go on alternately for ever. In teſtimony whereof, unto one part of this indenture, and to be reſerved in the hands of Thomas Knollys, his heirs, &c. the ſaid abbot and convent have affixed their common ſeal; and unto the other part of the ſaid indenture, to be reſerved in the cuſtody of the abbot and convent, the above named Thomas Knollys, the elder, &c. have affixed their ſeals. Dated April 1, 8 Henry VI.

APPENDIX N° IX.

See Pages 379.

From the Patents of the 9th Year of the Reign of King James over England, &c.

THE King, to all to whom, &c. greeting. Know ye, that we, for divers good cauſes and conſiderations, us hereunto eſpecially moving, of our ſpecial grace, and of our certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given and granted, and by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors, do give and grant, to our beloved ſubjects, George Whitmore, and Thomas Whitmore, of London, Eſqs. their heirs and aſſigns for ever, all that our borough of Cranborne, in our county of Dorſet, with all and ſingular its members, rights, &c. and alſo all that burgage, with the curtilages, commonly called or known by the name of Packnetts, ſituate in Saliſbury-ſtreet, in Cranborne aforeſaid. And all that our hundred of Pymperne, in our county of Dorſet, with all its rights, members, liberties, &c. and alſo the office of bailiff and bailiwick, of the ſame hundred, and alſo executions and returns of all and ſingular warrants, writs, precepts, and mandates of us within the hundred aforeſaid. And alſo all manner of courts leet, view of Frankpledge, and other Courts whatſoever, and perquiſites, and profits of the ſame courts; all which are worth, as by particular of the ſame, 66s. 8d. and to have been formerly parcel of the lands and poſſeſſions of lady Catharine, late queen of England. And alſo all that our hundred of Horthome, in our county of Somerſet, with all rights, &c. of the worth of 6l. 2s. 2d. and to have been formerly parcel of the lands called Richmond's lands. And alſo all that one hundred of Norton Ferris, in our county of Somerſet and Wilts, with all and ſingular its rights, &c. mentioned to be of the yearly rent or value of 33s. 4d. and to have been parcel of the lands of the late lord Stourtone. And alſo all that our hundred of Rempſtone, in our ſaid county of Somerſet, with all rights, &c. by a particular, worth 8l. and to have been parcel of the lands and poſſeſſions, of Edward, late duke of Somerſet. And all that our hundred of Caiſhew, with all and ſingular its rights, members, liberties, ariſing within our liberty of St. Alban; and office of hundredor there, with the appurtenants; and alſo all thoſe our rents and farms, within the liberties of St. Alban aforeſaid, to the ſaid

ſaid late office of hundredor belonging, amounting to 78s. 8d. a year. And alſo all aid of ſheriffs to the ſaid hundred of Caiſhow belonging, amounting to 23s. 3d. and all thoſe our ancient rents and farms to the ſaid hundred belonging, amounting to 8s. a year, and all ſuits of hundredors at the Tourn reſpited to the ſaid hundred belonging amounting to 21s. yearly; and all iſſues of hundred and tourn to the ſaid hundred belonging, amounting to 6s. 8d. a year; which ſaid hundred of Caiſhow, and ſaid office of hundredor, and other the ſaid premiſſes to the ſaid hundred belonging, by a particular thereof, mentioned to be of the yearly value of 6l. 17s. 7½d. and to have been lately parcel of the land and poſſeſſions of the late abbey of St. Alban. And all that our liberty to the late abbey of St. Alban belonging, appertaining, happening, or ariſing, in our county of Hertford, Bedford, and Bucks, with all and ſingular its rights, members, and appurtenances, whatſoever; and alſo all manner of fines, amercements, iſſues, and profits, whatſoever, coming, growing, renewing, happening, or ariſing, in or within the liberty of the ſaid late abbey of St. Alban, amounting to 46s. 1½d. a year, *beſides* 15l. 19s. 8d. for the fee of hundredor, ſteward, clerk of the market, bailiff of the ſaid liberty heretofore yearly payable; and *beſides* 13l. 6s. 8d. for the diet of the juſtices of the peace and gaol delivery, heretofore likewiſe yearly payable. Which ſaid liberties, fines, amercements, iſſues, and other the premiſſes, were formerly parcel of the lands and poſſeſſions of the late abbey of St. Alban.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX N° X.

See Page 406.

RENTAL of Lands and Tenements newly purchaſed by the Rev. Father Thomas Ramryge, Abbot, in the 22d of Henry VII.

In Barnet and Ruge.

	s.	d.
OF Robert Nycols, for a tenement and ſhop in the fleſh-market, or ſhambles there, - - - -	13	4
Of the ſame, for four crofts called Dryffelds, late the lands of Thomas Dryffeldys, - - - -	48	0
Of the ſame, for meadows, and lands, and paſtures, called Boryſlond, late Thomas Deyers, - - - -	48	0
Of the ſame for the two acres of meadow called Botlands.		
Of the ſame, for five crofts of land called Priors, and for two crofts called Gylitrone, and for two tofts of land called Pagys, in Ryge, with all the woods and underwoods, the trees and hegerows excepted, - - - - -	16	8
Of maſter Thornberry, for lands called Burbages, - -	34	0
Of Thomas Dudman, for rent of lands called Mendhyms, -	46	8
Of Thomas Benks, for parcel of wood called the Narrow, -	2	0
Of Thomas Dudman, for a tenement and cloſe, - -	16	0
Of John Rolfe, for a tenement and lands, - - -	24	0
Of Elinor Elborow, for land in Barnet, - - -	6	8
For lands in the tenure of maſter Moorton and wife, - -	40	0
Rent of lands there, called Terrys, - - - -	15	0
Divers rents in Barnet, late John Curtys's, - - -	15	0
Rent of a tenement let to a wheelwright, - - -	6	0
Rent of lands in Ryge, late John Aſhley's, - - -	21	0

APPENDIX N° XI.

See Page 446.

Letter from Katharine Bulkeley, Abbeſs of Godſtow, to the Lord Cromwell; complaining of Dr. London.

PLEASITH hit your honor, with my moſte humble dowtye, to be adver-tiſed, that when it hath pleaſyd your lordſhip to be the very meane to the king's majeſtie for my preferment, moſt unworthy to be abbeſs of this the king's monaſterie of Godyſtowe: in the which office I truſt I have done the beſt in my power to the mayntenance of God's trewe honour, with all treuth and obedience to the king's majeſtie; and was never moved nor defired by any creature in the king's behalfe, or in your lordſhip's name, to ſurrender and give up the houſe; nor mynded nor intended ſo to do, otherwiſe than at the king's gracious commandment or yours; to the which I do and have ever done, and will ſubmit myſelf moſt humblie and obedientlie. And I truſt to God that I have never offendyd God's laws, neither the king's, wherebie this poor monaſterie ought to be ſuppreſſed. And this notwithſtanding, ſo it is, my good lord, that Dr. London, whiche (as your lordſhip doth well know) was againſt my promotion, and hath ever ſince borne me great malys and grudge *, like my mortal enemye, is ſodenlie cummyd unto me with a great rowte with him, and here doth threaten me and my ſiſters, ſaying, that he hath the king's commiſſion to ſuppreſs this houſe, ſpyte of my tethe. And when he ſaw that I was contente that he ſhould do all things according to his commiſſion, and ſhewyd him playne that I never would ſurrender to his hand being my awncyent enemye; now he begins to intreat me, and to invegle my ſiſters, one by one, otherwiſe than ever I herde tell that the king's ſubjects hath been ſo handelyd; and here tarrieth and con-tinueth to my great coſte and charges, and will not take my anſwere that I will not ſurrender till I know the king's gracious commandment, or your good lordſhip's. Therefore, I do moſt humblie beſeche you to contynue my good lord, as you have ever been, and to direct your honorable letters to remove him hence. And, whenſoever the king's gracious commandment or yours ſhall come unto me, you ſhall find me moſt reddie and obeyant to folloe the

* She was appointed in 1533.

fame.

ſame. And notwithſtand that Dr. London, like an untrew man, hath informed your lordſhip that I am a ſpoiler and a waſter, your good lordſhip ſhall know that the contrary is trewe; for I have not alienatyd one halporthe of goods of this monaſterie, movable or unmovable, but have rather increaſed the ſame; nor never made leaſe of my farme, or piece of grownde, belongyng to this houſe; or than hath been in times paſte alwaies ſet under convent ſeal for the wealth of the houſe. And therefore my very truſt is, that I ſhall find the kynge as gracious lord unto me as he is to all other his ſubjects, ſeyng I have not offendyd; and am and will be moſte obedyent to his moſt gracious commandment at all tymes with the grace of Allmighty Jeſus: who ever preſerve you in honour longe to endure to his pleaſure. Amen.

Your moſt bounden

Godſtow the 6 day of November.

Bedſwoman,

KATHARINE BULKELEY.
Abbeſs there.

This letter is to be found in the Cotton MSS, Cleop. E. 4. thence copied by Burnet in his Hiſt. Reform.

THE END.

ERRATA.

Page	4.	line 13.	for *possibly may*, read *possibly this.*
	7.	11.	for *Sullonomacæ*, read *Sulloniacæ.*
	ib.	12.	for *Blochley*, read *Blockley.*
	8.	12.	for *verterans*, read *veterans.*
	19.	6.	note, for *Petroe*, read *Petroe.*
	24.	16.	for *Sufragrans*, read *Suffragans.*
	30.	2.	for *Cassinam*, read *Cassinum.*
	44.	8.	for *Walstan*, read *Wulstan.*
	55.	17.	for *Stanekfield*, read *Stankfield.*
	61.	39.	for *and and*, read *and.*
	106.	2.	note, for *contended*, read *contested.*
	136.		for *booking*, read *Bocking.*
	162.	18.	for *Teddington*, read *Tuddington in Bedfordshire.*
	173.	9.	for *Reliquis*, read *Reliquit.*
	186.	17.	for *Peecham*, read *Peckham.*
	ib.	24.	for *unto*, read *under.*
	189.	27.	for *counterprixe*, read *counterpoise.*
	204.	11.	for *Antichapel*, read *Ante Chapel.*
	217.	19.	for *Coadjntor*, read *Coadjutor.*
	227.	2.	from bottom, for *Laton*, read *Luton.*

PART II.

In the plate,			for *Ent. length* 550, read 539 *feet.*
———			for *Ent. width* 217, read 174.
	236.	9.	for *Conquinas*, read *Coquinar.*
	ib.	20.	for *Archbishop*, read *Abbot.*
	238.	6.	from bottom, for *Ryst.* read *Bysshmead.*
	245.	13.	for *Wymondam*, read *Wymondham.*
	266.	23.	for *Sacra*, read *Sacræ.*
	274.	25.	for *Ely.* read *Ebor.*
	282.	15.	for *tombes*, read *Combes.*
	332.	9.	for *pay*, read *pray.*
	333.	4.	from bottom, for *Betterwych*, read *Butterwych.*
	334.	4.	from bottom of note, for *William*, read *Willian.*
	346.	20.	for *Robetr*, read *Robert.*
	359.	27.	for *there*, read *their manor.*
	368.	10.	for *Kydale*, read *Rydale.*
	377.	7.	for *Chancel*, read *Charnel house.*
	386.	7.	for *to Sand*, read *of Sandridge.*
	394.	1.	note, for *Reding*, read *Roding.*
	400.	6.	from bottom, for *Artithrenion*, read *Archithrenium*, and again p. 401.
	413.	16.	for *Wulf*, read *Wulph.*
	441.	9	for *commended*, read *commanded.*
	449.	2.	for *post*, read *port.*
	460.	10.	from bottom, for *that the lands*, read *that if the lands.*
	471.	4.	for *Hendon*, read *Standon.*
	471.		note, for, *in the Latin Inquis*, read *in the Latin Inquisition (in Roman Char.) in Domesday*, i. e. *Hakeneston.*
	476.	10.	for *Gassington*, read *Garsington.*
	479.	6.	for *Abbeys Aston*, read *Abbots Aston.*
	ib.		for *its chapel*, read *its chapels of Harewood.*
	482.	2.	for *Hole*, read *Hale.*
	490.	2.	from bottom, for *in*, read *on.*
	503.	21.	for *Oxford Hall*, read *Orford Hall.*
	504.	16.	for *the cause that*, read *the cause: that.*
	508.	4.	in the note, for *Hampstead*, read *Hempstead.*
	522.	8.	for *Winchester*, read *Winchelsea.*